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John H. Lockwood.

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Westfield

and Its Historic Influences

1669-1919

The Life of an Early Town

With a Survey of Events in New England and Bordering Regions to which it was related in Colonial and Revolutionary Times

By

Rev. John H. Lockwood, D.D.

Pastor Emeritus of the First Congregational Church of Westfield, Massachusetts

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DEDICATION

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF WESTFIELD

THE STOUT-HEARTED PIONEERS WHO ESTABLISHED WORTHY IDEALS

AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

WHO IN VARIOUS WALKS OF LIFE THROUGH TWO AND A HALF CENTURIES

HAVE MAINTAINED THOSE IDEALS

THIS STUDY OF OUR BELOVED TOWN

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR.

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FOREWORD

Early in my pastorate in the old Westfield church the idea of writing a history of the town came to me. The purpose to execute it steadily strengthened during my active ministry, but the intensive and absorbing research involved became possible only after my retirement in 1906, and since then it has occupied much of my time.

Town histories vary in plan and scope. My determination has been to maintain a broad outlook upon incidents, affairs, and tendencies, in order that the annals of the town might be presented not alone in their local significance, but also in their relation to the wider field of Colonial and Revolutionary Massachusetts. Hence my title.

In prosecuting my task I have gathered and fully prepared for publication a vast amount of material not included herein. Reduced as it is, I may be fairly accused of undue prolixity.

My obligation is very great to those who have preceded me in these fields of research, both such as have published results and local investigators who have refrained from so doing. Among the latter three are outstanding, namely—Henry Holland and Joseph D. Bartlett, both now deceased, and Mr. Louis Marinus Dewey, who has a far more accurate and extensive knowledge of Westfield history and genealogies than any other living person. It is ground for deep regret that he has not embodied his knowledge for preservation in published form.

When failing vision ended Mr. Bartlett's labors he

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generously intrusted his notebooks to me to use, with no restriction, and I shall convey them to the Western Hampden Historical Society. It is but just to add that the sacrifice of his eyesight became virtually complete some time before his death, with no other recompense than the joy of service.

I am under obligations to many librarians and their assistants for favors patiently and courteously rendered, with special mention of those at the Westfield Atheneum, the City Library of Springfield, the Forbes Library at Northampton, and the custodians of the Archives in the State House at Boston.

Two long-time friends, Miss Harriet Newhall and Miss Mary E. Coughlin, have added to my obligations by rendering valued services in the preparation and distribution of my book.

JOHN H. LOCKWOOD.

Springfield, Mass., November, 1922.

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Westfield
and Its Historic Influences

I
Colonial Period

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Errata

The following typographical errors have been noted:

"Burt" for Burr, p. 17, l. 25.
"Henry" for Harry, p. 29, l. 29.
"Pauneasum" for Paunesun, p. 75, l. 33.
"Ernest Bagg" for Ernest Newton Bagg, p. 76, l. 29.
"Mather" for Matthew, p. 425, l. 29.

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CHAPTER I.

The Fathers of the Bay

The alternatives of history suggest to the curious many interesting guesses. Had the Pilgrims in the autumn of 1620 been allowed to execute their plan of landing in Virginia as a place of future settlement, what would have been the history of New England? No authoritative answer can be given to that question. However, it certainly affords wide scope to the imagination. The fact that the Pilgrims started westward across the ocean with the more southern destination in view is well supported. That what was Virginia's loss, was New England's gain, is unquestionable.

After having been for some years in Holland the conditions of their sojourn proved to be such as to force their sensitive consciences to seek some less dangerous environment. It is said that "the manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them. Their children left them: some became soldiers and others sailors in the Dutch service." The danger menacing them was speedy amalgamation with the nation that sheltered them and extinction of the peculiar church life in whose behalf they had become voluntary exiles. Sir Walter Raleigh had brought Guiana to the public notice and its attractions made it a rival of Virginia in their councils, but those of the latter prevailed. Though the decision to immigrate to America was reached in the summer of 1617 it was not until two years later that they secured a patent from the Virginia Company. That included a grant of land, but the charter which they prayed for from King James was refused, though he offered no objections to their plan in other respects. In answer to his inquiry as to how they expected to support themselves, some one replied "most likely by fishing." To that he retorted, "Very good, it was the Apostles' own calling."

They expected to strike the coast somewhere in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Hudson or of the Delaware River. Hutchinson says, "They intended for Hudson's River, or the coast near to it; but the Dutch had bribed their pilot, and he

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carried them farther northward, so that they fell in about Cape Cod, and arrived in that harbor the 14th of November."

Whether this charge was well founded or whether the change of course was due to loss of reckoning consequent upon foul weather, destiny determined that the scene of their future struggles and successes should be New England.

Far larger issues than those which related to the distinctive Plymouth Colony thus planted were by that fateful decision shaped and insured. The settlement of Plymouth resulted in the more pretentious settlement of Massachusetts Bay a decade later and in immediately succeeding years.

Every age is to a large extent the product of forces working in the life of preceding generations. Westfield of today is a resultant of ideas, efforts and experiences in the lives of people who have acted their parts in the world's drama from earliest days. The links in the chain extending back to 1630 in the Bay, and to 1620 in Plymouth, form but a section of a far longer chain reaching back into dim ages in regions of three continents on the opposite side of the globe. The attempt to trace those influences is one of the fascinating tasks of the historian.

Every distinct and significant movement of nations, tribes or bodies of people bound together by peculiar ties, must depend largely for guidance and progress upon the quality and forcefulness of its leadership. That the original Pilgrim adventurers were signally blessed in that regard is commonly recognized. The rank and file of the applicants for a charter from the Company in London consisted not of weaklings but of heroes made of stern stuff. They gave, among other reasons why their proposed undertaking would not prove abortive, these special reasons: "That they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and enured to the difficulties of a strange land: That they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole: That it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." Still they needed leaders and possessed them. No one familiar with the history of that infant Colony can fail to place high estimate upon men

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illustrious in its annals. It must have failed soon and completely without its potent leaders, the two Elders, Robinson who, though remaining in Leyden maintained his moral and spiritual influence, and Brewster who came to share the hardships of his flock in the wilderness; without Bradford the scholar, the historian, the wise and energetic man of affairs; without Carver the first Governor, without others, Winslow who has been termed its diplomatist, Allerton the commercial agent of the Colony, Fuller its good physician, and the doughty Miles Standish, its military chief. Had these not been the Colony had not made such noble history.

Not less fortunate in the quality and force of its leaders was the younger Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Though differing from the former in some particular motives prompting to emigration to the new land over sea, the underlying principles of the two were one and the same, the noble, heroic, democratic, and essentially religious principles, fused by a passionate purpose to establish and maintain institutions accordant with the will of God as declared in the Scriptures.

What is commonly recognized as the motive of these who established the Plymouth Colony is declared by Fiske to have constrained the sister Colony. He says, "The aim of Winthrop and his friends in coming to Massachusetts was the construction of a theocratic state which should be to Christians, under the New Testament dispensation, all that the theocracy of Moses and Joshua and Samuel had been to the Jews in Old Testament days." (The Beginnings of New England, p. 146.)

The enterprise of the Plymouth people was solely one of Separatists who risked themselves and their possessions in order to enjoy religious and ecclesiastical freedom. The great bulk of them cherished no other purpose, though feeling responsible to make such small returns to the London Company for funds advanced as might be gained by fishing and trading.

The Bay Colony was definitely Puritan but not Separatist. Mather records that Rev. Francis Higginson of Salem wrote as follows:

"We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome! But we will say, Farewell Dear England! Farewell the Church

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of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it: But we go to practice the positive Part of Church Reformation and propagate the Gospel in America." (Magnalia III, 74.)

But in the Bay Colony there was a large and influential element of Commercialism.

Winthrop claimed, "It is by a mutual consent, through a special over-ruling Providence, and a more than ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seek a place of cohabitation and consortship, under a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical." (Mass. Hist. Coll. 27, 45.) At the same time it must be recognized that subsidiary secular motives were co-ordinated with the supreme motive of religion in their movement. They were genuine Puritans and to be such they must have been constrained by the fear of God in their effort to free themselves from political and ecclesiastical tyranny.

Burke's characterization of these New England Puritans after their experiment at nation making was a hundred years old was true of the founders. He said that they were "not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas" and later in the same famous speech, "The people are Protestants: and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion * * * Their religion is a refinement on the principle of resistance: it is the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion."

Those early settlers, so alive to the benefits of civil and religious liberty and so resolute in securing them, were not sentimentalists, dreamy doctrinaires, as they are frequently represented. They did not go tilting against windmills, or crusading for fanciful rewards. The major part of them were plain, simple, intelligent, God-fearing folk. They had to make their way in the wilderness by subduing forests and securing the marketable pelts of its wild creatures. They were sane, earnest, practical farmers for the greater part, with a needed sprinkling of artisans and an occasional but lowly scholar who could teach the young, and with a ministry of loftier attainments. They were people "almost wholly of

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the middle class, who lived, for the most part, by their own labor, and who rejoiced in conquering the wilderness, in making the marsh into a meadow, in sucking by their fisheries of the abundance of the seas, and in seeing the first houses of logs, with mud mortar, and oiled paper for glass in the windows, giving place to houses of finished timber, or imported brick with sometimes even mahogany balustrades."

They came hither for fresh and larger opportunity to live, toil and grow. They coveted possession of the soil to be their very own and not another's which they rented in minute parcels at ruinous rates. Proofs of this passion are abundantly furnished in the records of our Connecticut Valley towns as will appear later.

Having cited Burke's incisive characterization of the colonies during the 18th century, I cannot forbear giving at length Parkman's estimate of them based on researches nearer at hand from more copious records. Speaking of the colonies composing New England he says: "The principal among them, Massachusetts, may serve as a type of them all. It was a mosaic of little village republics, firmly cemented together, and formed into a single body politic through representatives sent to the 'General Court' at Boston. * * * Its people were purely English, of sound yeoman stock, with an abundant leaven drawn from the best of the Puritan gentry; but their original character had been somewhat modified by changed conditions of life. A harsh and exacting creed, with its stiff formalism and its prohibition of wholesome recreation; excess in the pursuit of gain,—the only resource left to energies robbed of their natural play; the struggle for existence on a hard and barren soil: and the isolation of a narrow village life,—joined to produce, in the meaner sort, qualities which were unpleasant, and sometimes, repulsive. Puritanism was not an unmixed blessing. Its view of human nature was dark, and its attitude toward it was one of repression. It strove to crush out not only what is evil, but much that is innocent and salutary. Human nature so treated will take its revenge, and for every vice that it loses find another instead. Nevertheless, while New England Puritanism bore its peculiar crop of faults, it produced also many good and sound fruits. An uncommon vigor, joined to the hardy virtues

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of a masculine race, marked the New England type. The sinews, it is true, were hardened at the expense of blood and flesh,—and this literally as well as figuratively; but the staple of character was a sturdy conscientiousness, an undespairing courage, patriotism, public spirit, sagacity and strong good sense." (Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. I., pp. 28-9.)

It is not strange that narrowness and fanaticism blemished their character. They were common features of the age and they were incident to the type of that religion which so engrossed the thought and shaped the life of the colonists.

It was essentially Hebraic, the religion of the Old Testament with its theocratic ideal, and its emphasis upon the unique privileges of a chosen and peculiar nation. Because they cherished this exalted estimate of themselves as special favorites of God, constituted as such by their engrossing subservience to the divine will, they consequently fell into the errors of self-righteousness exhibited wherever and by whomsoever that vain delusion has been cherished.

The whole matter may be summed up in the careful conclusion of Fiske: "As regards their social derivation, the settlers of New England were homogeneous in character to a remarkable degree, and they were drawn from the sturdiest part of the English stock. In all history there has been no other instance of colonization so exclusively effected by picked and chosen men. The colonists knew this, and were proud of it, as well they might be. It was the simple truth that was spoken by William Stoughton when he said, in his election sermon of 1688: 'God sifted a whole nation, that He might send choice grain into the wilderness.'" (The Beginnings of New England, p. 143.)

This preliminary discussion of the general character of the founders of Massachusetts has seemed essential to a proper understanding of the life of the community that is the subject of this historical sketch. It is true that great diversities obtained among them, even among the leaders who rise like mountain peaks above the common plain, but the prevailing type of rank and file, as well as of leaders, must be correctly estimated and clearly recognized as here delineated.

The movements in England which issued in the great Puritan exodus are interesting and easily traceable.

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The combined efforts of church and state to throttle and extirpate Puritanism became so powerful and full of menace that the bulk of those professing it were absorbed with two horns of a dilemma, either one of which demanded patience, struggle and sacrifice. They must either stay and maintain a long, bitter struggle with the reigning powers in church and state, or they must gain authority through chartered rights to establish on New England shores a commonwealth of their own as free as possible from oversea interference and limitations.

Two years after the landing of the Pilgrims an association known as the "Dorchester Adventurers" was formed in response to the appeals of Rev. John White, Rector of Trinity Church, Dorchester, near the British Channel.

Its purpose was to provide supplies and religious instruction for English fishermen who were sometimes obliged to spend successive months on the New England coast. They established a feeble settlement on Cape Ann, which met with various mishaps and was threatened with abandonment. On March 19, 1628, however, the enterprise had so far revived as to secure more influential support in London and on that date there was secured "A grant of lands extending from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean, and in width from a line of latitude three miles north of the River Merrimac to a line three miles south of the Charles." During the summer Endicott was sent over with a small party to become local manager at Naumkeag. The newcomers, after some acrimonious disputes with those already there, soon reached an amicable adjustment and changed the name of the settlement to Salem, the Hebrew word for *peace*.

Both the Dorchester Company and the company known as the London Adventurers, were only voluntary partnerships unincorporated. Later the Company having become "much enlarged," application for a royal charter was successfully made, creating a corporation called the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and under it the Colony conducted its affairs for fifty-five years.

Prominent and influential men were interested in its affairs and contributed to its exchequer. The organization having been completed and the form of government decided upon,

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preparations were rapidly executed for sending over to the infant settlement generous reinforcements, which were dispatched in six vessels. They consisted of "eighty women and maids, twenty-six children and three hundred men, with victuals, arms and tools and necessary apparel, and with one hundred and forty head of cattle and forty goats." A committee of the Company took pains "to make plentiful provision of godly ministers."

But a few months after their safe arrival an event of weightiest import to the Colony transpired in England. August 27th twelve men of ample means and wide influence, one of whom was our honored pioneer, William Pynchon, met in Cambridge and pledged themselves to go to New England with their families on condition that the charter and administration under it might be transferred to this territory. The matter was fully arranged two days later. John Winthrop was chosen Governor, John Humphrey, Deputy Governor, though being detained, his place was supplied by Thomas Dudley. Eighteen Assistants were also chosen.

When the "Arabella" and the three accompanying vessels were about to sail from Yarmouth, an address was proffered to those remaining. It was entitled, "The Humble Request of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England, to the Rest of their Brethren in and of the church of England." So full of tenderness and pathos is it, so indicative of the spirit of kindness cherished toward the home land and the home church that the substance of it is here quoted: "We esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes * * * Wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us, and so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest your assured friends and brethren."

Other vessels preceded or immediately followed this small

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fleet, making the whole number of craft seventeen, and of emigrants about a thousand as Palfrey states, but according to Hutchinson they numbered "above 1500 passengers."

How their eager hearts must have sunk within them when they faced the conditions of the Colony which awaited their arrival! Hutchinson says, "The common people immediately went ashore and regaled themselves with strawberries which are very fine in America and were then in perfection. This might give them a very favorable idea of the produce of the country; but the gentlemen met with enough to fill them with concern." (The History of Massachusetts, Vol. 1, p. 25.)

He then goes on to enumerate the tragic experiences through which those who had survived the previous winter had passed. Having arrived at Naumkeag the very last of June the previous year they had but a few months of favorable weather in which to provide shelter and provision against the coming winter. Eighty persons, out of about three hundred in the Colony, had succumbed to hardship. A Conspiracy of all the Indians as far as Narragansett for the purpose of extirpating the English had threatened their extinction. Many of those who had survived the winter were in a weak, sickly condition. All provisions were very scant and they had not corn enough to last a fortnight. Those who had brought servants, and the whole number that came amounted to one hundred and eighty, had been obliged to force them to shift for themselves. Among those of the new arrivals who proved unable to endure the grievous privations was the Lady Arabella, the wife of Isaac Johnson for whom the principal vessel of the fleet had been named. Of her, the first woman of title to set foot upon New England shores, Hubbard speaks in laudatory terms, saying that she "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants; and although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was surrounded with; and in about a month after her arrival she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed."

She was the first fruits of a great harvest, since before December they had lost, including a few who had died on the passage over, two hundred of their number. The newcomers scattered to various localities which have come to

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be known respectively as Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Watertown and other places about the Bay and its immediate neighborhood. "Mr. Pynchon was at the head of another company who settled between Dorchester and Boston. Their town took the name of Roxbury." The weather proved mild until December 24th, "but then the cold came on with violence. Such a Christmas eve they had never seen before."

The struggle for existence that first winter was desperate, and they were reduced to dire straits. How deep the pathos of Hutchinson's description! "Their chief care was to keep themselves warm and as comfortable in other respects as their scant provision would admit. The poorer sort were much exposed, lying in tents and miserable hovels, and many died of the scurvy and other distempers. They were so short of provision that many were obliged to live upon clams, mussels, and other shell fish, with ground nuts and acorns instead of bread. One that came to the Governor's house to complain of his sufferings, was prevented, being informed that even there the last batch was in the oven. Some instances are mentioned of great calmness and resignation in this distress. A good man who had asked his neighbor to a dish of clams, after dinner returned thanks to God, who had "given them to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasure hid in the sands." They had appointed the 22d of February for a fast; but on the 5th, to their great joy, the ship Lyon, Captain Pierce, of the last year's fleet, returned, laden with provisions from London, which were distributed according to the necessities of the people. They turned their fast into a thanksgiving." (The History of Massachusetts, p. 28.)

Verily, were they made of stern stuff and their mettle was put to the test of fire. The rank and file of the Colony proved heroic, and naturally so under such leadership as was there revealed and which neither flagged nor flinched while the individual lives were spared to continue their service.

Illustrious among the noble group of leaders was Governor John Winthrop who at the time of his arrival here was forty-one years old, having been born in the fearful year of the Armada, a man who by one of our most careful historians has been compared to Washington in his power of winning confidence and commanding respect. Few characters in

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American history outrank him in possession of qualities of essential nobility. "He was a man of remarkable strength and beauty of character, grave and modest, intelligent and scholarlike, intensely religious and endowed with a moral sensitiveness that was almost morbid, yet liberal withal in his opinions and charitable in disposition."

March 26, 1649, this peerless father of his people, statesman, scholar, philanthropist, christian gentleman, died, less than two months after the dramatic execution at Whitehall of Charles, from whose tyranny he had fled, preferring exile to its cruel injustices.

It was nineteen years since the Colony had struggled through the horrors of its initial experiences on the shores of the Bay. During eleven of those years he had served as its Governor. "He had come," as Palfrey says, "in the prime of manhood, to the various sufferings and endless anxieties of subduing a 'bare creation,' and of defending the fabric which he reared there against hostility from without and from within. He had not learned that, before he died, the infatuated king who had wrought such sorrow to him and his, had perished by the hand of public vengeance. But he lived long enough to know that the party, of which he had been a not unhonored associate, was installed in absolute control of the affairs of his native country. And his last look abroad rested upon the tranquil and affluent dwellings of a flourishing Christian people, enjoying a virtual independence which realized the longing of the best third of his life. The vital system of New England, as it had now been created, was complete. It had only thenceforward to grow, as the human body grows from childhood to graceful and robust maturity." (Palfrey's New England, Vol. 3, p. 265.)

To the stupendous task of founding, cherishing, and shaping the development of a free christian Commonwealth and Nation, Winthrop gave his material resources and all those mental and spiritual faculties and energies which, in their grand total, made it no less than the unstinted gift of himself. To the end of time, and with increasing unanimity and heartiness of appreciation successive generations shall rise up to call him blessed.

Because of the prominence and potency of his life in the

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life of the infant Colony, no history of any integral part of that Colony as subsequently developed, could be just to its historical genesis without acknowledging large obligation to that great and good Father of the Bay.

There is peculiar propriety in rendering such meed of grateful appreciation by the people of Westfield because Governor Winthrop was the great grandfather of one of its own eminent leaders during the concluding third of the first century of the life of its church, the Rev. John Ballantine.

Before turning from this honored public servant to proceed to other affairs preliminary to the settlement in the valley of the Connecticut, it is worth while to tarry a farther moment to give studied consideration to Winthrop's noble words when in 1634 he was for the first time superceded in the office of Governor.

Having rendered his accounts and shown that his disbursements had exceeded by a thousand pounds his receipts, he said that he would have "rested satisfied" with them but that his accounts had been called for, rendering it necessary to make them public. He proceeded, "It repenteth me not of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of this Commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God that he hath pleased to honor me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his church and people here, the perplexity whereof, and his gracious acceptance shall be an abundant recompense to me. I conclude with this one request, which in justice may not be denied me, that as it stand upon record that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also: lest hereafter when I shall be forgotten some blemish may be upon my posterity when there shall be nothing to clear me." (Mass. Col. Rec. 1, 130-132.)

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William Pynchon

Portrait and autograph of the Father of the Valley; the original is in the Essex Institute at Salem.

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CHAPTER II.

Pioneers of the Connecticut Valley

Less than a year after the arrival of the company under Winthrop, to be exact, April 4, 1631, an Indian sachem named Wahginnicut, visited the Bay. He told attractive tales of his territory on the Fresh River, which the Indians called Quonenektacut. According to Winthrop the object of the visit was to press a request "to have some Englishmen to come plant in his country, and offered to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver: and that the country was very fruitful, etc., and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see the country." (Winthrop, 1, 52.) The Governor treated him courteously, entertaining him at dinner, but would send no one back with him. The same chief met with a more gratifying response from Governor Winslow at Plymouth. He sent men to explore the territory who brought glowing accounts of its resources. Hoyt, in "Indian Wars," declares that they "found the river to be a capacious stream of pure water, bordered by extensive bottoms, partially cleared, on which considerable quantities of corn and other esculents were cultivated by the natives." (p. 38.)

They found that the river and its confluents abounded in fish, sturgeon, bass, salmon, and shad, which the Indians succeeded in capturing in large quantities at proper seasons. The woods adjacent were equally prolific in valuable game, including bear, fox, moose, wolf, otter and beaver. Game birds abounded, both land and aquatic. The flocks of pigeons were so prodigious as to be incredible, even "darkening the heavens in their flight." A plan was arranged after a time to form a partnership of individuals in the two colonies for the purpose of trading in that region and Winslow, who had himself made some explorations there, sought a conference in Boston with interested persons, taking Bradford with him. The plan proposed included erecting a fortified trading house before the Dutch could execute a similar plan. Governor Winthrop at first inclined toward the project, but in view

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of the dangers and difficulties besetting its execution decided otherwise. The Indians of the region seemed to be very numerous and in case they should become hostile would be a desperate menace to the settlers. During the winter months the ice would prevent the transportation of supplies by vessels, and communication across country was too difficult to be practicable.

In the same summer of 1633, the restless John Oldham with three companions took that overland journey and found the Connecticut River, which they reported to be about 160 miles from the Bay. A sachem received him hospitably and made him a present of some beaver. The venturesome explorers lodged in Indian wigwams and, besides the beaver, brought back some specimens of Indian hemp which they found growing abundantly in the meadows and which proved superior to the English grown product. They also brought back specimens of black lead "whereof the Indians told him there was a great rock."

In October a vessel was sent from Plymouth with some workmen and the frame of a house and materials for completing it. As they sailed up the Connecticut, at the place where Hartford now stands, their farther progress was threatened by a party of Dutch who had thrown up a rude work on which two cannon were mounted. After parley and bluster, each party defying the other, the vessel passed on to what is now Windsor. The building was erected, fortified and provisioned, then left to be held and defended by a part of the small band, the rest returning home. That was the feeble beginning of the English settlement of Connecticut and the valley of its noble river. A party of Dutch, numbering seventy, sent the following year from New Amsterdam to secure the removal of that outpost was prevailed upon to return and leave it unmolested.

The settlement of the territory about Massachusetts Bay had proceeded so rapidly that by 1634 nearly 4000 Englishmen had found habitations there in some twoscore villages. They loved to live apart in small communities, near enough together to allow for easy intercommunication, but in numbers not too large for free and independent civic and industrial life. The spirit of adventure was strong within them, they

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coveted new territory and broad fields. It was the spirit of English aggressiveness, an unquenchable land-lust.

Cotton Mather says: "It was not long before the Massachusetts Colony was become like an hive Overstocked with bees, and many of the new inhabitants entertained thoughts of swarming into plantations extended further into the country. The colony might fetch its own descriptions from the dispensations of the Great God unto his ancient Israel and say—'O God of Hosts. Thou hast brought a vine out of England: Thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it: Thou preparedst room before it and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land: the hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars: she sent out her boughs unto the sea:' But still there was one stroak wanting for the compleat accommodations of the description: to wit, *she sent forth her branches unto the river*, and this, therefore, is to be next attended. The fame of Connecticut River, a long, fresh, rich river, had made a little Nilus of it, in the expectation of the good people about the Massachusetts Bay, whereupon many of the planters, belonging especially to the towns of Cambridge, Dorchester, Watertown and Roxbury, took up resolutions to travel an hundred miles Westward from those towns, for a further settlement upon this famous river."

They had made careful provision of live stock. "For four thousand souls there are fifteen hundred head of cattle, besides four thousand goats, and swine innumerable." (Wood, New England's Prospect, p. 49.)

They needed and sought room for expansion and the Newtown people gave first place among their reasons for desiring liberty to remove to Connecticut River, "their want of accommodation for their cattle." The subject of permission for such removal was discussed by the General Court of 1634, and not approved. Discussion was renewed by the Court of 1635 and liberty was granted which resulted in the several settlements on the River. The group from Newtown (Cambridge) selected Dutch Point, and founded Hartford, the Watertown people established Wethersfield, the Dorchester people chose the place where the fortified house had been erected by the Plymouth pioneers the previous year and founded

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Windsor. Thus a company of settlers from the Bay occupied territory at first built upon by the clearer visioned Plymouth Colony. This is a notable instance of people of hindsight forging ahead of those with foresight. Massachusetts was, as the Scotch say, "slow in the uptake," but soon made atonement therefor by the vigor of its pursuit. The heroic hardihood of these several enterprises of the year 1635 make it memorable in colonial history. Their rights to the land, even in those days of vague authority, under absurd royal charters, were questionable. John Winthrop, son of the Governor, returned from England in 1635 with a commission from Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and other patentees of Connecticut. To them had been assigned by the Earl of Warwick in 1630 the territory that had been granted him by the Plymouth Company. It included "all that part of New England in America, which lies, and extends itself from a river, there called the Narragansett river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line, near the sea shore, towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league; and all and singular, the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the bounds aforesaid, north and south, in latitude, and breadth, and in length, and in longitude of, and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout all the main lands there, from the Western ocean to the South sea." (Hoyt, Indian Wars, p. 42.) It was under that patent that all those early settlements on the Connecticut River were established, including the company from Roxbury, under Mr. Pynchon, which came to found Springfield at Agawam in the following year, 1636.

Later, the territory thus occupied by squatters from the Bay, without protest from its English proprietors, was bought by the Connecticut adventurers for £1600. To satisfy the claims of Plymouth Colony, the Dorchester settlers at Windsor paid the sun of £50, and surrendered "forty acres of intervale and a large tract of upland." (Trumbull I, 66.)

The journey from Cambridge to Hartford of the Company of one hundred men, women and children in June, 1636, has become historic. They were directed by their two ministers, Hooker and Stone. A herd of 160 cattle found scanty herbage for grazing by the way and furnished supplies of milk which could not have been copious. Mrs. Hooker, being an invalid,

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was borne in a horse litter, which in the rough conditions of the trail must have enabled her to experience much of the excruciation of a trip on camelback. How the poor lady ever survived that fortnight's journey, suspended in a rude framework from two horses harnessed tandem, is a mystery.

Hutchinson's description of that perilous journey of emigrants through the primeval forest may suggest that of Pynchon's company the same year:

"About an hundred persons in the first company, some of whom had lived in splendor and delicacy in England, set out on foot to travel an hundred and twenty or thirty miles, with their wives and children, near a fortnight's journey, having no pillows but Jacob's, and no canopy but the heavens, a wilderness to go through, without the least cultivation, in most places no path, nor any marks to guide them, depending upon the compass to steer by: many hideous swamps and very high mountains, besides five or six rivers, or different parts of the same winding river (the Chickapi) not Everywhere fordable, which they could not avoid." (Hutchinson I, 48.)

There is some difference of opinion among historians of this region as to whether William Pynchon made his initial exploration of the place for settlement by his company in 1634 or 1635. There is good authority for the earlier date and the conclusion that during that year, he, together with his son-in-law, Henry Smith, and Jehu Burt, made a preliminary visit and decided what lands should be secured. Certain it is that in time for planting in the spring of 1635 John Cable and John Woodcock were sent forward to prepare for settlement in the following year by building a house and seeding as much land as they could prepare and cultivate.

The house which they built was afterward appraised at a value of £6. It was located in a meadow on the west side of the Connecticut and on the south side of the Agawam, or Woronoco, River, which was afterward called the house meadow.

It is impossible to determine exactly the course of the trail followed by Pynchon and his companions in 1636. Green opposes the idea that a tradition adopted by Dr. Holland is well founded. He says, "The story that the Roxbury party led by William Pynchon, approached the Connecticut

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valley substantially over the Boston & Albany route may safely be set down as a piece of visioning. A speaker in an historical address has recently assumed that the Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield parties came down the Chicopee valley, and thence drifted south." (History of Springfield, pp. 2, 3.)

He then proceeds to elaborate a theory that they followed an old Indian trail through what now are the towns of South Framingham, Hopkinton, Grafton and Dudley to Woodstock, Conn. "Thence," he says of the Indians who carried corn in skins upon their backs to Governor Winthrop in the earliest days, "they took the trail known later as the Old Connecticut Path, the one followed by John Oldham on his way to the site of Wethersfield in 1633. Hooker and Stone took this route in June 1636. It had been developed from an Indian trail to an English bridle-path for horses and cattle." (p. 3.)

But the reference of Hutchinson, in the passage quoted above, to the difficulties due to the many crossings of the "different parts of the same winding river (the Chickapi) not everywhere fordable, which they could not avoid," seems to militate against Green's theory. That occurs in Hutchinson's description of the party led by Hooker and Stone. If they were so harassed by the Chicopee River they could not have followed the more southern Old Connecticut Path. And if they, en route to Hartford, followed the more northerly path, it seems highly improbable that Pynchon led his party by the more southerly trail.

The question is important only as a matter of curious interest, as anything relating to that momentous journey of the pioneers of this portion of the Connecticut Valley is interesting to us who care for those heroic spirits.

The household goods, farm utensils and other personal effects of Pynchon's party were shipped by sea to the Connecticut River on April 26, in Governor Winthrop's small vessel the "Blessing of the Bay" and another small craft the "Batcheller." The "Blessing" was launched at Medford, on the Mystic, July 4, 1633. She was of 60 tons burden, the same size as Hendrik Hudson's famous "Half Moon," the first vessel to sail up the waters of the Hudson River.

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The "Blessing of the Bay" was the first seaworthy craft built in New England, the forerunner of that vast aggregate of shipping which so soon began to fret the sea from New England shipyards. Her name was not merely poetic, but was more emphatically prophetic. In that first season she went to Hudson's River and visited en route Long Island and the Connecticut River. (Winthrop, I, 112.) Plymouth had built earlier a "great and strong shallop" which was used for fishing purposes but the "Blessing" was of sufficient capacity to cross the ocean.

Though no journal of that trip through the wilderness in the spring of 1636 exists, the imagination instinctively strives to picture its details. There were twelve men in the company, each of them probably with a family. They were undertaking that perilous journey for the sake of new homes and enlarged opportunities in a virgin territory. The rough narrow trail had to be followed day after day at a speed no faster than could be made by the frailest woman and tender children and the herds that could not be hurried. Their provisions were such as could be transported along that rugged path and across unbridged streams. The nightly campfire had to be lighted for the purpose of preparing their rude meals and had to be kept burning, frequently replenished with fuel during the hours of darkness, as a protection from the menace of wild beasts. To meet that demand and to be prepared against attack by any prowling Indians who might be stirred by sudden passion of cupidity or bloodthirstiness, sentinels must have been kept posted during the hours of the bivouac. Each morning the horses had to receive their packs, the cattle had to be gathered and everything made ready before the tedious journey could be resumed. With a considerateness which many a subsequent act in town meeting abundantly proved was not lacking in their Puritan character, the strong bore the infirmities of the weak. Though sturdiness and self-reliance were expected to mark each person in that heroic bond, yet reciprocal kindnesses, rendered continually possible by the rugged conditions of the journey, were continually exchanged. Though the fictitious courtesies of a palace were abjured, the essential graces of brotherly love were daily practiced.

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A sketch of the general features of the region which they found will be given in another chapter. Suffice it to say here that they found one house on the Agawam side of the river and no other place of habitation except the earth, unbroken save where the Indians had scratched its surface to plant and cultivate their corn, and sheltered only by such trees as those simple husbandmen had left in the rich alluvial intervale. They had forsaken rude homes at Roxbury, and once more they had to take the initial steps of civilization. Houses must be built for shelter and crops must be raised for food. Having arrived early in May, they had the few months of summer warmth in which to prepare for the rigor of winter and its daily hunger. It was but a brief respite of peace in which to prepare for war. Since they were about to resume community life they paused from the insistent demand for material preparation to establish the foundation of their civil relations. It was an act characteristic of the early New England Puritans.

On May 14th, 1636, these pilgrims from the Bay executed an agreement which for the time being should be their constitution. Because it was so significant to that pioneer band in the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts, it is of vital interest to their successors who have become so numerous in this region two and three quarter centuries after that first settlement was established.

"May the 14th, 1636—We whose names are underwritten, being by God's Providence ingaged together to make a plantation, at and over against Agaam on Conecticot doe mutually agree to certayne articles and oruers to be observed and kept by us and our successors, except wee and every one of us, for ourselves and in oure persons, shall think meet uppon better reasons to alter our resolutions.

"11y. Wee intend, by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all convenient speede, to procure some Godly and faithfull minister, with whome we propose to joyne in church covenant, to walk in all the ways of Christ.

"21y. Wee intend that our towne shall be composed of forty family's, or if wee thinke meete after to alter our purpose: yet not to exceed the number of fifty family's, rich and poore.

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"31y. That every inhabitant shall have a convenient proportion for a house lott, as wee shall see meete for every ones quality and estate.

"41y. That every one, that hath a house lott shall have a proportion of the Cow pasture to the north of End Brooke, lying northward from the towne: and also that every one shall have a share of the hassiky marsh over against his lott, if it be to be had, and every one to have his proportionable share of all the woodland.

"51y. That every one shall have a share of the meddow, or planting ground over against him, as nigh as may be, on Agaam side.

"61y. That the Long meddow, called Masacksick, lying in the way to Dorchester [Windsor, Ct.] shall be distributed to every man as wee shall think meete, except wee shall find other conveniences, for some for theyre milch cattayle, and other cattayle also.

"71y. That the meddow and pasture called Nayas, towards Patuckett, on ye side of Agaam, lyeinge about fourer miles above in the ridge shall be distributed [six and a half lines erased] as above said in the former order and this was altered and with consent before the hands were set to it.

"81y. That all rates that shall arise upon this towne, shall be layed upon lands, according to every ones proportion, aker for aker, of house lotts, and aker for aker of meddowe, both alike on this side, and both alike on the other side; and for farmes that shall lye farther off, a less proportion, as wee shall after agree except wee shall see meete to remitt one half of the rate from land to other estate.

"91y. That whereas Mr. William Pynchon, Jehue Burr and Henry Smith have constantly continued to prosecute the same at greate charges and at greate personal adventure, therefore it is mutually agreed that fourty akers of meddowe lying on the south of End Brooke, under a hill side shall belong to said partys free from all charges forever. That is to say twenty akers to Mr. William Pynchon and his heyres and assigns for ever, and ten akers to Jehue Burr, and ten akers to Henry Smith and to their heyres and assigns for ever; which said fourty akers is not disposed of to them as any allotment

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of towne lands; but they are to have their accommodations in all other places notwithstanding.

"10ly. That whereas a house was built at a common charge which cost £6 and also the Indians demand a grate some to bye their right in the sayd lands and also a greate shallope, which was requisite for the first planting, the value of which engagements is to be borne by each inhabitant at theyre first entrance, as they shall be rated by us till the said disbursements shall be satisfyed, or also in case the said house and boat be not so satisfyed for; then so much meddowe to be sett out about the said house as may counter vayle the sayd extraordinary charge.

"11ly. It is agreed that no man except Mr. William Pynchon shall have above ten akers for his house lott.

"12ly. Annulled.

"13ly. Whereas there are two cowe pastures, the one lying towards Dorchester, and the other Northward from End Brooke. It is agreed that both these pastures shall not be fed at once; but that the time shall be ordered by us, in disposing of it for tymes and seasons, till it be lotted out and fenced in severalty.

"14ly. May 16, 1636. It is agreed that after this day wee shall observe this rule about dividing of planting ground and meddowe, in all planting ground to regard chiefly persons who are most apt to use such ground. And in all meddowe and pasture to regard chiefly cattel and estate, because estate is likely to be improved in cattel, and such ground is aptest for their use. An yett wee agree that no person that is master of a lott, though he hath not cattel, shall have less than three akers of planting ground, and none that have cowes, steeres or year olds, shall have under one aker apiece, and all horses not less than four akers, and this order in dividing meddowe by cattel, to take place the last of May next so that all cattayle that then appeare, and all estates that shall truly appeare at £20, a cowe shall have this proportion in the meddowe on the Agawam side, and in the large meddowe Masacksick and in the other long meddowe called Nayas, and in the pasture at the northend of the towne called End Brooke.

"15ly. It is ordered that for the disposinge of the hasseky marish and the granting of home lotts, these five men under-

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named, or theyre Deputyes are appointed to have full power, namely Mr. Pynchon, Mr. Michell, Jehue Burr, William Blake, Henry Smith." (First Book of Records.)

There follows the assignment of home lots for the twelve men who had arrived and the whole document is formally signed by eight of them, two of whom used "his mark."

On the 15th day of July following a regular deed was executed by "Commucke and Matanchan, ancient Indians of Agaam" and eleven other Indians male and female, conveying to William Pynchon, Henry Smith and Jehu Burr, their heirs and associates, land on both sides of the river. The consideration was 18 fathom of Wampum, 18 coates, 18 hatchets, 18 howes, and 18 knives.

Thus those primitive settlers secured their lands and arranged their allotments. They were then ready for the business of living and preparing for those who should follow them from generation to generation.

Among them, and those who within a few years joined them, were men of note, worthy leaders who shaped the life of this part of the valley. They did for this region what other redoubtables did for Plymouth and for the region about the Bay.

William Pynchon was a man of varied and large abilities, well fitted for leadership in several spheres, political, commercial, intellectual and theological. Green sums up his characteristics in the following terse and graphic sentence: "He loved both money and adventure: he also loved the gospel in its purity; he hated political corruption, and, at the same time, he distrusted that phase of Puritanism which drifted away from royalty." (History of Springfield, Introduction, p. 3.)

His was a masterful, independent, self-reliant spirit. He had a rare faculty for dealing with men, even the wily, treacherous Indians. He did not fear to defend his rights against the jealous aggressions of the Connecticut authorities, and his character against misconstructions of such august personages as their ministers Hooker and Stone. As a trader at a frontier outpost having no base of civilization for a hundred miles east or west, and twice as far on the north, he conducted

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large enterprises, gathering and shipping great quantities of peltry and corn, and bringing in various articles of foreign manufacture.

As a Puritan christian he was keenly alive to the interests of religion and heartily interested in its progress among his people. Writing to Governor Winthrop in 1644 he says: "I praise God we are all in good health & in peace in our plantation: & the Lord hath added some 3 or 4 yonge men out of the River, that are godly, to us lately: & the Lord has greately blessed Mr. Moxon's ministry, to the conversion of many soules that are lately added to our church & hetherto the Lord hath preserved us in peace from enemies."

Mr. Pynchon was one of the few men of wealth among the earliest settlers at the Bay. He was one of the patentees of the Colony in England, one of Governor Winthrop's magistrates and assistants, treasurer of the Colony, and one of the commissioners for the government of the Connecticut River settlements. For the first sixteen years of the life of Springfield he was, as Holland truly says, its "ruling spirit and good genius."

After his return to England in 1652, he was succeeded in the office of Springfield's first citizen by his son John, then about twenty-six years old, who having come as a lad with his Father, was familiar with its affairs and interests during the period of its life up to that time. In October, 1645, he married Amy, the daughter of Governor George Wyllys of Connecticut. The marriage ceremony was performed by Governor Haynes of Massachusetts and Connecticut, the Father of her brother Samuel's wife. Amy Wyllys was the aunt of Ruth Wyllys who became the second wife of the Rev. Edward Taylor of Westfield. John Pynchon became a more extensive man of affairs, public and commercial, than his Father. He employed many men, white and Indian, to collect furs, others were used to transport goods down the river to Boston, and others of various trades and occupations for his varied enterprises. He operated mills for sawing and grinding.

His public offices were more numerous than those of his Father. For many years he was deputy at the General Court and from 1667 to 1686 an assistant. He commanded a regiment

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of militia and was commonly styled the Worshipful Major Pynchon. When in 1664 the Dutch formally surrendered New Amsterdam, he was one of the Commissioners to represent the English authorities. Again in 1680 he was sent by the General Court of Massachusetts to aid the Governor of New York in arranging a treaty with the Macquas or Mohawk Indians.

Elizur Holyoke came with his Father to the Bay about 1637. In 1640 he married John Pynchon's lovely sister Mary, described as "a very glory of womanhood." Holyoke and his brother-in-law and Deacon Chapin were appointed commissioners, after the departure of William Pynchon in 1652, to hold courts and administer justice. They had jurisdiction in all actions of small amount, and in the trial of criminal cases that reached not to life, limbs or banishment, "saving the parties the right of appeal to the Court of Assistants at Boston." In the Westfield church records Mr. Taylor refers to him as "that Godly Capt. Elizur Holyoake of Springfield."

His son John served the Westfield church as minister before Mr. Taylor arrived, and occupied various town offices in Springfield for many years.

Samuel Chapin came to Springfield about 1643. He was one of the first two deacons of the church and a man prominent and influential in town affairs for many years. As a type of Puritan manhood, revered for sterling qualities of christian character, he is represented in the impressive statue by St. Gaudens that adorns the library grounds of the city which his life and character helped to start in its illustrious career of honor and widening influence.

Among the various acts of the town meeting of December 30, 1664, are the following:

It was decided that thirteen legal voters should constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at a regularly called meeting.

Any one absenting himself should be subject to a fine of six pence. The Moderator or Selectman being absent unnecessarily should pay a fine of twelve pence apiece. Three days' notice of a meeting should be required. At the General Town Meeting in February a Moderator for the whole year should be elected, "ffor the prevention of Sundry evills that may

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befall this Township through ill disposed persons that may thrust themselves in amongst us agt the likeinge & consent of the generallity of the Inhabitants or Select Townsmen by purchasing a lott or place for habitation or otherwise.

"It is therefore Ordered & declared that no Inhabitant shall sell or in any manner pass away his house lott or any part of it or any other of his allotmts or any part thereof to any Stranger before he hath made the Select Townsmen acquaynted who his Chapman is, & they accordingly allow of his admission for an Inhabitant, under penalty of paying twenty shillings to the Town Treasury for each p'cell of land Soe sold, or of forfeiting his land Soe Sold or passed away: But if the Select Townsmen shall apprhend they have grounds to disallow the admission of the said Chapman then the Towne or Inhabitants shall have 30 dayes tyme to resolve whether They or any of them will buy the said allotmts or accommodations wch said allotmts or accommodations they may buy as indifferent partyes shall apprize them: But in case the Inhabitants shall delay to make purchase of it to the Select Townsmen, then the said Sellar shall have his liberty to take his Chapman & Such Chapman or Stranger shalbe esteemed as entertayned & allowed of by ye Towne as an Inhabitant.

"It is Ordered That if any man of this Township or any Proprietor of land in the Towne or any that shall or may dispose of land here, shall under colour of friendship or otherwise entertayne any person or persons, here to abide as Inmates or shall subdivide their house lotts or any other of their lotts to entertayne them as Tenants or otherwise for longer tyme than One Month or 30 days wthout consent or allowance of the Select men (children or servants of the family that remayne single p'sons excepted) shall forfeit for the first default to ye Towne: and also he shall forfeit 20s p month that every person or persons shall Soe continue in this Township wthout the consent of the Select Men. And if in tyme of their abode in the Town after limitation abovesaid they shall need reliefe, not being able to maynteyne themselves, then he or they that entertayned such p'sons shalbe liable to be rated by the Select Men for the reliefe & mayntenance of the said party or partyes soe entertayned as the Select Men in their discretion shall judge meete: And it is further Ordered that noe person that

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is a Stranger shall be entertayned in this Township wthout leave obtained (vizt ye Select Men) longer than One Month or 30 dayes: Soe that if he have beene in the Towne one Month No Inhabitant may entertayne him a day longer wthout leave as aforesaid on penalty of forfeiting 20s for the first default & 20s p Month for soe long as they shall entertayne such p'son or p'sons: And moreover if such person or persons shall need reliefe during their abode in the Towne then he or they that entertayned them shall be rated according to the discretion of the Select Men for the reliefe & maintenance of such person or persons:

"And Whereas it is found by exp'ience That some persons doe disorderly thrust themselves into this Towne, and agt the likening of the Select Men have here continued & abode, notwthstanding all former Ordrs made to prevent such practice, It is therefore Ordered That from henceforth that What person soever shall intrude himselfe into this Towne without the consent of the Major part of ye Select Men & shall presume here to continue & abide longer than One Month or 30 days after notice given him by any of the Select Men of their unwillingness that he should abide in the Towne: Such person or persons hee or shee that shall soe continue in the Towne, agt the consent of the Select Men or the Major part of them shall for the first offence pay 20s. And if afterward they shall still abide in the Towne wthout allowance as aforesaid they shall pay 20s p Month for every Month they shall here abide contrary to the Ordr: Which penalty shalbe due, exacted, & paid, in to ye Town Treasury: (Burt's Springfield, Vol. I, pp. 55-6.)

"It is Ordered that henceforward noe Persons who shall come from other places & here reside shalbe accounted a Settled Inhabitants to have power & liberty of voting in Towne affaires although otherwise quallifyed according to law unless such person or persons shalbe admitted into ye Towne by the Select Men & their admission entered. It is Ordered yt the Select men & Deacon or Deacons shall from tyme to tyme Seate p'sons in ye Meeting house ayther higher or lower according as in their sound discretion they shall judge most meete: And the Select Men for ye tyme beinge from yeare to yeare shall

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wthin Some short time after their election attend the said work, both to consider what persons want Seates or what alterations is requisite to be made to persons sitting there, as also to act therein accordingly & yt yeerely if need be that Soe much alteration at any one tyme may be prvented. (p. 72.)

"Whereas It is found by experience that many Speakinge together in Towne Meetings hinders the worke in hand, & is also very dishonorable to God & grievious to many persons, It is therefore Ordered that while any common bysyness is under consideration or debate every man shall apply himself to ye worke in hand: & in any Publike matter every man may give his advice one after another & shall have free liberty of Speach as he shall have leave from the Moderator: Soe speaking one at a tyme lovingly & moderately: But there is not to be more speakers than One at a tyme uppon penalty that every one yt shall Speake in tumultuous manner Shall pay 6d a peece to ye Towne Treasury: And if men gathered together in compaynes to discourse by themselves & doe not attend the severall workes in hand all such p'sons are to pay 6d a peece to ye Towne Treasury: (p. 71.)

"Whereas diverse offences arise through defective fences & different appensions concerning the sufficiency of fences betwixt Proprietors. It is therefore Ordered that all outside fences about Meddowes or Corne ffeilds shalbe substantially fenced eyther wth five rayles or posts & pales or ditch foure foote & half broad wth a hedge on it, or otherwise according to the judgemt & Satisfaction of the viewers, & that all partitional ffences betweene Lott & Lott shalbe Ordered by the Select Men in case of disagreemt between Proprietors, & in case any damage arise to others by the defect of fences, the Party whose fence is soe judged defective shall pay all damages according as they shalbe adjudged by the Select Men or any deputed by them upon complaynt of any damaged: (p. 60.)

"May the 7th 1645 It is voted and agreed upon by ye generall consent of the Plantation that if any inhabitant shall absent themselves from any towne meetinge upon any sufficient warninge given them, or shall withdraw themselves from ye meetinge before there shall be a full discharge with-

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out sufficient excuse or leave, shall be lyable to pay halfe a bushell of Indian corne for every such defect: it was voted to be a sufficient warning if publik noticement given after lecture to meet in the afternoon.

(Fine increased to a bushel Nov. 3th 1646.)
(p. 178.)

"January ye 8th 1645. It is agreed by ye Plantation with John Matthews to beat the drums for the meetinge for a yeares space, at 10 of ye clock on the lecture days and at 9 a clock on the Lords days in the forenoon only & he is to beate it fro: Mr. Moxons to R: Stebbins house & ye meetinge to begin wthin halfe an houer after, for wch his paynes he is to have 6d in wampam of every family in the towne or a peck of Indian corne if they have not wampam. (p. 183.)

ffebr. ye 7th 1669.

"Granted to Thomas Miller 3 acres of land at Askannusick by his other land there provided it prjudice not the laying of ye highway to Westfield wthin conveniency in ye judgmt of the Select Men or others appointed by them. (p. 385.)
"April 24th 1673 Rowland Thomas Rice Bedourtha & Thomas Miller beinge appynted for pambulation of the bounds between Springfield & Westfeild did wth diverse of Westfeild men perform yt work:" (p. 118.)

In response to an inquiry respecting the route probably followed by Pynchon and his company, Mr. Harry Andrew Wright of Springfield, well known antiquarian and author, has generously furnished the following monograph with permission to publish it herein:

"You asked me if Pynchon came here over the Bay Path. Let this be my answer. Henry Andrew Wright."

"The settlement of Westfield was a natural consequence of the settlement of Springfield, neither of which were religious movements as earlier migrations may have been, but were purely commercial enterprises. Even the Pilgrims were aided by the 'Merchant Adventurers,' and the founding of Plymouth would have been impossible had they not been

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financed by these commercial men who sought the beaver skins of New England, after having exterminated the beaver of Europe.

"No animal did more than the beaver to effect the colonization of America. It lured men into the most remote wilderness, and formed one of the chief staples of commerce with Europe. So universal an article of commerce did it become, that in northern Canada, beaver skin became the unit of currency.

"Its flesh, skin, and castors were valuable. The latter were formerly in high repute in medicine being used as a cure for palsy, convulsions and similar ills. Later they were used as a base in the manufacture of perfumes. The flesh was excellent. The tail was considered a delicacy and was believed to possess strong aphrodisiacal properties. Until the invention of the silk hat in 1760, the skin was used in the manufacture of beaver hats, and in 1638 Charles I, by royal proclamation, prohibited the use of any material in the manufacture of hats 'except beaver stuff and beaver wool.' This action was necessitated by the growing scarcity of beaver and the use of rabbit and muskrat skins in its place.

"The preference for beaver over other furs was not alone on account of its beauty, but for its size and durability as well. The standard of the London markets, the great fur centre of the world, called for a beaver skin 36 x 24 inches, or a total of 864 square inches. Of the furs commonly dealt in, it was exceeded in size only by the bear, with 2592 square inches, the wolf, with 1250 and the lynx, with 900, while the raccoon measured only 240 square inches, the fox 192 and the muskrat 92 inches. The standard of weights also favored the beaver as a weight of 1½ pounds to the skin, made it one of the heaviest of furs.

"Taking the otter as the standard of durability with 100 points, the beaver was given 90 points, the raccoon 75, the muskrat 33, the fox 25, and the hare only 5. And yet, today, the hare fur is clipped or dyed and sold as sable, fox, seal, ermine, chinchilla and muskrat.

"Next to the beaver, in the volume of trading, was the muskrat; the musquash (musqui, red—oaas, animal) of the Indians. Compared with most other furs of such small size,

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it was of excellent quality and durability. It was made up into an imitation of beaver, and properly treated, it was difficult to distinguish it from the genuine. As the beaver became scarce it was substituted for it in the manufacture of hats. The growing importance of muskrat skins is indicated by the London sales for thirty-eight years, from 1763 to 1800, when an average of 75,000 skins were sold yearly, while in recent years the annual output has been over 7,000,000 as compared with 100,000 beaver skins. The muskrat was of additional value in early days, as it furnished an oderiferous secretion which imparted a strong scent of musk to the cloathes in which the housewife wrapped it.

"In 1632, William Pynchon of Roxbury was granted exclusive right to trade with the Indians for beaver skin throughout the Massachusetts colony, for which he agreed to pay a flat £25 a year in lieu of the 12 pence per pound of skins previously levied on the trades, but within three years, the trade became so depleted that £5 of the annual £25 fee was remitted.

"In 1635 came the general exodus to the Connecticut valley in search of larger opportunities. The people locating in the vicinity of Hartford, traded with the Indians in the valley above, and Pynchon conceived the idea of locating a settlement near the source of supply and so cutting it off from the traders at Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield.

"After the close of the court session in August, he left for a prospecting trip along the Connecticut, taking with him his neighbor, John Cable, who was a competent carpenter and builder, as well as a seaman, and his assistant, John Woodcock. Following the line of least resistance, they came over the well known 'Connecticut Trail' which led through Woodstock and crossed the Connecticut river near Windsor. The trail from Boston to Springfield, later called the 'Bay Path,' was not known as such until 1646, although in 1642, Woodward and Saffrey passed over some such trail while surveying for the Connecticut boundary line, and in 1645, John Winthrop, Jr., came over a direct trail from Boston to Springfield.

"But Pynchon knew nothing of such a way and as he was headed for the established settlement on the Connecticut, instead of striking through an unknown wilderness he naturally followed the known road to his objective point. This trail

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was through a district thickly populated with natives and was of great economic value to him as it enabled him to 'lodge at Indian towns all the way.'

"After reaching the river he followed it up in canoes, with the assistance of local natives and on arriving at the mouth of the Agawam he arranged with the owners of the territory for land for his enterprise, returning to Boston in time for the court sessions in October.

"Cable and Woodcock remained, and in the meadows south of the Agawam river, built for the prospective town a trading house, such as the General Court required, 'whither the Indians might resort to trade to avoid their coming to several houses.' They also built a 'great shallop,' and otherwise arranged for the coming of the planters in the spring.

"This work was done at a common charge, and the house must have been a fairly elaborate affair, as the charge of £6 for its building was a large sum for those days.

"During the winter, Pynchon engaged Isaac Allerton to transport his goods by water to the Connecticut as soon as spring should open, but Allerton, while on a voyage to the French settlements at the Penobscot, ran his pinnace on a rock and beat out her keel. There she lay for ten days, but he finally obtained help from Pemaquid, and repaired the vessel sufficiently to enable him to get back to Boston on March 30. Pynchon was in despair as the season was advancing rapidly and it was found that extensive repairs were necessary before the pinnace could go to sea again.

"From his dilemma he was extricated by the arrival at Boston on April 14, of Governor Winthrop's barque, the 'Blessing of the Bay' and arrangements were made to have her take sixteen tons of goods. Freight to the river mouth was to be 35 shillings a ton, and if, on arrival there, the wind should allow, she was to go on to Wethersfield or Hartford, from which point Pynchon was to take the goods in his shallop. For this extra service an additional price was agreed upon, and it was also arranged that if the winds should not favor the passage up the river, then John Winthrop, Jr., was to provide storage room for the goods at Saybrook until such time as Pynchon could make it convenient to get them.

"The barque sailed on April 27, and Pynchon and his

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"THE BIRTH OF SPRINGFIELD."

An imaginative painting of the original settlement by J. J. Lavalley. The original is now in the private office of the Mayor of Springfield in the Administration Building. Mr. Lavalley lived for many years on the spur of Mount Tekoa, where Richard Falley had forged his famous gun barrels in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

BLOCKHOUSE AND SURROUNDING PALISADES.

These defenses almost invariably proved an adequate protection from Indian assaults.

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companions came overland, driving their horses, cattle and swine. Here Pynchon remained until June 2, when he went to Boston to arrange for a shipment of goods to the Connecticut in the 'Batcheler,' but returned in time to formally complete his negotiations with the Indians on July 15.

"In his purchase of the meadows, he allowed the Indians to retain everything of value to themselves. They reserved the privilege of planting their old corn fields, and of fishing and hunting as well as the gathering of ground nuts (apios tuberosa), walnuts, acorns and sasachiminesh (cranberries), and it was agreed that if cattle damaged their corn, it should be paid for.

"But he soon realized that he had made a bad bargain. Writing to John Winthrop, Jr., in June 2, 1636, he complained that 'the best ground at Agawam is so encumbered with Indians, that I shall lose half the benefit yearly and am compelled to plant on the opposite side to avoid trespassing.' In spite of legends that the settlement was moved across the river because the meadows were subject to overflow by the high waters each spring, this, in Pynchon's own words, is the real reason for the move.

"After the town affairs were well under way, Pynchon sent out his traders to the Indians. Joseph Parsons worked among the hunters and trappers about Nonotuck, and Thomas Cooper went to Woronoco, where the Indians not only brought him their own furs, but also those which they obtained from the Mohawks.

"It was Pynchon's practice to advance supplies to his traders, who in turn made advances to the Indians trapping in their territory. This advance, known as a 'debt,' was taken out of the fur catch brought in the following spring. In good years a nice balance was left over for the Indian, and he and his family reveled in new blankets and gewgaws and became possessed of more guns and much powder and ball. When hard years overtook the Indian hunter, he was not able to pay all of last year's debt,—was even forced to take out a new one. Oftentimes he was compelled to mortgage his land to the traders, as Amoakussen did to Thomas Cooper and as Wequagon did to Joseph Parsons. But the Indians, eternally improvident, seldom secured independence from the fur men, and never redeemed their mortgages.

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"The volume of William Pynchon's trading can only be estimated by comparison with that of his son John in late years. In 1654 Edward Johnson wrote that Springfield, 'lying upon this large navigable river was fitly seated for a beaver trade with the Indians, till the merchants increased so many, that it became of little worth, by reason of their out buying one another.' And yet, in that year 1654, in spite of competing merchants, John Pynchon shipped to England 2518 beaver skins weighing 3572 pounds. For this he paid 10 shillings a pound, or a total of nearly $9,000. The importance of this trade can be best indicated by comparison with that of the great Hudson Bay Company, which commenced trading with the Indians in the winter of 1668-1669, and yet, at their first official sale in the winter of 1671-72, only 3000 pounds of beaver skins were offered. And after 80 years of business, for the ten years ending 1749, the average annual sales from their great virgin territory was only $20,000 a year.

"If John Pynchon's trade of 1654, in spite of competition and scarcity of beaver, was nearly one half that of the 'Great Company,' a hundred years later, it may be assumed that that of William Pynchon was most lucrative and of utmost value to the infant colony, when the balance of trade with England was always against. But the business was a gamble at the best. One entire shipment of John Pynchon's was captured on the high seas by the Dutch, and Joseph Parsons finally became financially ruined through his dealings.

"In 1640, the exclusive right to the trade at Woronoco was granted to Governor Hopkins, under the assumption that it was within the jurisdiction of the Connecticut Colony, but when shown his error he amicably withdrew and it was the success of Cooper in the valley that led other Springfield settlers to that section."

As an addendum to this very valuable monograph of Mr. Wright it is interesting to note that the number of beaver skins gathered by the Hudson's Bay Co. rose in 1831 to 87,000 according to official report as recorded in Mr. Henry Poland's "Fur-bearing Animals in Nature and Commerce," quoted in "Fur Farming in Canada," J. Walter Jones, p. 202.

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CHAPTER III.

Physical Features of Westfield

The caption of this Chapter is used comprehensively to include topography, geological formation, flora and fauna. Treated exhaustively in all those departments the subject would require a chapter of inordinate length, but treated more concisely a few details relative to each of those features may supply valuable information concerning the region which is the central arena of the forthcoming history.

Located as it is in the old Bay State it may be pertinent to recall at the outset Emerson's assurance of Thoreau's belief that "the flora of Massachusetts embraced almost all the important plants of America,—most of the oaks, most of the willows, the best pines, the ash, the beech, the nuts. He returned Kane's arctic voyage to a friend of whom he had borrowed it, with the remark, that most of the phenomena noted might be observed in Concord." While, however, Westfield does not include all the physical features to be found in the whole Commonwealth, it may be claimed without presumption, nevertheless, to be more inclusive than Concord, though less famous than that sister town on the eastern border.

The old town, with a history reaching back almost to earliest colonial days, is situated nine miles due west from Springfield and about the same distance north of the Connecticut line. Its natural approach from the east passes through a break made by the Westfield River in the ridge of trap rock which runs from the Connecticut River a few miles below Northampton down through the State of Connecticut nearly to the shore of Long Island Sound, a continuation of the Mount Holyoke range. The valley in which Westfield lies is one branch of the valley of the Connecticut River which divides at that point between Mount Holyoke and Mount Nonotuck where the Connecticut breaks through the Holyoke range, both valleys extending south to the Sound running parallel to each other. At Westfield the valley having for its western boundary the lower spurs of the Berkshires is

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about seven miles wide. Thus, though lying on an extensive plain, the hills which bound it respectively on the east and the west furnish its landscape with most attractively picturesque features. Unlike Springfield with a river which runs south, Westfield's river has a generally easterly course.

For an indefinite period before the arrival of the white man the Indian found the region a source of food supply not only in the fish of the streams and the game of the forest, but also in the arable plain land where year by year after having burned the bushes and stubble he planted his seeds of grain, peas and pumpkins, and though his husbandry was rude and inefficient he succeeded in harvesting crops of considerable magnitude.

The soil consists generally of a light loam with large tracts of sand north and south of the town proper, where white and yellow pines, birches and oaks grow in profusion.

Westfield River is formed by the union of several streams which rise respectively at widely separated points in the western spurs of the Berkshires. One important branch, called from early times Little River, rises in Granville and following a northeasterly course from where it enters the valley at the western edge of Southwick, empties into Great River near the site of the old Indian Fort and the first meeting house.

The original bounds of Westfield were much larger than those which now mark it, having included all of the present town of Southwick and including the "New Addition" granted in July, 1736, extensive portions of the present bounds of Montgomery, Russell and Granville. As in many other instances the original bounds were somewhat indefinite in extent and were only gradually defined.

Obviously since the white man came into possession of the region two and a half centuries ago, great changes have been wrought upon the landscape of the valley by the removal of large portions of forest, by bringing under cultivation tracts which originally were allowed to lie fallow, left to nature undisturbed by the erection of dams in the streams creating small ponds and the erection of mills upon their banks, and in various other ways altering minor features of the surface of the region. Nevertheless, in spite of all such changes, the general features of the landscape are identical with those upon

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which the first adventurers from Springfield gazed after having followed the course of the Westfield River into this smiling valley. Plains, hills, streams and skies are virtually the same when delighting the eyes of present generations as when viewed by those sturdy pioneers. Some of the fauna which then enticed hunter and trapper are no longer found here. Salmon and shad no longer make annual visits to our streams; the superb wild turkeys no longer range through the forest; innumerable flocks of wild pigeons no longer pass like flitting clouds across the face of the sky; but deer still wander even through orchards and gardens, trout, the speckled beauties, still lure the angler to our streams, occasionally an eagle perches upon a denuded branch on a lofty crag, or soars into the eye of the sun, while many new species of the feathered tribes annually migrate hither to add ineffable charm to the summer solstice.

The author considers himself most fortunate in having secured a concise and adequate paper upon the subject of this Chapter, from his gifted friend, Charles B. Wilson, Sc.D., Ph.D., who for many years has efficiently filled the chair of Biology in the Westfield Normal School. Gratefully and complacently that paper is now presented for its intrinsic worth to all readers of this History.

"We have become thoroughly imbued with the idea of change and decay in all things animate, but we do not ordinarily think of this universal law as applying with equal force to the earth and the rocks, the mountains, the valleys, and the plains. We still speak of the 'everlasting hills,' and our attention is more frequently directed to the solidity and endurance of the rocks than to their weathering and erosion.

"But the hills are 'everlasting' only as compared with the brief span of human life, while the strongest rocks are torn in pieces by the onslaughts of the ocean and the rivers, the rain, the frost and the ice, and even by the persistent efforts of the very air we breathe.

"The beautiful landscapes by which Westfield is surrounded, the Connecticut Valley with its wondrous verdure and fertility, and even the matchless Berkshires have not always existed as they are found today. They are rather the result of numer-

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ous changes working through long ages, the history of which is written in the rocks themselves and may be deciphered by careful study. If this record be translated gradually we find that the first dry land which appeared above the original sea of waters included Westfield. All of the Mississippi valley was beneath the ocean and a broad estuary ran across New York State and the northern end of Vermont to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Westfield was close to the shore of this estuary, and the sea began at once to tear down the land. In this work it was assisted by the atmospheric waters and soon beds of gravel, sand and mud began to form upon the bottom of the ocean and also along the valleys upon the land. The original bed rocks were quickly covered by these deposits and have remained covered ever since. As time went on and the deposits accumulated, those first laid down were buried beneath subsequent ones, and these in turn beneath others, until the original layers were subjected to enormous pressure. This pressure, together with the heat developed from the interior of the earth and from the wrinkling of the earth's crust, has baked and melted and crystallized the original material. We no longer find any sand or gravel or mud, but they were first hardened into sandstone, shale and coarse limestone, and subsequently crystallized into granite, gneiss, schist, or crystalline limestone. The foundation rocks of Westfield are thus crystalline in texture, but they have been buried so deeply in their turn that the only place where they can now be found is in some of the deep wrinkles that were formed during the upheaval of the Berkshires. Here belong the granites and gneisses found in Granville, Tolland and adjacent Connecticut towns.

"By the accumulation of deposits the sea bottom was gradually raised and the valleys and lowlands filled up on the shore. And from time to time there were foldings or wrinklings of the earth's crust that uplifted mountain ranges and formed the Green Mountain plateau, a portion of which we call today the Berkshires. Between the times of folding there were long periods during which the rocks were softened and partly disintegrated by the action of the atmosphere and the rains.

"Then the land slowly settled again and the place where

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Westfield now stands disappeared beneath the waters. Beach sand and pebble beds accumulated off the shore and were consolidated into sandstones and conglomerates. Through the agency of heat and pressure these were afterward converted into granites, such as those found in Becket, and into the various schists so common everywhere.

"Here belongs the so-called *Hoosac Schist* which forms the bulk of Russell Mountain and Sodom Mountain to the west and southwest of us and runs up into Blandford. That found in Russell and Blandford and our own West Parish is called the *Savoy Schist*. Another kind is known as the Goshen Schist and is thickly studded with small garnets and staurolites. This has been much used for flag-stones, as in the old sidewalk that formerly ran around the corner from Court on to Broad Street, and at many of the crossings. Similar flag-stones still remain in some of the private walks of older residences, and they were sometimes used for steps. Another stone belonging to this period was the *Conway Schist*, which was made up of layers of different hardness and consequently on weathering assumed grotesque shapes. This is found in Montgomery near the reservoir from whence it runs up through Huntington, and also in Southampton. This is the stone that has furnished so many of the oddly shaped horse blocks about town.

"But by far the most interesting of these rocks is that known as the *Chester Hornblende*. This is dark green in color and is made up of matted crystals of hornblende, in between which are found a number of rare and beautiful minerals. To this deposit belong the emery and magnetic iron ore of the mine in Chester, and the so-called "Westfield marble" at Atwater's quarry in the western part of the town.

"The combined thickness of all these deposits aggregates many thousands of feet and indicates a very long duration for this, which may be called the constructive period of the Westfield valley.

"Toward the close of the period the land was again raised, slowly at first but finally ending in the great folding and elevation of the entire Atlantic seaboard. The large wrinkles which form the Appalachians were made at this time and they bent and twisted the rocks already laid down, and thrust

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up into them in many places masses of molten material from the interior of the earth. As a final result of the folding and twisting we find at the beginning of what is called the *Juratriss* period, or the middle age in geological history, a valley not greatly unlike the Connecticut Valley of the present day, but differing in some important particulars.

"In the first place it was filled with salt water and formed an estuary which extended from New Haven on the south to Brattleboro, Vermont, a distance of 110 miles, and from the Berkshires on the west to the Wilbraham mountains on the east, a distance of 15 or 20 miles.

"Into this large bay ran many rivers and streams bringing down from the surrounding hills sediment which was afterward spread out over the floor of the bay by the shifting currents and the waves. To the east and west close along either shore were beds of coarse sand and gravel subsequently cemented into the sandstone and conglomerate, which form today the surface rocks underlying Westfield. The *Longmeadow Sandstone* was deposited as fine sand in the deeper and quieter off-shore area of the bay, while in the central zone, where the basin was widest, and hence where there was the least disturbance in the water, layers of mud were deposited which have since hardened into the *Chicopee Shale.*

"This shallow inland sea must have abounded in fish, crustacea, clams and oysters, since their remains are found scattered everywhere through the shale. This profusion of food combined with the shallowness of the water and a luxuriant vegetation both upon the banks and along the sea bottom, made an ideal breeding ground for the immense reptiles which were characteristic of the times. These animals have caused this period in geological history to be called the age of reptiles, and their remains in the form of bones and footprints, chiefly the latter, have given the Connecticut Valley its geological prestige and made it famous throughout the world. Comparatively few of these fossils have been found within the boundaries of Westfield, but there is every reason to believe that the reptiles themselves were as abundant here as elsewhere.

"What a scene would have met the eye could we have stood upon Mt. Tekoa in that long ago and looked down the

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Westfield valley and seen the fish jumping in the water, the shoals of aquatic lizards swarming in the shallow ocean that reached the base of the mountain, and the large reptiles and Dinosaurs crawling or leaping about on the shore!

"And we might have happened to witness one of the volcanic outbursts which came at about that time. For no sooner had the debris accumulated over the bottom of this inland sea than great fissures were formed through which the melted rock rose up from below and spread out sidewise as tar oozes and spreads from a crack. As soon as this volcanic material was solidified it was covered with layers of sand and gravel, and formed extensive flats near the tide level. There were three of these great masses of molten rock poured out over the bottom of the bay, and it is their remains today which form the so-called trap rock range running from Mt. Norwotock in Amherst, through Mt. Holyoke, Mt. Tom and Provin Mountain in the eastern part of Westfield, down across the State of Connecticut nearly to New Haven. In the movements accompanying these outflows of trap rock there was a general uplift of the entire valley, and Westfield became dry land once more, this time to remain so.

"Its subsequent history is one of weathering and erosion until the period known as the glacial epoch, just before the advent of man. At this time for some reason ice and snow began to accumulate in the Canadian highlands, and after a time they pushed southward, westward, and eastward in the form of great glaciers. These glaciers eventually united into an immense ice sheet which covered the entire eastern half of Canada and reached south over New England and New York. The general direction of its flow here in the Connecticut Valley was from north to south. The first effect of its passage was the removal of all the soil and decomposed rock which had gathered during the previous periods. This soil must have been rich and of generous depth, like that found in the Mississippi valley, but every particle of it was ruthlessly removed and nothing but the bare rocks and ledges were left. This wholesale removal of the true soil explains the general lack of fertility, for the substitute that was subsequently left by the melting of the glacier was a badly mixed assortment of sand, clay, and gravel, and not real soil.

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"In places, however, our rivers have brought down some silt from the hills and produced a fairly fertile but very shallow loam.

"After removing the soil the great glacier rounded off and smoothed the rocks themselves into the rolling form of landscape so typical of New England. We do not know just how much the hills were lowered, but we do know that they were much higher than at present.

"During this erosion the rocks on either side of the trap rock outflows, being softer than the trap rock itself, were more susceptible to the action of the ice. In consequence they were eroded to a much greater depth, and left the trap rock projecting as a ridge above them, just as a knot in a floor board will often resist wear better than the softer material around it and in time will come to project as a prominence.

"Mt. Holyoke, Mt. Tom, and Provin Mountain, therefore, are mountains of erosion, and were not formed like the Berkshires by a wrinkling of the earth's crust.

"During this period of erosion and denudation our Westfield valley, which so short a time before had been the scene of luxuriant tropical vegetation and life, must have looked like the interior of Greenland, an immense wilderness of snow and ice. Vegetation had well-nigh entirely disappeared, and in place of the wealth of tropical animals we find those peculiar to the arctic regions.

"The abundant waters formed by the melting of this great ice sheet were drained off to the south and east, the Connecticut River forming the main channel. But the material deposited formed a moraine across the valley and held back the waters in a series of great lakes, which Prof. Emerson of Amherst College called the Montague, Hadley, and Springfield lakes. The rivers, streams, and brooks fed by the melting ice carried a great deal of sand and gravel out into these lakes and built up large deltas with deposits of finer sand and mud in the deeper portions of the lakes. In this mud many plants, representing a climate like that in Canada at the present time, have been found.

"The south lobe of Hadley Lake came down the Southampton-Westfield valley and filled the entire basin where Westfield now stands, and ran up the valley of the Westfield River

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at least as far as Russell. At this time the potholes were formed at Salmon Falls and just below Russell, and the gorge of Little River was carved out of the mountain side.

"This gorge is said by the geologists of the United States Geological Survey to be 'the wildest, most picturesque and most inaccessible canyon in central Massachusetts.' At the same time that the gorge was being formed the sands brought down into the lake by the Manhan River to the north uniting with those of the Westfield River built up an immense area now known as Hampden Plains to the north and Poverty Plains to the south. Through the middle of this area the Westfield River has cut its valley since the lake disappeared. The clay at the brickyard and elsewhere about the region represents the finer material deposited in deeper water, while the fine sand brought down from the Little River gorge formed the large sand pit just south of Crane's lower bridge. Portions of the old lake shore beds are still visible on Hampden Plains, to the north of the Westfield River in the Pochassic district, and between the Westfield and Little Rivers a short distance east of Russell Mountain. In cutting through these old lake deposits both the Westfield and Little Rivers swung widely to the north and south and made a broad valley, bordered on either side by terraces. The highest of these terraces represents approximately the level of the old lake bottom, and can be seen on the north side of the river at Prospect Hill and in the Pochassic district; on the south side of the river from Tekoa Terrace westward beyond the Country Club, and to the south of Little River in what is known as 'The W.'

"A second terrace shows behind the B. & A. R. R. tracks, west of the station, and for some distance on both sides of the Westfield River east of the Russell Mountain-Mount Tekoa gorge. The most of Westfield itself stands upon the lowest complete terrace, so short a distance above the present level of the river that it must be protected from inundation during freshets by means of a dike. During this long period of erosion the rivers were bringing down silt from the mountains and spreading it out over the valleys, and even now the plains along the river bottoms are covered almost every year with another layer of silt, and in this way they have become one of the few fertile spots in all New England. Such

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in brief has been the history of this little portion of the earth's surface, not so much a record of gigantic upheavals or violent cataclysms, but rather a slow and steady progress through numberless minor changes, covering long periods of time.

"During all this time Westfield has been wonderfully fortunate in its environment, except of course the periods during which it was submerged. Not for a single period alone has it been peopled with a remarkable variety of plants and animals, but such a condition has been continuous from the very first and we find that it prevails also at the present day. When our Pilgrim forefathers first stepped upon the shores of America the feature of its scenery that seemed to them the most remarkable was the almost universal forest. This has now well-nigh disappeared before the steady advance of settlement and cultivation.

"But its influence still remains in the shade trees which are so characteristic of every New England town. Originally the forest must have betrayed the geological character of the soil upon which it grew by the predominance of certain kinds of trees and the absence of others. But the shade trees which adorn our streets are selected artificially for a very different purpose and tell us nothing about the soil in which they grow. If any one tree is to be singled out for special mention it must of course be the American Elm; no other tree is so characteristic a feature of our domestic scenery. It has been planted and cherished from the first settlement of the town and has acquired a degree of sacredness possessed by no other tree. The magnificent avenues of elms on Main, Court, Broad, Franklin, and Silver streets, not to mention many others, still attest the universal admiration for this tree.

"Another very common tree is the sugar or hard maple, which lines many of our shorter streets and contributes generously to the brilliance of the autumn foliage. The oak, the horse-chestnut, the ash, the walnut and the birch are also generously sprinkled up and down the streets and upon the lawns of private residences. There are comparatively few evergreens, although these must once have been the most stately of our native trees. And there is an almost entire absence of poplars, especially the Lombardy poplar, which is so much in vogue in many parts of New England.

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"Outside the immediate limits of the town first mention should be made of the white pine. This has been characterized as the 'loftiest and most valuable of the productions of the North American forest,' and well deserves that distinction. It harmonizes well with every kind of a landscape and any sort of surroundings and always improves them. The most notable group of pines in Westfield is in the cemetery which is named for them and to which they contribute dignity and reverence.

"Most of the higher terraces are clothed with oaks of various kinds and chestnuts, whose foliage gives to the autumn landscape its rich russet hues and the dark reds and browns, and in the case of the oaks lingers upon the trees throughout the winter. Hampden and Poverty Plains are covered with clusters of the small gray birches interspersed with scrub or pitch pines, which are more scraggly and less dignified than the white pine. Along the river bottoms are a few trees worthy of special mention. The cottonwood or river poplar is characterized by the rich color of its leaf stalks and young branches and by the profusion of its long red blossom tassels in the spring. The buttonwood or plane tree, often falsely called the sycamore, is remarkable for its great height and magnitude, its huge palmate leaves, and its pecular globular fruit, from whence it derives its name.

"Among our native shrubs none is more universally admired than the mountain laurel, none equals it in artistic elegance and beauty. It grows in great abundance on the upper terraces and along the slopes of the mountains, and its evergreen leaves as well as its gorgeous blossoms are in great demand for decorations. Another shrub that is worthy of mention is the sumac, which grows in great profusion in many localities. Its long compound leaves, which turn bright crimson in the early fall, and its conical clusters of crimson fruit form pleasing color touches upon the canvas of nature.

"Among the wild flowers are many which are especially attractive, although by no means peculiar to Westfield. Of these the trailing arbutus is easily the most popular. This dainty and fragrant flower, in spite of the ruthless manner in which it is picked every spring, is still abundant upon the dry knolls in swampy places everywhere around town.

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"The rock-loving columbine is found along the slopes of the terraces and upon the mountain sides, together with the early saxifrage, the trout lily or adder's tongue, the anemone, the bloodroot and the quaint dutchman's breeches. The fringed and closed gentians abound in many localities along the mountain roads. The upper terraces and the sandy plains to the north and the south of the town are carpeted in their season with the dainty little innocents, the gorgeous sand violets, the yellow stars of the cinquefoil and the blue clusters of the lupine.

"In the woods of the same localities may be found the purple lady's slipper, the various solomon's seals, the bunchberry, partridgeberry and checkerberry, the sarsaparilla, the betony, the pipsissewa, the rattlesnake plantain, the bellwort, the fringed polygala, and the parasitic Indian pipe.

"In the swamps of the river valleys are the wakerobins or trilliums, purple and painted and white, the jack-in-the-pulpit, the foam flower, the baneberry, the yellow Clintonia, the large and small yellow lady's slippers or whip-poor-will's shoes, and in favored localities the pitcher plant, the sundew and many varieties of violets.

"And the ferns must not be overlooked, the delicate maidenhair that shyly hides in the recesses of the woods, with a few of the shield ferns and flowering ferns, the common brake, the lady ferns and the Christmas ferns that clamber over the rocky sides of the river terraces, the sturdy interrupted and cinnamon ferns that fringe the roadside, and the polypodies that carpet the fields and meadows.

"These are but a very few of the plants that may be found in and around Westfield; the plant lover who really searches need have no fear of exhausting the supply. Every spring the awakening life of the trees and flowers will have something new in store, even though long years may have been spent in the search.

"When the birds come back from the southland those of them which come from afar, the long distance migrants, follow two general routes, one along the Atlantic coast and the other up the Mississippi River.

"The coastline route leaves the ocean when it reaches Connecticut, and follows the Connecticut River into Canada.

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Westfield, being between the river and the Berkshire Hills, is thus very favorably situated with reference to these migrants. In addition it presents a happy combination of woodland and shrubbery, broad fertile meadows, steep rocky terraces and sloping mountain sides. As a result it is an admirable locality for the study of bird life. Winter residents, straggling visitors, regular migrants and local breeders are all well represented in its bird fauna. The persistent student will have no difficulty in bringing his list of observed birds up to 175 or even 200 species.

"Of these the commoner ones hardly need mention and attention is chiefly directed to those that are rarer or more conspicuous.

"The white snow bunting, the rosy pine grosbeak, the great northern shrike and the crossbill come in the stormy winter season and usually stay but a very short time. The dainty winter wren and the Hudsonian chicadee sometimes appear, the latter in company with the common chicadee. The horned lark at rare intervals gathers in flocks which frequent the open waste places, and makes its presence known by the vociferous calls. The southern mocking-bird and the brilliant cardinal grosbeak only occasionally come thus far north in their migration along the coast, although they are common at even higher latitudes in the Mississippi valley. The black-backed three-toed woodpecker and the log-cock or pileated woodpecker, the largest and finest representative of its family, may be found in the denser woods.

"The snowy owl appears as a frequent winter visitor, while the long-eared owl, the hawk owl and the great gray owl are more irregular in their occurrence. The American goshawk is seen only in the winter season, the large duck hawk or peregrine falcon nests on the crags in the immediate vicinity, the golden eagle and the bald eagle or 'bird of freedom' both breed quite regularly within the town limits.

"The great crested flycatcher appears and disappears in the woods with what has been designated as 'regular irregularity.' It is of course only a summer visitor and rather shy, keeping to the depths of the forest.

"The rose-breasted grosbeak comes to us early in the spring and impresses us with the elegance and brilliancy of both

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song and plumage. Its favorite haunts are the thick undergrowth along the river banks and upon the terraces. The scarlet tanager is the most resplendent of all our birds and is fairly abundant along the upper terraces. Its song suffers by contrast with its plumage and seems more commonplace than it really is.

"The fox sparrow plays the part of a spring and fall passenger to and from the Hudson Bay region. It is conspicuous for its size and beauty and is one of the most accomplished vocalists of its tribe. It lingers much longer than many of the other migrants and while it remains frequents the shrubbery and undergrowth, spending much time on the ground where it thrashes among the leaves much like the brown thrush or the towhee bunting. The white-throated and white-crowned sparrows are also conspicuous migrants and very attractive songsters.

"The hermit thrush and the wood thrush are notable chiefly for their attractive songs; the former is a migrant but the latter stays with us throughout the season.

"The warblers constitute the largest single family of birds and one that is difficult to master. They are all small birds of about the same size and are beautifully clothed in variegated colors, each with its own peculiar hues. Their colors, however, are far less distinctive than their habits, by means of which they may be separated into small groups whose members are fairly well contrasted.

"The first of these groups includes the fly-catching warblers, which catch their insect food after the manner of the kingbird and pewee. The redstart and the myrtle warbler are the most common of these and they present a strong color contrast. The Canadian warbler with its yellow throat and its necklace of black beads also belongs here and remains with us throughout the summer. The black-poll warbler with its black cap pulled down over its eyes is one of the latest arrivals in spring, not reaching Westfield before the last of May. It is a migrant and only tarries a few days on its journey, disappearing entirely by the first of June.

"A second group includes the creeping warblers which run up and down tree trunks like the nuthatch or the brown creeper. The black and white and the pine creeping warblers

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are the most common and they are easily distinguished by their color. Indeed the creeping habit is so pronounced in the black and white warbler that it was for a long time grouped with the creepers rather than the warblers. They are tireless insect hunters, scrambling up and down the trunks and branches of the trees, peering into the crevices of the bark, scrutinizing every leaf and exploring the very heart of the tender buds. The parula warbler, whose ashy-blue back shows a conspicuous golden-brown patch, may be placed in this group, although its habits also somewhat resemble the flycatchers.

"A third group is made up of ground warblers, the only members of the family that walk on the ground. The oven-bird reaches Westfield early in May and the woods along the upper terraces echo at once to the accelerated chant which is often accepted as the only song the bird possesses. Its real song is extremely varied and beautiful, but is probably only uttered during the pairing time. The walk of this bird is very nonchalant as though it were sauntering about for amusement, but it is always on the alert for insects. The Maryland yellow-throat is the most abundant of the ground warblers and its vivacious call may be heard from almost any shrubbery about the beginning of May.

"The water thrush is another ground warbler which frequents the wet swamps, from whence its clear and melodious song is often heard. On the ground it walks very daintily with mincing steps, frequently stopping to seesaw its tail up and down after the manner of the spotted sandpiper.

"A fourth group includes such warblers as frequent the tops of the tallest trees in the forest, and may hence be designated as tree warblers. Fortunately the under surface of the body is characteristically marked so that they may be distinguished largely by their color. Here belong the Blackburnian warbler with its intense orange or flame-colored breast bordered by black streaks and with several of the outer tail feathers white, which show conspicuously as it flies. The black-throated green warbler shows a decided preference for the white pines and are to be sought chiefly amongst those trees. The jet black throat and breast contrast strongly with the rich yellow of the forehead and sides of the head and neck. The bay-breasted warbler comes closer to the

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ground than the other two and may be recognized at once by the large chestnut patch on the top of the head and the back of the neck, and by the duller chestnut or bay color which covers the throat, the breast and the sides of the body. Contrasting strongly with these chestnut areas is the black domino mask which passes through the eyes and ends on the sides of the neck in a buffy area, almost white.

"The fifth group comprises the wood warblers, which frequent the shrubbery near the ground, hunting their prey after the manner of the vireos. The most common of these is the summer yellow-bird, which can be distinguished at once by its uniform golden yellow color. It is one of the very few warblers that consent to become friendly with man and build their nests in orchards, gardens and parks.

"The chestnut-sided warbler has a yellow crown and chestnut sides, but its most characteristic feature is the manner in which it droops its wings and elevates its tail while hunting its prey. The black-throated blue warbler wears a dark blue coat and a snowy white vest which contrast strongly with its black head and throat. It is very deliberate in its movements, treating a tree like a staircase, mounting one branch at a time and following each of the branches to its very tip.

"The black and yellow warbler leaves two impressions as it flits rapidly through the bushes, one that of heavy black breast blotches, and the other that of large white patches on the wings and tail. These added to the heavy yellow of the under parts make a combination not easily mistaken.

"Having thus passed Westfield in review we must conclude that whatever it may suffer in consequence of being robbed of its soil by the great glacier is more than repaid in the wonderful richness of its fauna and flora."

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CHAPTER IV.

Beginnings of Settlement at Woronoco

In early colonial and town records the Indian name of the region which became the town of Westfield is spelled in no less than a dozen different ways. The meaning of Woronoco, as given by R. A. Douglas-Lithgaw, M.D., in his "Dictionary of American Indian Places and Proper Names" is "The country with windings." Game having been very abundant in the neighborhood and situated so near to the foothills of the Berkshires, it was a place much used by the Indians as a market for furs. Its unusual facilities for the prosecution of trade in valuable peltry gave it prominence in the earliest records of the Connecticut River settlements. The lower Colony was eager for its possession and Massachusetts was no less so. The controversy of the two Colonies for the territory which comprised much of the original plantation of Springfield was long, tedious and, like all such disputes about property, not always kindly.

All the early historians of this region devote large time and space to an account of its tedious details and obstinate continuance. Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the patent of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke and others which covered the territory of Connecticut and a strip reaching thence to the Western Ocean. John Winthrop, the Governor's son, on his return from England in 1635, brought a commission as Governor from those patentees, and the sum of two thousand dollars to be used in the erection of a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River. A small work was constructed in which two pieces of cannon were mounted. Lyon Gardiner, an engineer brought over by Winthrop, had charge of its construction and afterward commanded it. Four years later, in 1639, George Fenwick, Esq., came from England to act as agent of the patentees of Connecticut. Hutchinson characterizes him as "a worthy, pious gentleman, and of a good family and estate." He took up his residence at the mouth of the river and called it Saybrook, from the names

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of the two noblemen who were distinguished members of the company of patentees. In the following year 1640 a very important transaction occurred, recorded in identical language by Trumbull, in his "History of Connecticut,"and by Holmes in his "Annals of America": "The people of Connecticut purchased Waranoke and soon began a plantation there. Governor Hopkins erected a trading house there and had a considerable interest in the plantation."

In May, 1643, there met at Boston Commissioners from the several Colonies, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, to arrange with others representing Massachusetts, a Federation of the Colonies for the common defense and welfare, which became known as "The United Colonies of New England." At the first meeting of their Commissioners in Boston, September 7, of that year, Connecticut was represented by George Fenwick and Edward Hopkins, both active agents in the controversy over the possession of Woronoco. Two years earlier, in 1641, the General Court of Massachusetts, considering the purchase of lands in its territory by Connecticut people who claimed it as a part of the domain of that Colony, an encroachment upon the domain of Massachusetts, wrote to the aggressors as follows: "It is grievos to us to meete with any occation that might cause difference to arise betweene yor people & us, standing in so near relation of friendship, neighborhood & Christianity, especially; therefore or study is (when any such arise) to labor the removing of them upon the first appearance. Now, so it is, that we have been certified that you have given leave to some of yors to set up a trading house at Woronock, wch is knowne to bee within or patent, lying as much or more to the north than Springfield, wch wee apphend to bee an injury to us, & do us such right in redresse hearof as you would expect fro us in a like case. Wee suppose wee shall not need to use other argumts; wee know to whom wee wright. Wee have thought meete upon these occations to intimate further unto you that wee intend (by God's grace) to know the certeinty of or limits, to the end that wee may neither intrench upon the right of any of or neighbors, nor suffer orselves & or posterity to bee deprived of what rightly belongs unto us, wch wee hope wilbe without offence to any: & upon this we may have some ground

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prceeding in or further treaty wth you about such things as may concerne the welfare of us all. These things wee leave to yor consideration & shall expect yor answer. In the meene time wee rest."

May we not readily discover in this diplomatic document the fine legal hand of William Pynchon who had not ceased to burn under a sense of injustice since his trial and condemnation by those Connecticut neighbors three years before? In the spring of 1638, while he was still one of the Commissioners having in charge the river settlements, he was summoned to appear before the Court at Hartford and make answer to four charges. He was accused to his great amazement and indignation, (1) of raising the price of corn purchased of the Indians for the settlers, that he might increase his own profit; (2) of having refused to lend a canoe to a Woronoco Indian who wanted to carry corn down the river under contract with Captain Mason; (3) of keeping the Woronoco, Nonotuck and Agawam Indians in abject fear of him, that he might have a monopoly of their trade and be considered the great English sachem of the Connecticut Valley; (4) of prevailing upon some Mohawk runners to sell him some beaver skins that had been sent by their chiefs as presents and proofs of good will to the authorities in Connecticut.

When Mr. Pynchon defended himself before the Court by explaining his method of dealing with the Indians by not advancing wampum, but holding it until they delivered their corn, Mr. Hooker, the minister, sneeringly replied that "Mr. Pynchon knew that the Indians being afrayd of him, would not bring downe any corne, but that he should have all the trade to himself, & have all the corne in his own hands, and bring all that water to his own mill, and so rack the country at his pleasure."

He was ordered to pay a fine of "40tie bushells of Indian Corne for the publique."

Feeling that his rights had been ignored, his dignity had been insulted, his christian character had been dishonored, it was but natural that he should resent the subsequent attempts of his traducers to encroach upon his domain and limit the commercial prerogative to which he was justly entitled.

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And so the struggle for Woronoco went merrily forward between the Colonies and between those who were the giants of those days.

At the second meeting of Commissioners of the United Colonies, which was held in September, 1644, "The commissioners of Massachusetts also made claim to Waranoke, as lying within the limits of their patent. Mr. Fenwick at the same time claimed it as covered by the patent of Connecticut. However, as it appeared that Mr. Fenwick had promised before this meeting, either to clear his title to Waranoke, or submit to the Governor of Massachusetts, they determined that Waranoke, with Mr. Hopkins's trading house, should be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts until it should be made evident to which colony they belonged; but that the propriety of the land should belong to the purchasers, provided it should not exceed 2000 acres." (Trumbull, Vol. I, p. 116.)

It must have been this meeting to which Hollister refers, though making the date of it 1645, when he says after speaking of Fenwick's claim, "It was finally decreed that Westfield, with all its houses and lands, should be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts &c." (History of Conn., Vol. I, p. 134.)

Dwight, in his "History of Connecticut," confirms the statement and gives the correct date of the meeting, 1644.

In that same year there arose another dispute between Springfield, backed by the Bay, and her neighbors down the river. Connecticut bargained with Fenwick for the purchase of the fort at Saybrook, agreeing to pay a small duty upon grain that should be exported, and to assess an annual tax upon hogs and cattle for his benefit. This tribute was to be paid him for ten years, at the expiration of which period the fort was to pass into full possession of the Colony. All vessels that sailed from Connecticut towns were obliged to take out clearance papers. The opportunity to squeeze their Springfield neighbors was too good to be lost, and the demand was pressed. There ensued immediately a hot tariff war which, though very serious to the contestants at that time, seems now a delicious bit of opera bouffe. The point at issue was whether Springfield should be forced to help pay for a fort, the ultimate ownership of which she should never share.

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The impost threatened ruin to Mr. Pynchon, and the Massachusetts General Court rallied to his defense by a decisive vote that "none of ours" should pay it. The Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston in special session in July, 1647. Connecticut was represented by Deputy-Governor Hopkins and Captain Mason, Pynchon's old enemy who had just been made commandant at Saybrook, though a recent fire had reduced it to a state of innocuous desuetude. The position of the Massachusetts General Court was clearly declared. It included a protest that it was very hard for the people of Massachusetts to weaken their estates by being "forced to such bondage." To that Mr. Hopkins made the naive reply that "if weakenings of estates be a sufficient plea to free men from payinge of taxes, we know not who will pay, for all such payments doe weaken men's estates," verily a point well taken.

The war having been prolonged with great acrimony on both sides for several years, in May, 1649, the Massachusetts General Court resorted to the drastic measure of imposing tariff duties, both export and import, on all goods that passed "the castle" in Boston harbor that were owned by any inhabitant of the three Colonies, Plymouth, New Haven and Connecticut. Appalled at the prospective ruin thus thrust upon them, the Connecticut authorities at once annulled their action, and the Massachusetts General Court immediately followed their example. The war was over. Mr. Pynchon's boats sailed down the river unmolested, the taxes that had been piling up against him remain still unpaid and one more ground of irritation between sister Colonies was permanently removed.

There still remained the question of the boundary line between the Colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts to be settled, which was not finally accomplished until 1713. That result is thus stated by Hutchinson: "It appeared by the report of the commissioners that one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres of land were due from Massachusetts, who accordingly made a grant thereof to Connecticut. They accepted and made sale of the same, and applied the produce to the support of Yale College and other public uses, and the controverted towns for many years after continued without molestation under the jurisdiction

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by which they were first settled." (History of Mass. Vol. II, p. 187.)

This cut off from what had been the original territory of Springfield, Suffield, Enfield and Somers. By vote of the General Court, 1647, the claim to what is now Westfield was accorded to Springfield. "It is ordered by this Court, that Woronoke upon Connecticut River within ys jurisdiction, shall be, and be reputed as a part of ye towne of Springfield, & liable to all charges there as other pts of the same towne: untill erecting some other plantation more convenient, it shall be thought fitt by ye Court to annex it to such new plantation."

What seems to be the latest action of the Commissioners of the United Colonies relative to jurisdiction over this territory is mentioned by Dwight. He says that at their meeting in 1649 they decided that Springfield belonged to Connecticut. Be that as it may, by the above action of the General Court of Massachusetts the Springfield authorities considered the matter settled and acted accordingly, as shown by the following votes:

"At a Towne Meeting Jan. 7, 1655, It was agreed & concluded yt ye land at Woronoco (being laid to this Towne by ye Court) should be disposed off: To wch end John Pynchon Mr. Holyoke Geo: Colton Benja Cooley & Tho: Cooper were appointed & desired by ye Towne to yt work to whom power was given to dispose of ye land at Woronoco to such men as they Saw fit, & what quantity they should give to any pson whomsoever they in theire best discretion saw fit; it should be esteemed as theire ppriety & ye act of ye Towne.

"June 2d (1656) Whereas Wee: John Pynchon: Elizur Holyoke: Geo. Colton: Tho Cooper, & Benja Cooly, were appointed by ye Towne to dispose of ye land at Woronoco wch ye Cort hath laid to this Township: Having made a View of ye land there we Judge it may be divided into foure & so distributed to foure severall psons: The first pt of it lyeth on this side ye river next to Springfield up by ye river side: & opposite agt it on ye further side of ye river lyeth another pt or portion: & then further up ye river lyeth the other 2 pts or portions of land together on this side ye River.

"These severall pts of land lying remote fro: our Towne,

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& there being noe appearance of any at prsent, yt will make use thereoff: we thought good to ppound it to ye Towne to allow some priviledges for incorridgement to such as would appeare to live so remote: Where uppon this 2d of June 1656, By ye Joint Consent of ye Plantation it is agreed & ordered That for Sixe yeares ensuing fro: ye date hereoff: The land at Woronoco wth such ratable estate as ye owners thereoff shall have there, Shall be rated but half so much as other land & estate in Springfield. And for ye Incoridgmt of Jonath & John Gilbert, they shall be freed fro: Paying any Rates to ye Towne for one whole yeare after ye 29th day of Septembr next."

"At a Town meeting ffebr. 15 1660. It being propounded this day as a matter of importance & very Convenent for the Towne that bounds were sett to this Plantation & confirmed by the Genll Corte. It was by vote declared to be the desire of the Inhabitants that the next Genll Cort be in humble wise petitioned to settle bounds for this Plantation: The Town desiringe that our Northerly bounds may meet wth the bounds of Northampton on the West side of ye great River & wth ye New Town on the East side of the great River according as the bounds of ye said New Town were laid out by the Committee appoynted thereunto & the Southerly bounds to extend 20 poles below the place where Mr. Pynchon had a ware house according to an Ancient Conditionall grant of ye Genll Corte: Dated * * * & Soe to run the bounds east from the Great River ffive mile: & fro: ye Said Ware house place to runn cross the great River, & to runne West as far as Woronoco is from Springfield, takeing in also the Lands at Woronoco (according the Genll Cortes conditionall grannt concerning those lands) except yt a plantation be sett up at or neere Woronoco: & then Worronoco to be dismissed fro: Springfeild: or if Worronoco be absolutely taken away from us then to request the Corte to have ffoure miles in breadth granted westward from ye great River: And in case ye Corte shall not grannt five miles Eastward from the great River for ye Townes bounds then to gett ffoure miles Eastward: Or if North bounds will not be granted as is above defined then to gett the bounds to be granted wthin two miles thereof: But the deputy is gott as much in all these respects as Corte

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may be inclined unto: And Mr. John Pynchon Ensigne Cooper Elizur Holyoke & Rowland Thomas are appointed to make a draught of ye lands to be presented to ye Corte:"

At certain points it was necessary to establish gates to admit of passage into and across the large enclosed tract. At a meeting at Worronoco alias Streamfield, February 11, 1667, it was "ordered that a convenient Gate for Carts easy and handy shutting & opening shall by the proprietors of that field be set up by the last of March next, which gate is appointed to be set over the brook from Sackets house further into the meadow about a rod and a half further than formerly, and the fence to be made firm and good at both ends up to it."

A little later it was ordered that "the gate by Sackets be well hung for the security of the field by the 25th of this inst. March and after yt time who ever shall leave open or not shut the gate shall pay 5s to the use of the proprietors."

The need of having a gate at that point, near the present Springdale mills, was due to the fact that one of the earliest highways, that running from Northampton and Hadley to Windsor, Conn., came down there from the northern plain. It had to cross the common field. Greenough says: "This road held its southerly course to the river, where there was a ford called in some of the old documents 'the neck riding.' The road then continued easterly along the south bank of the Westfield river until it approached the present site of the county bridge; then it took the present course of the road running southerly from the bridge to the hamlet now known as Little River. Somewhere across this road, perhaps where the road left the common field as it proceeded to the south, another gate was hung. This was to be closed by those passing, under the same penalty "for the security of the corn field." (Hampden County, Vol. II, p. 327.)

March 16, 1667, Major Holyoke and George Colton were appointed by the Committee to go to Worronoco to meet with landholders there "over the Rivulet by the Indian Fort" to arrange with them about home lots and highways. They with "Sergt. Stebbins the Measurer" determined to lay out home lots to George Phelps first near the Indian Fort, and Major John Holyoke 2nd & Isaac Phelps 3d 6 acres each. The lots were to "lye butting on the highway near the Little River,

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each lot to be 14½ rods broad and 80 rods long." It certainly insured a sizable dooryard, but it was before the days of the lawn mower and the boys did not need to be curtailed in their sports to keep the sward from being damaged.

Another range of house lots was laid out lying at the rear of the others and butting on a highway four rods wide "by or near the meadow." They were equal in size to the former and were assigned respectively to Samuel Marshfield, Hugh Dudley, John Ponder, Thomas Gunn, David Ashley, John Root and Thomas Root.

There was to be a highway two rods wide "all along the meadow in most convenient places, as two men of the proprietary chose by the rest of them shall lay it out."

Another assignment of home lots was made March 19, 1667: "upon the uplands without the meadow." They ran from the "country highway that leads towards Windsor, both towards Worronoco River, there being a highway of 2 rods broad from the country highway down into Worronoco River. On the south side of the way the first lot was John Ingesoll's, then followed Thomas Dewey, Moses Cook, and James Cornish, each with 5 acres. Next to him, [James Cornish] lies 12 acres set apart for the ministry if he shall like it. Next thereto was Capt. [Aaron] Cook's homelot of 6 acres."

In January, 1668, those who desired renewal of their grants in order that they might comply with the conditions of having them confirmed, were George Phelps, Isaac Phelps, Capt. Aaron Cook, Mr. Cornish, Moses Cook, Thomas Dewey, Thomas Noble, David Ashley, Mr. John Holyoke and John Osborne. Those who were "thence settled and have not forfeited their grants" were John Ponder, John Ingersoll and Hugh Dudley.

Farther action respecting fencing was soon taken but no list of the dispossessed follows. It was very desirable to secure permanent settlers and to that end it was expedient to make their enactments in these matters as elastic as possible. Affairs had progressed so far toward the fulfillment of conditions which rendered it desirable to ask for separation from Springfield and permission to organize an independent town that formal steps were taken toward that end, at a meeting at Woronoco, January 21st, 1669. It was then "voted

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that James Cornish, George Phelps, Thomas Dewey and Tho: Noble goe to Springfield the first Tuesday in February next at a towne meeting to propound to the town for the settlement of our place and affayres, in particular to determine where the lyne shall run betwixt Springfield and us and to appoynt persons to lay out the bounds granted unto us by the Honord Genll Court and to allow us to be a township of ourselves and signify the same to the honored Genll Court &c."

There seems to have been the kindliest feeling on the part of the Springfield authorities toward this little band of settlers on the Woronoco, ambitious to conduct their own affairs. It was the same hunger for independence in the souls of these pioneers which evidenced itself in their hunger for land. They wanted to own and control that which was a freeman's prerogative, so much of the soil as should provide him and his family with the necessaries of life. Springfield acted considerately.

General Town Meeting, February 2, 1668.

"The Inhabitants at Worronoco by mr James Cornish Thomas Dewey & Thomas Noble makeing severall ppositions to this Plantation at this Towne Meetinge namely, That we would determine the bounds betwixt us & them, & settle where the line shall run betwixt us, as also that wee would appoint the Committee or some other to Order their prudentill affaires or allow them to be a Township, that they might Order their owne matters, And further yt wee would deputy some Persons to lay out ye Six miles Square graunted them by the Genrll Corte & by the said Corte appoynted to be laid out by this Towne or Some p'sons deputed by us.

"This towne did take into consideration ye said prticulars, and being willing to pmote & further them being a Township, Did in ye first place vote & determine, to allow them most of the land on the other side of Paucatuck brook by Worronoco River on ye Northerly side of ye said River: And for settling that line betwixt us & them George Colton Nathaneel Ely & Rowland Thomas are chosen & appoynted & impowered to view & take notice of the lands thereabout, & to consider here about on ye Westrly side of Paucatuck brooke they

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shall conceive it is most meete the Lyne betwixt us & Them should run, that is to say from Agawam or Worronoco Rivr: & Soe Northerly or Northwestrly towards Northampton: And accordingly ye aforesaid Persons have power to determine & to fix the bounds betwixt us & them in that quarter: And at that place where the dividing line comes to ye River it is to cross the River to the South of the River, And from thence towards Windsor a direct South Lyne is to be the bounds betweene us & them except it will not take in the Ledge of Mountaynes for Worronoco, wch if it doe not, then it is hereby Ordered & grannted, that this Lyne on the South side of Agawam river shall run Soe much Eastrly from ye South as to give them the Mountaynes, & then the ledge of Mountaynes is to be the bounds betwixt us & them: And ye said psons thus chosen to run the Lyne betweene Vs & Them are to make returne of worke to this Towne yt it may be entered in ye Publike Record of ye Towne.

"In ye next place as to allowing them to be a Township & releasing them from Vs. This Towne doth determine order & appoynt, That ye Committee now in being, formerly chosen for granting lands & ordering matters at Worronoco, Soe as might best conduce to make them a Towne of themselves vizt. Capt John Pynchon Elizur Holyoke George Colton Benjamin Cooley & Nathaneel Ely shall at Some convenient tyme after this Towne Meeting repaire to Worronoco & Settle all matters touching that place referring to grants & orders made by the said Committee, wth all affaires they have taken in hand. And haveing rectifyed all things after their own best judgmt & Sett them in as good a posture as they can, Then the aforesaid Committee wth ye Inhabitants there are to make choyce of a meete number of ye fittest Persons there, for ordering their Prudentiall affaires, and to choose them a Clark or Recorder Surveyors of high wayes a Constable & other needfull officers: And the Committee haveing thus managed matters & furthered their work for a Township, the Committee are to be discharged of their trust, And ye Inhabitants there are to be left to themselves to order their owne matters, or as the Honnord Genrll Corte shall further Order: And wee hope the Corte will see cause to Order them to be a Township & that they through the favor

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of God may grow into a Comfortable Society, & be a happy Neighborhood to Vs & Our ffreinds & theirs:

"And Whereas the Honnord Genrll Corte in October last uppon a petition presented to ym from ye People dwelling at Worronoco, for inlargnt of their accomodations of land &c Did make an addition of land to them to ye Content of Six mile square & left it to this Town of Springfeild or whom we should appoynt for ye Mangmt of ye matter: This Towne doth now therefore Order & appoynt mr James Cornish John Roote Thomas Dewey & John Sackett or any three of them to lay out the aforesaid graunt of land adjoyning to what is already allowed them from this Towne, or as shalbe most to ye advantage of ye Inhabitants of Worronoco: only they are not to intrench uppon ye bounds fixt & Sett, or to be Sett as aforesaid between them & Vs.

"That this is a true copy taken out of the Town Records at Springfeild.
Feb. 16, 1669.

Attest. Elizur Holyoke, Recorder."

The General Court proved no less willing to promote the cause so dear to the hearts of the neighboring settlement as shown by the following action which constitutes the charter of the town.

"There being a motion made to this Court in ye behalfe of ye Inhabitants at Woronoake belonging to Springfield, That they may be a Township of ymselves. Springfield being willing theretoe as appeares by Coppy of an order of that Towne under ther Recorders hand heretoe annexed. Leaving Woronoak to ymselves & referring you to this Court: This Court (therefore) Doth hereby Grant them to be a Township, & allows them all Priviledges according as other Townes have in this Collony, and that ye Sd Towne be called Westfeild:

"The magists have past this their brethren the Deputys hereto consenting.
28 May, 1669.

Edward Rawson, Secty.

Consented to by the Deputys.

William Torrey Cleric."

(B. 112, P. 193)

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The matter of boundaries which hitherto, while the number of actual settlers was uncertain, and the whole vaguely limited territory was under the jurisdiction of Springfield, was not exactly determined, demanded careful determination as soon as the independent township was constituted. The several votes dealing with this subject are not always lucid and are always verbose and prolix, but they have an interest for us at this distant day because so closely related to the significant beginnings of the town and are therefore presented in full.

"Oct ye 5th 1669 This Towne at ye Genrll Town Meeting on ye 2d day of ffebr last, upon ye desire of ye Inhabitants of Westfeild propounded to this Plantation at ye said meeting vizt yt this Town would Order & settle the bounds in the land betwixt this Town & them Did appoynt a Committee viz Quartermr Colton Nathaneel Ely & Rowland Thomas for yt work as in ye Ordr of ffebr. 2d 68 more at large appeareth: And the said Committee Did on this 5th day of October 1669 repaire to ye lands about Paucatuck & haveing taken good survey of the lands thereabout, Did come to a resolution what shalbe accounted the bounds betwixt this Town of Springfeild & ye Town of Westfeild in respect of ye lands on ye North Side of Woronok River: And therefore in Order to fixing the bounds betwixt Vs & Them in that quarter the said Committee concluded & determined yt a du North lyne from a white Oak tree neere the Said River wch ye said Committee marked shall be & be accounted the bounds betweene Our Town of Springfeild & the Towne of Westfeild: The said white Oak soe markt is betweene ye two first dingles beyond ye low lands at Paucatuck & neere the furthest of ye two dingles: And because from ye said marked tree right cross the River & thence Southerly a direct South lyne will not take in ye Mountayne for ye Town of Westfeild therefore the Mountayne is to be the bounds betwixt Our Town & Westfeild according as Our Townes said act of february last doth determine: And herein the said Committee fully aggreeing have hereunto sett their hands:

"Att a Town Meeting March 23d 1669,-70 This Towne haveing formerly appoynted mr James Cornish John Roote John Sackett & Thomas Dewey or any three of them to lay out the

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quantity of Six mile square graunted to Westfeild by the Genrll Corte, and finding that ye aforementioned p'sons have hitherto soe neglected the said work that unless some speedy course be taken or others appoynted thereunto that shall more readily attend it, We shalbe altogether unable to render an account to ye next Genrll Corte Therefore considering the act of the Genrll Corte leaving ye worke to our Town & that there may be noe further needless neglect on our pat: This Town doth now order to appoynt Capt Holyoke Quartrmr Colton Rowland Thomas & Samuell Marshfeild to ye said work hereby calling in & making voyd the power we conferred upon mr Cornish & the rest above said forasmuch as they have not done their work in their yeere: And the said Capt Holyoke Quartrmr Colton Samll Marshfeild & Rowland Thomas or any three of them are hereby appoynted a Committee whom this Town doth now order & impower to lay out the content of Six Mile Square graunted to Westfeild & ordered by the Genrll Corte to be laid out by some that Springfeild should appoynt thereunto: All wch worke is to be done by the Said Capt Holyoke Quartrmr Colton Samuell Marshfeild & Rowland Thomas or any three of them are hereby appointed a Committee whom this Town doth now order & impower to lay out the content of Six Mile Square graunted to Westfeild & Ordered by the Genrll Corte to be laid out by some that Springfeild should appoynt thereunto: all wch work is to be done by the Said Capt Holyoke Quartermr Colton Samuell Marshfeild Rowland Thomas or any three of them before the 15th day of Aprill next: Wherefore they are forthwth to acquaynt the Inhabitants of Westfeild herewth & inform them of & appoynt the tyme when they shall attend ye work, that Soe Westfeild may have opportunity to depute & Send Some p'sons to goe along wth them to consider & advise about the convenient laying out of the aforesaid tract of land & to observe & take notice where their bounds shalbe laid: And all being done & effected by our now impowered Committee they are to give an account thereof to this Towne that returne thereof may be made to the Honnord Genrll Corte.

"Here followeth ye Returne of the Committee (mentioned in ye foregoing page) appoynted by this Towne to lay out the Six mile Square graunted to Westfeild for their Town-

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ship, by ye Genrll Corte Which Returne was presented to this Towne and a coppy thereof sent to the Generall Corte.

Springfeild April ye 14th 1670.

"We whose names are here subscribed being a Committee appoynted by the Town of Springfeild for ye laying out the quantity of Six mile Square granted to Westfeild by the Honnord Genrll Corte have attended the said Work: & therefore doe hereby declare how their Said quantity of land is laid out to them five Mile broad at ye Northerly end thereof, extending from a Pine tree marked at the East Mountayne to a White Oak marked at the West Mountayne & it runneth Southerly Nine Mile that is to say from the Said Pine tree, holding the course of the South South West poynt upon the Meridian compass. And at their Southerly end of their Nine Mile their limits are ffoure mile broad Westward: And the ledge of Mountaynes is to be the bounds between Springfeild & Westfeild: Within this tract of land there is contayned the quantity of about three Square Miles graunted before by Springfield to Westfeild and about the quantity of two square miles in reference to the farmes of the Worthy Major Atherton & Capt. Clapp.

Elizur Holyoke	George Colton
Samuell Marshfeild	Rowland Thomas

"At a Town Meeting Aprill ye 17th 1670. The Inhabitants of Westfeild intreating for Some accommodations of land towards Springfeild then was formerly graunted them by Springfeild that is to say Some inlargemt on this Side of the Mountayne which is on the South Side of their River: This Town doth graunt unto them All the land between ye bridge called Logg bridge & the Mountayne that is to say all ye land that lyeth between the mountayne & a direct lyne drawn from the said bridge to a white Oak marked about 30 rod from ye Northrly end of the pond that lyes by ye East Side of ye Mountayne & wch is about a mile from ye said bridge: And from the said marked tree the dividing lyne is drawn to ye Mountayne: And then they are to keep to ye Mountayne as the bounds between them & us, And from the said bridge down to Woronoke River that little brook or gutter is to be the bounds between Vs & them."

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Paucatuck brook thus often mentioned runs under the present highway to Westfield River between the two Boston and Albany R. R. underpasses.

The work of establishing, with such exactitude as was possible by their primitive methods with a measurer's chain and perhaps a square for the angles, the boundaries of the new plantation completed, it was still necessary to keep track of rude landmarks that determined the lines between town and town. The office was performed from time to time by men appointed by the related towns respectively who were called "perambulators." The following is a sample vote on the subject:

"Aprill 24th 1673 Rowland Thomas Rice Bedourtha & Thomas Miller beinge appoynted for perambulation of the bounds between Springfeild & Westfeild did wth diverse of Westfeild men perform yt worke."

There yet remained one more essential condition of legal settlement to be fulfilled according to the strict and just principles of the Puritan immigrants in New England. The point has been well urged that too much has been made of the fact that in 1683 William Penn treated the aborigines so fairly and generously in making formal purchase of their lands, as though the act were unparalleled in American history. With no disparagement to that large-hearted settler, whose treatment of the Indians has been properly made a synonym of high and broad minded nobility, it yet would be most unjust to the New England settlers to ignore the fact that the General Court of Massachusetts demanded that Indian titles should be respected and extinguished by honorable purchase before rights to the land should be considered indisputable. The celebrated picture by West is well known. It represents Penn purchasing territory and executing the treaty at Schackamaxan (now Kensington) in 1683. By Raynal and other eulogists, Penn is lauded as the only European who ever got land from the Indians by method other than chicanery or brute force. But fifty-four years before the treaty of Shackamaxan was executed, the Puritan proprietors in London in 1629 instructed their Governor Endicott as follows:

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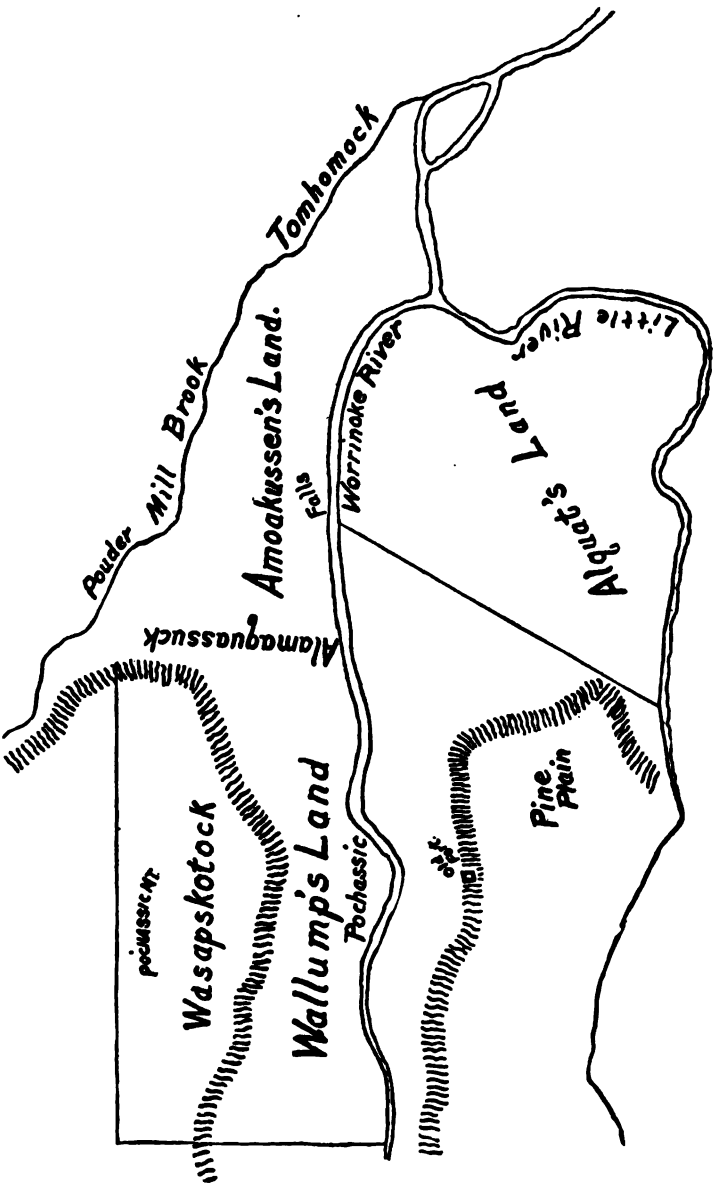

MAP OF INDIAN LANDS AT WORONOCO.

Kindly furnished by Mr. Harry Andrew Wright of Springfield, the diligent and capable antiquarian expert.

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"If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." (Hazard State Papers, I, 263.)

Bancroft says that at the period of King Philip's War, on the authority of Winslow, in "Hubbard's Indian Wars": "The inhabitants of New England had never, except in the territory of the Pequods, taken possession of a foot of land without first obtaining a title from the Indians."

All the early settlements on the Connecticut River were based on that humane policy, Hartford, Wethersfield, Haddam, Windsor, Springfield, Northampton, Hadley, Deerfield, Northfield. The records of each of these towns, many of which were subsequently divided many times, show that its land was thus secured by purchase from the Indians. Hence, it was both natural and obligatory for the people of Woronoco to complete their title by purchase of their territory from the natives of their region. The following deed was duly executed:

"These presents testify that Alquat the Indian Sachem of Woronoake and Pojasick for & in Consideration of the Sum of forty Pounds in English accot being so much Sterling to him in hand before ye Sealing & Delivery hearof wel & truly Payed by Capt Jno Pynchon of Springfeild for & in the behalf of Capt Aron Cooke Mr. James Cornish mr Joseph Whiting Geo: Phelps Tho: Noble David Ashley Jno Roote & other ye Inhabitants of Woronoake alias Westfeild, the Receite whare of the sd Alquat Doth Acknowledge by these presents & therewith to be fully satisfied & contented Hath Given granted bargained & sold & by these presents doth fully & clearly & absolutely Give grant bargain & sell unto Capt Aron Cooke mr James Cornish mr Joseph Whiting George Phelps Tho: Noble David Ashley John Roote of Westfeild alias Woronoake aforesd for themselves & the Present Inhabitants of the abovesd Place or Plantation and theire Successors & Assigns from time to time & unto their heires & Assigns for ever according as their severall Proportions or

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Divisions shal be Laid & proportioned to them. A certain Parcel or Tract of Land Medow & Woodland lying & being at Woronoake aforsd on the South side of Woronoake River the great River & on the North or Northerly side of the Little River or Forte River: Adjoining on the Southeast, East and Northeast on Land formerly purchased by Saml Marshfield of Springfield for the Inhabitants of Westfeild aforesd & on the South & South-West on the little River abovementioned comonly called the Fort River: on the North or Northerly It is bounded by the grt River called Woronoake River & so runs up Woronoake river to the ffalls neer about a mile above the present Houses to a marked Tree there and from that marked Tree it Runs off westerly or Sou. Westerly upon a straite line to the Little River or Fort River to a Stone at the Nooke or point where all the good Land ends & where going up the Hill the Pine Plaine begins the said Common or pine Plaines being the Westerly or Nor Westerly bounds of this Tract of Land The line of Division being Run by seveall Inglish going along wth the Indians from the ffalls in the grt River over to that Stone aforementioned wch is on the top of the hill by the little River where the Pine Plaine begins To have and To hold al the Parcel or Tract of Land before mentioned containing seveal hundred acres wth al the profits and appurtenances thereupon or thereunto belonging to the sd Capt Cooke James Cornish Joseph Whiting Geo: Phelps Tho: Noble David Ashley and Jno Roote for the Inhabitants of Westfeild aforsd according as Division yr of shal be made to ym & to their heires & assignes for ever onely reserving & exempting out of the present sale seven acres of medow Land for Wollump, son of sd Alquat, wch seven acres resarved and exempted lyes in a nooke by the little River & agt land now deeded & proportioned to mr Joseph Whiteing & to be at the sole dispose of the sd Alquat & Wollump: also reserving liberty for Indians to fish & take fowls: And the sd Alquat doth Covenante & promise to & with the sd Capt Cooke mr. James Cornish mr Joseph Whiteing Geo Phelps Tho: Noble David Ashley & Jno Roote that he will save them harmless fro al manner of Claim of any Person or persons Lawfully Claiming any Right Title or Interest in the premises, otherwise than ye Reserve or Exemption of the seven acres for

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Wollump. In witnesse whereof the sd Alquat hath hereunto affixed his hand & Seale this 30th Day of June 1669

Subscribed sealed & delivered in the presence of Sam. Marshfield Timothy Cooper William Brooke John Aeston the marke of Wollump ye marke of Wallawunt) Indian) Witnesses

the marke of Al quat with his seale affixt

"Alquat the Indian Sachem acknowledged this Instrumt to be his act & Deed, this present 30th June 1669, before me

John Pynchon Asist.

Jan. 8 1684: Entered this deed fro the original by me Jno Holyoke Recorder Attested by me Isaac Phelps Town Clerk.

A true cope of ye original deed"

(Hampden County Records, Vol. I-II: p. 50.)

The first deed of land at Woronoco purchased of the Indians preserved upon the County records, is the following:

"The Coppy of Ensigne Thomas Cooper of Springfield his deed of Morgage of certayne Lands at Worronoco from Amoakussen the Owner thereof. These presents testify That I Amoakussen of Worrinoke doe this present day make over unto Thomas Cooper of Springfield all that parcell of Land Lying on the Northeast Side of Worrinoke River, to witt, betwixt the brook called Tomhaumucke & the River called Worrinoke River from the mouth of said River Tomhaumucke, & soe up soe high towards Pochasuck, as untill he cometh to the hill called Wasapskotuck: All this Parcell of Land, doe I Amoakussen make over unto Thomas Cooper of Springfeild his heires or assignes, for security of such debt or debts as I ye said Amokussen doe own unto the said Thomas Cooper or shall hereafter owe unto him, and that in case I shall eyther refuse to pay him uppon demand, or yt I shall by any providence be taken away, then shall this said Land fall into ye hands & be at the full enjoymt of the said Thomas Cooper or his heires or assignes for ever & without that molestation from any: And herunto have I sett my hand this Ninteenth

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day of September, 1660: I doe acknowledge my selfe indebted unto Thomas Cooper the summe of 12 pounds, & for the present debt, & for what I shall take up of him, To Pay within this twelve month doe I make over this said Land, with all wood & trees or whatsoever else doth grow thereon, as witness my hand the day & yeere above specifyed to wit that tract of Land whereof Alamaquassuck is part.

Witness

Pelotiah Glover the marke of * Amoakussen

Timothy Cooper the mark of * Amoakussen his wife

"This deed of Sale or morgage was acknowledged by the Indian above subscribing called Amoakussen: the 9th of October 1660:

Before mee Elizur Holyoke Recorder."

(Hampshire County Records, Vol. I. p. 17.)

There is the record of a curious confirmation of the preceding document bearing a date of four years later:

"Here ffollowes a Coppy of a deed whereby Amoakussen als Nacogewallant an Indian (Sometime Owner of certayne Lands at Worronoco) doth make a further confirmation of Said Lands to Ensigne T Cooper of Springfeild & to his Assignes, the said Indian haveing formerly sold the said Land to ye said Ensigne Cooper by way of Morgage, as appeareth by a deed in page 17th also together with this deed there is annexed the Coppy of ye Said Indians acknowledgmt thereof before ye Comissionrs of Springfeild:

"These prsents testify that an Indian called Amoakussen als Nacogewallant Sometyme Owner of a parcell of Land at or neere the place called Worronoco Seaven or Eight Miles from Springfeild wch Land is bounded by the River called Worronoco River on the Southerly & Easterly part thereof & by the brooke called Tomhamock Northerly & by the great hill called Wausapokatuck Westerly haveing formerly morgaged & Sold the said parcell of Land unto Ensigne Thomas Cooper of Springfeild & unto his heires & assignes for Ever for good & valluable considerations: the said Indian called Amoakussen als Nacogewallant doth now for & in other good considerations hereby for the more full confirmation of the said Land bounded as aforesaid unto the said Ensigne Cooper & to his assignes

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for Ever, utterly disclaime all his the said Indians right or interest in ye said Land giveing it wholly absolutely & clearly over to the said Ensigne Cooper & to his assignes for Ever: which said parcell of Land bounded as aforesaid The said Ensigne Cooper Shall have hold & enjoy for himself & his assignes for Ever: In witness whereof the said Indian hath hereunto sett his hand this 20th day of Octobr 1664.

Subscribed & delivered
in ye presence of
Elizur Holyoke
Thomas Munson
John Holyoke

the mark of the Indian called
Amoakussen *
als Nacogawallant

"This Deed was acknowledged by the abovesaid Indian this 20th of October 1664:
Elizur Holyoke Commissioner. Before me: John Pynchon

"The above mentioned Ensign Cooper haveing formerly Sold the Land at Worronoco (mentioned in the deed next abve) unto his brother Henry Glover of New Haven & Some others, he the said Ens: Cooper hath made an Assignemt of ye deed above mentioned unto his brother Glover for a further confirmation of the said Land to his said Brother Henry Glover & the rest of the Proprietors of ye Said Land:

"A Coppy of wch Assignemt here ffolloweth:

"These prsents testify that I Thomas Cooper of Springfeilds doe in the behalfe of my Brother Henry Glover of New Haven & the rest of the proprietors of the Land within mentioned at Worronoco assigned & fully & clearly make over & pass away this deed or writinge on the other side of this leafe unto my said brother Henry Glover utterly disclaiming any right or interest in this deed or writing on the other side of this leafe or in the said Land: And in witness hereof I have hereunto sett my hand, this 28th day of Octobr Anno Dm. 1664

Thomas Cooper

Subscribed & Delivered in the presence of
Elizur Holyoke
Thomas Musson
John Holyoke

Recorded November 7th 1664:
By mee Elizur Holyoke
Recorder"

(Idem. p. 49.)

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Mr. Harry Andrew Wright, in "Indian Deeds of Hampden County," adds notes to his copy of the preceding documents, in which he defines the Indian place names:

"Worrinoke.—From the Algonquin root, *wanon*, 'in a circular way; in a winding way,' with the substantive, *ock*, 'place, country.' By the substitution of *r*, one of the interchangeable letters of the dialect, this becomes *waron*, and *a* is pronounced nearly like the short English *o*. This then becomes Woron-ock; 'the country with windings; the winding land'; and the character of territory would not be opposed to such an interpretation.

"Tomhaumucke.—From *aito-maham-uck*, 'land on both sides (of which) water flows down,' or 'the canoe man goes down.' The name would then mean 'the land where one goes down stream on both sides.' This brook was probably the common avenue in going from Worrinoke to Nonotuck. In *aito*, as spoken by an Indian, the first syllable is less hard than the second, and may easily have been disregarded. The modern name is Sackett's Brook.

"Pochassuck.—'Where the narrows open out.'

"Wasapskotock.—*Was* is the root for 'shining'; *apikat* in Algonquin, and *apiskan* in Montagnais is 'rock' verbified in the indicative mood. Thus we have *was-apikat-ock*, 'the shining rock land.' The modern name is Prospect Hill."

Some litigation followed this transaction as shown by the Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. "June 8, 1671. In ansr to the petition of Alquot & Wallump, sachems of Pojassacke neere Westfield, complayning that an Indian called Amoakisson sold a parcell of their land at Woronoake to Left Cooper, wch is distributed amongst severall English inhabitants of Westfeild, without giving them the true owners of ye land, any allowance, though often desired & demanded, humbly desiring this Courts favor to releive them, the Court judgeth it meete to refer it to the County Court at Hampshire to order the petitioners sattisfaction, (if they find just cause,) and to make a finall issue of the matter, & to return what they doe herein to the Generall Court." (Vol. 4, p. 687.)

It is probable that the Hampshire Court Records of two years later had reference to the above grievance.

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That Lieut. Cooper failed to carry out all the conditions of his contract with Wallump in the mortgage deed given him by the latter is evident from the following record—though there is no record of the purchase:

"Att the County Corte holden at Springffeild
Sep ye 30, 1673.

Leiut Cooper of Springfield Plant contra Wallump the Sachem of Poch**ick in an action of the case for not performing the tearmes & tenor of a deed of sale respecting some agt those lands mentioned in that said deed wch is signed by the said Wallump with all just damages.

"In this action between Leiut Cooper Plant & Wallump defdt the attachment & evidences in the case being presented & read in Corte (& wch are on file) & comitted to ye jury they brought in their verdict that they find for ye Deft costs of Corte.

Costs as pr bill allowed is ten shillings."

Record of Land Purchase from Woronoco Indians.

"Thes presentes witnesseth this 20 day of Aprill 1641 a bargaine betweene William Pynchon of Springfield on Quinetticott River on the one party and Nippumsuit of Naunetak in the name and with the consent of other Indians the owners of certaine grounde hereafter named viz. with name and behalfe of Mishqua and her sonn Saccarant and Secansk and Wenepawin all of Woronoco and Misquis the owner of Skep and other grounds adioyning and Jancompawn of Nanotak on the other party witnesseth that the said Nippumsuit with the consent and in the name of the rest for and in consideration of the sume of fifteene fathom of wampam by tale accounted and one yard and three quarters of double shagg bages one bow seaven knifes seaven payer of sessors and seaven aules with certaine fish hooks and other smale things given at their request: all thes being in hand paid to the said Nippumsuit in the name of the rest: and for and in consideration of the said goods paid before the subscribing hereof hath barganed sould given and granted and by thes presentes hath fully and cleerely barganed and absolutely granted to the said William his heires and assignes for ever all the groundes meddowes and woodlandes lieng on the East side of Quettcot

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river from the mouth of Chckoppy River up to another smale Riveret caled Wollamamsak sepe which Riveret runs into Quinnetecot River with the meddow and planting groundes called Paconemisk and all the other meddowes that are wet and hassocky lyeing betweene the said Riveretes. Also all the woodlands lieng about three or fouer miles up Chickuppy River and the meddow there caled skep alias skipnuck, or by what other name or names the said groundes be caled with all the pondes waters swampes or other profitte adioyning to all the said premises with all the Ilands in Chickuppy River and the meddow and swamps called Pissak on the south side of Chickuppy river near the mouth of the River: The said Nippumsuit with the consent of the Rest above named hath absolutely sould to the said William his heires and assignes for ever: to have and to hould the said premises with all and singular their appurtenances free from all incumbrances of other Indians: and the said William doth condition that the said Nippumsuit shall have liberty of fishing in Chickuppy at the usuall wares that now are in use: In witnesse of these presents the said Nippumsuit with the consent of the Rest hath subscribed his marke the day and yeare first above written being the twenty day of the second month 1641."

(The subscribed names and their symbols follow)

"given to Wnenpawin at the subscribing one yard and ½ for a coate of broad Bayes: and 1 pair of brieches to Misquis and 6 Knifes to them all: also I trusted Misquis for a coate which he never paid and he was trusted uppon respect of setting his hand to this writinge.

"May the 24th 1641. When Seconsk sett her hand to this writing Mr. Pynchon gave her 12 handes of wampam and a Knife.

"8t mon: 9 day 1643. When Jancompowin sett his hande in the presence of us and Coe Mr. Pynchon gave him a coate and a knife. He came not to sett his hand to this writinge till this day. Witnesses

Geo: Moxon.
Henry Smith.
John Pinchon.

"The woman called Seconsk abovesaid who was the widdow of Kenip after she had 12 handes of wampum and a Knife:

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On the reverse of this page is an exact reproduction of the Deed of Mr. Ernest Newton Bagg, quoted in the text.

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Be it knowne to all men by these presents That
Pawgosunnuck the wife of Panneasun of Woronoco
on the one party doth give grant Bargaine & sell
unto John Pynchon of Springfeild on the other party
to him his heires assignes forever & associats viz Robert
Ashly & Geo: Colton & together with their respective heires for ever
viz All ye Grounds, woods Trees Ponds waters stones
meddow & uplands Lying & being on the Northeast
side of Woronoco River, namely from ye Peice of Ground
Called Potowwak downe southward along by Woronoco
River side to a brooke called Tawtumsquassick
being about or rather above halfe way from Woro:
nock to Springfeild & from Woronoak River
Norward .3. or 4 Miles toward Quinnetticot River
the sd tract of Land called yeumsk Minhausick
Petaw Maunchaugsick Tammiskseack Pauck=
katuck & Asskanunckset & Tawtumsquassick: wth what ever other
names it is or may be called being bounded by Potowwak
on ye North & by ye brook Tawtumsquassick on the
south & by Woronoco River on ye West or Sowwest:
& Northeast by ye hills & swamps halfe way fro Woronoco
River to Quinnetticot River: The sd Pawgosunnuck wife of
Pannesun doth clearly & absolutely Grant & sell it to John
Pynchon of Springfeild aforesd & to his heires & assignes for ever
& that for & in Consideration of 150 fadam of wampam
& some Coates & other things ye Receipt whereof I doe by these
presents acknowledge & for other good Causes & Consideracion
me thereunto moving Doe grant & sell & have given granted &
sold ye aforesd tract of Land to John Pynchon of Springfeild his
heires & assignes for ever free from any Incumbrances &
molestation of any Indians & I ye sd Pawgosunnuck will secure ye sd
Pynchon warrant ye premises agt all claimes whatsoever:
In testimony whereof I doe hereunto set my hand this 4th day
of May 1663.

Witnesses hereunto are: John Holyoke, Abell Wright, the mark of Coponteck an Indian witness

the mark of Pawgosunnuck

came againe to Mr. Pynchon the 27 June 1644: desyringe a further reward in respect she said that she had not a full coate as some others had: thereuppon Mr. Pynchon gave her a childe coate of Redd Cotton which came to 8 hande of wampum and a glasse and a Knife which came to above 2 hande of wampum more: in the presence of Janandua her present husband: witnesse my hand per me William Pynchon and she was fully satisfied.

"Also Nippumsuit had another large coate for his sister that he said had right in the said land which came to 13s.

"Also the wampom within named was current money pay at 8s per fathom at the tyme it was paid, per me.

William Pynchon

"Know all men that I William Pynchon of Springfield gent doe assigne sett over give and grant all my right in the land within named which I bought of Nippumsuit and divers other Indians 1641: to my son John Pynchon of Springfield gent and to Capt. Henry Smith and to Ensigne Holioak all of Springfield to them and their heires and assignes for ever to be disposed by their discretion for Farmes belonging to Springfield at such rates as in their coustome they shall iudge to be Reasonable: witnesse my hand and seale this 17th day of April 1651.

William Pynchon (Seal)

"Sealed and delivered and possession given in presence of
Thomas Cooper
Henry Burt
Simone Barnard

Rec'ed in Courte Septr. 30 1670. attest
Sam'll Partrigg Clerk."

(Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society October, 1914, pp. 51-4.)

"Be it knowne to all men by these psents that Paupsunnuck the wife of Pauneasum of woronoco on the one party Doth give grant Bargaine & sell unto John Pynchon of Springfeild on the other pty to him his heires assignes for ever & associates viz Robert Ashly & Geo: Colton yt to ym & theire heires for ever viz All ye Grounds, woods, Trees Ponds waters stoones meddows & uplands Lying & being on the Noreast side of woronoco River, namely from ye Peice of ground called

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Potoowak downe southward alonge by woronoco River side to a brooke called Tawtumsquassick being about or rather above halfe way from woronoak to Springfeild [illegible] & from woronoak River Norward. 3. or 4 Miles toward Quinetticot River The sd tract of Land called Yeumsk Minhansock Petaw Maunchaugsick Tammiskseack Pauckkatuck Ashkanuncksit and Tawtumsquassick wth what ever other names it is or may be called being bounded by Potowwak on ye North & by ye brook Tawtunsquassick on the south & by woronoco River on ye west or souwest & Northeast by ye hills & swamps halfe way fro woronoak River to Quinetticot River: the said Paupsunnuck wife of Pannesun doth clearly & absolutely Grant & sell it to John Pynchon of Springfeild aforesd & to his heires & assignes for ever & that for & in consideration of 250 fadam of wampum & some coates & other things ye Receite wheroff I doe by these prsents acknowledge & for other good causes & consideration me thereunto moving Doe grant & sell & have given granted & sold all ye aforesd tract of Land to John Pynchon of Springfeild his heires & assignes for ever free from any Incumbrance & molestation of any Indian, & I ye said Paupsunnuck will unto ye sd Pynchon warrant ye prmises agt all claimes whatsoever: In testymony whereof I doe hereunto set my hand this 4th day of May 1663.

wittnesses hereunto are { the mark of Paupsunnuck / John Holyoke / Abell Wright / the mark of Lowontock an Indian witness"

(An unrecorded Deed, the property of Mr. Ernest Bagg of Springfield who has kindly allowed it to be copied for this History.)

"These present writings dated September the twenty ninth One Six hundred Sixty-five showeth yt wee Spanesa & Poxonock both of us joyntly & Severally have upon a valluable consideration to us Secured & by these presents do alienate & sell unto Danioll Clark & Samuell Marshall of Windsor their heires & assignes one parcell meddow land lying at Warranoco on ye south side of ye River part whereof hath been already planted wch parcell of Meddow is in quantity fforty

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acres wch parcell of meddow land, it shall be lawfull for the said Danioll & Samuell their heires & assignes to enjoy and possess & inheritt for Ever. And for the more full assurance of the said land unto ye said persons wee the Graunters doe hereby Morgage or fully engage that if wee make not the title of the land good to these two Grantees then Samuell Marshall is to have our little Daughter now about ffour yeeres old to enjoy her & dispose of her as his own estate: And wee the said Granters doe hereby promise & oblige ourselves unto the said Grauntees that when wee be minded to make sale of the other of our land at Worronoco they the said Grantees shall have the first tending to them to take or refuse uppon such terms as wee shall agree unto: Unto the due preformance hereof wee the said Spanesa & Poxonock doe hereby bynd ourSelves our heires & successors witness our hands & Seales the day and yeere above written

Signed Sealed and
delivered in ye . Spanesa * his mark
presence of Poxonock * his mark.
James Enno
his
John * Williams
mark

"This above written is a true coppy of a deed whereby Spanesa & Poxonock have sold certayne lands at Worronoco to Capt Clark & Samuell Marshall of Windsor

Recorded April ye 17th 1666
By mee Elizur Holyoke Recorder

observe that here is noe legall acknowledgmt of this Deed or Morgage"

(Hampden Court Records. Vol. I, p. 54.)

"April 25th 1670.

An Agreement with Alquat alius Keeme the Sachem of Pojassuck & Son Wollump Touching theire Seven acres of Land in ye feild at Westfeild wch they reserved out of ye Purchase or sale to ye english wch seven or eight acrs of theire land, lys by ye little River or fort River, & against Mr. Joseph Whitings land in Westfeild aforesd in ye Hooke by ye River yt lys agt Mr Whitings land:

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"It is Conditioned agreed & Consented to by ye aforesd & above mentioned Indians, Alquat & Wollump, That Mr John Pynchon & Mr Joseph Whiting shall have, Injoy & Posess theire the sd Indians seven or eight acres of land, being meddow Land for themselves and their heires & assigns forever: ye sd Whiting allowing the sd Sachems of ye Indians some broken up or Improved Land for ye same yearely: That is to say Three acres of old ground for ye Indians to Plant Corne on this yeare now coming, and after this yeare then only to allow them five acres of broken up or improved and meere Land fit for Indian Corne every yeare after this present yeare: After this yeare ye sd Indians Alquat & Wollump are to have if they ever demand it ffive acres of Land yearely, viz of Planting land or old ground to plant Indian Corne on: and in consideration hereoff the sd Indians doe Relinquish all their right & interest in their seven or eight acres of meddow Land above mentioned be it more or less and yt for ever: resigning it to Mr John Pynchon and giving him the Possession thereoff, they ye sd Indians for ye five acres of Planting Land (wch now they are to have yearely of Mr Whiting) being free of all fencings or payment of Rates to ye english as they were for their seven acres. In witness whereoff ye sd Indians have set to their hands this 25th of Aprill 1670

John Pynchon Asst. — The marke of Al*quat alius Keems

Samuell Marshfield who was Interpreter & assisted in the Bargain making." — the marke * of Wollump

(Westfield Townes Deed.)

"These presents testifie That I John Pynchon of Springfield Several yeeres since made a purchase of the Lands at Westfield of the Indians for the Inhabitants of Westfield, & particularly bought the Lands on the South Side of the River there of Paupsunnuck the wife of Panesan to whom the right of the Land on the South Side of Westfield River did belong, by the acknowledgmt & grant of al the ancient & cheife Indians To whom that is to say, to Paupsunnick I did truly pay for the same about fifty pounds wch sum of Fifty pounds I have received of the Inhabitants of Westfield, according to Each mans Proportion, on whose behalfe I acted.

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And doe hereby acknowledge the Same & to be fully contented therewith for purchase of said Lands. The Deed whereof from the Indians (whether dlrd up to Westfield Inhabitants or mislaid) not being to be found at present, I doe ingage it shal come to hand to dlr it up to the present Inhabitants of Westfield To Whom of Right the Land belongs, according as Each Mans proportion in said Land is or hath been Laid out to Him. And in the meantime I do here declare & Testify That I acted in the premises fer the Township of Westfeild, & Inhabitants or proprietors thereof in General And doe for me my heires & Assignes resigne up al my Genll Right Title & Interest in Said Lands, on the South side of the River at Westfeild, then called Woronoake, Reserveing only what particular Grant, or Right I have therein, this only excepted to me my heires & Assignes for Ever. All the rest of sd Lands there Now & Henceforth to belong & be to the several Inhabitants & Proprietors thereof, according as Each mans Proportion is at present Laid out to Him, or shal hereafter be granted & distributed to Him Them or their heires & assignes: by the Town of Westfield aforesd: And by these presents Doe for my selfe my heires executors Administrators & Assignes Relinquish al Right & Title to said Lands, except as before Excepted, Ratifying & confirming the aforementioned Lands unto the Town of Westfeild. That is to Say, to the present Inhabitants or Proprietors thereof, according to Each mans Proportion therein, either alreadie divided, or as may hereafter be further distributed to them for the use & benefite of sd Inhabitants or proprietors, themselves their Heires & Assignes for ever. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seale this 11th Day of Feb. 1684.

Signed Sealed & delided in ye presence of
Samuel Marshfield
Jonathan Burt Sen
John Holyoke

John Pynchon
with his seale affixt

"Aprl. 3. 1685. John Pynchon Esq. Owned & acknowledged this Instrument to be his act & deed this day of the date aforesd.
before me Peter Tilton Assist.

"April 22d. 1685. Entered this Deed to the Inhabitants of Westfield. by me Jno. Holyoke Recorder"

(Hampden County Records—Liber A-B p. 53)

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Thus began the organic life of Westfield, the fourth town of western Massachusetts to be organized. The older settlements were organized, Springfield in 1636, Northampton in 1654 and Hadley in 1659. In no case was there any regular, formal act of incorporation. The General Court in response to a petition of settlers declared a place to be a town, with all the powers and privileges of a town. And there is not even such recorded action of the General Court to establish either Springfield or Northampton, strange as it may seem. They simply came into being, began to exercise the functions of community life, and were recognized as established towns by the authorities at the Bay.

"March the 12th 1667

"The Inhabitants of Waranoco spetially those that live at the Cellars judging it necessary that there should be a highway across the wett meadow under the hill for their passage to the pyne playnes.

"The Committee doe determine order & appoint George Phelps & John Williams to lay out a high way where it is most convenient for the end aforesaid. And it is determined that if John Sacketts five acres over the brooke doe come wthin the common ffence that then he shall fence for it proportionally wth other men in the comon fence. And the rest of the low land over the brooke & to the top of the high hill (or where is most convenient to set the fence on the pyne playnes) is granted to the several pprietors of land in the meadow that is to say to each according to the breadth of his land in the meadow.

"It is ordered that Thomas Bancroft shall have thirty acres of land & a home lott on the ffort side.

"Att the County Corte holden at Springffeild Sept ye 30, 1673.

"Also the Committee that was appoynted at the Corte at Northampton in March last to lay out a highway from Westfield to Springfeild made a Returne of their work to this Corte. A coppy wrof here follows.

"Wee whose Names are under written Receiving an Order from the Hamsr County Corte held at Northampton ye 25th

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of March 1672/3 to lay out a highway from Springfield to Westfeild, Have accordingly mett together, & have viewed & considered & marked out a way as followes. Beginning at Woronoke River at Westfeild at the Old cartway above Capt Cookes & soe through Mr. John Pynchons land according as the foot way goes to the little bridge by the boggy meddow being two rod wide, then turning to the marked trees by the house & straight to the next small brook as trees are marked foure rod wide & soe running aslaynt to the foot of the hill by the River then along the path till it come to Paucatuck & soe on the first knoll next the Meddow to Paucatuck as the trees are marked two rod wide, then all the tongue of landin ye swamps that the way comes through being compassed by the brook, then over the brook Eastward slaynting up the great hill till it meet with the Old path on ye topp of the hill ten rod wide along the Old path as trees are marked & soe over the brook till it come to Thomas Millers land then thorow the said Millers land as it is marked between the swamp on ye Northside & ye cellar two rods wide & following the old way up the hill & soe along the lower new beaten way till it come to the old cart path at the head of Silver streame and soe to turne down to the way that is twenty rod wide wthout the genrll fence of Springfeild corne feilde wch lyes on the West side of Connecticutt River & soe along that highway by the sd fence wch is by Samuell Marshfeilds house till it come to the said great River at Springfield. Also on the South side of Woronoke river wee see it needfull to lay out a way of six rod wide from two mile along the cartway to Leiut Coopers & soe downe to the mouth of Agawam River, to be two rod wide through all proprietyes & six rod wide through Comon land.

Aaron Cooke — Joseph Whiting
John Dumbleton — Thomas Stebbin

"This returne of the Committee is approved of by this Corte & competent allowance is to be made to the Proprietors of land where such wayes pass through if required: And the Corte Ordereth that care be taken that a sufficient cart bridge be made by Springfeild over Paucatuck brooke & the way soe farr before winter & that Westfeild make the way from the sd brook to Westfeild viz: sufficient for a cartway: & that

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the Selectmen of each Towne take care to see that the wayes be made as aforesaid: And wras it is reported by many that the two mile brook below Westfeild is frequently unpassable in the Road way to Windsor specially for carts, the Corte orders that Westfeild Selectmen take care that ye passage over that brook be made feazable by makeing a bridge over the brooke or otherwise."

(Westfield Proprietor's Book.)

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CHAPTER V.

Early Settlers and Allotments of Land

A few years before the individual settlement of Westfield was formally constituted, it seemed expedient to arrange for the establishment of closer relations between the several towns than had previously existed. Each of them had advanced from the feebleness of earliest infancy to some degree of youthful vigor, each had made rude preparation for defense from possible Indian attack by organizing a military company that had appointed days each year for training; each of the three was carrying on successful farming operations, raising the common grains, oats, barley, Indian corn, wheat, peas and rye. As Holland says of them: "All these plantations were weak, and yet they were strong,—strong in the excellence of their soil, in force of will and purpose, in hardy constitutions and in faith in God."

Intercommunication was frequent but still beset with great difficulties because of the poor roads, indeed, the almost utter lack of them except rough trails and bridle paths through the forest and across the plains. To increase their strength and promote their welfare, early in 1662 the General Court included them and a vast tract of unsettled territory not accurately bounded in constituting a new county, Hampshire. At that time it embraced nearly all the western half of the State. The following is the formal act:

"Forasmuch as the inhabitants of this jurisdiction are much increased, so that now they are planted far into the country upon Connecticut River, who by reason of their remoteness cannot conveniently be annexed to any of the Counties already settled; and that public affairs may with more facility be transacted according to laws now established; It is ordered by the Court, and authority thereof, that henceforth Springfield, Northampton and Hadley shall be, and hereby are, Constituted as a County, the bounds or limits

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on the South to be full 30 miles distant from any or either of the aforesaid towns; and what towns or villages soever shall hereafter be erected within the foresaid limits to be and belong to the said County. And further, that the said County shall be called Hampshire, and shall have and enjoy the liberties of any other County; that Springfield shall be the shire town there, and the Courts to be kept one time in Springfield and another time in Northampton; the like order to be observed for their shire meetings, that is to say, one year at one town and the next year at the other town, from time to time. The Deputies have passed this, with reference to the consent of the honored Magistrates.

"16 (day) 3 (month) 1662. William Torry, Clericus.

"The Magistrates do consent hereto, and do further order that all the inhabitants of the shire shall pay their public rates to the County Treasurer in fat cattle or young cattle, such as are fit to be put off, that so, no unnecessary damage be put on the County, and in case they make payment in corn, then to be made at such prices as do commonly pass amongst themselves, any other form or annual order, referring to the price of corn, to the contrary notwithstanding. Their brethren, the Deputies, hereto consenting.

Edward Rawson, Sec'y.

Consented to by the Deputies.

William Torrey, Cleric."

As soon as actual settlement began it became necessary to distribute among the homemakers definite portions of land to which individuals should have legal right of proprietorship for their personal use and benefit. Besides these specific allotments, there were large tracts of land still held in common, wherein each settler had his share of privilege.

Of most vital importance were the home lots where the settlers were to erect their respective houses, where each family was to be sheltered, where the family altar was to be erected and the family life was to be cherished. Those first rude homes played a part of measureless significance in the early life of New England and wielded a potent influence in molding the developing life of the nation. The primitive homes of Westfield were an integral part of that far-reaching influence

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which did so much in determining the type of American civilization. The following action was taken relative to that essential matter:

"At a meeting of the proprietors of land at Woronoak on the ffort side March the 13 1669 for laying out the proportion of land on the ffort side.

"All the proprietors unanimously agree that for the most equall disbursing and dividing their generall portions of land, the land to be now laid out shall be divided into three parts, one part of it next to the ffort river shall be accounted or goe in lieu of meadow where every man shall have his share only Serg. Stebbins, Thos. Bancroft, & that which was William Brookes allotment are to have their shares viz. three acres not there but against their home lotts in the low land there which is instead thereof, this for the first part or division of land which is accounted the meadow division.

"Nextly the plowland is to lye in two divisions and every man to have his proportion of the plow land. And for the laying of mens land, that is the place where each mans portion of land shall lye, it is agreed that it be determined by casting lotts for it, every proprietor agreeing to acquiesce in that place where his lott shall fall. And for the beginning of the first division of plow land it shall be at the lowermost or southeasterly side there the first lot is to lye & from thence to goe upward or Westerly.

"The first lott came out to Thomas Gun who lyes next the river on the easterly side of all the other lotts where he hath seventeen acres length 160 rod, breadth 10 rods at the front and 24 rods at ye west and besides this there is 2 rods broad allowed more to this lott for a high way downe to the river all the length of it."

A detailed description of the lots laid out from these several divisions follows, with the names of those to whom the respective allotments were made. The whole matter can be shown more comprehensively and intelligently by a diagram than by a copy of each several description as made in the records:

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	Order of Lot	Meadow Division	Order of Lot	First plowland division beginning lowermost and going upwards	Order of Lot	Second plowland division from lower end running upwards
Thomas Gunn	1	17 acres	6	6 acres	5	9 acres
David Ashley	2	11 acres	3	4 acres	3	5 acres
John Ponders	3	11 acres	1	4 acres	12	3 acres
Sergeant Stebbins	4	13 acres			7	7 acres
Joseph Whiting	5	16 acres	5	6 acres		
William Brookes	6	10 acres			10	5 acres
Thomas Bancroft	7	11 acres			4	6 acres
Hugh Dudley	8	6 acres	2	2 acres	1	4 acres
Isaac Phelps	9	10 acres	10	3 acres	8	5 acres
George Phelps	10	26 acres	8	8 acres	6	14 acres
Thomas Root	11	8 acres	9	3 acres	2	5 acres
John Root	12	11 acres	7	4 acres	11	6 acres
Thomas Noble	13	13 acres	4	4 acres	9	6 acres

It will be observed that there was no allotment in the first division of plowland to Sergeant Stebbins, William Brookes or Thomas Bancroft. The reason for such omission is stated in the record to have been the fact that each of them received an allotment adjoining his home lot. In the second plowland division there is a blank which is thus explained: "Mr. Whiting's lot is wanting the land not holding out any more in this place and so he must have it some other where which he chooseth in Hundred Acres that parcell which remaynes above the Rootes lot."

The term "Hundred Acres" which is still used in the Town includes the large tract of meadow land lying south of Little River, between it and the hill and bounded on the east by the railroad embankment and on the west by the Southwick road. In the original distribution of it ninety-seven acres were allotted as follows:

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"An account of the land called the hundred acres.

Thomas Noble	7 acres	Isaac Phelps	6 acres
David Ashley	7 acres	Israel Dewey	6 acres
Thos. Gunn	10 acres	Thomas Stebbins	3 acres
John Ponder	7 acres	John Root	7 acres
Hugh Dudley	5 acres	Thomas Root	7 acres
George Phelps	16 acres	Mr. Joseph Whiting	16 acres"

The above lists do not include all those who were actual settlers at about the time that the town was organized. The records contain references to Mr. James Cornish, John Sacket, Capt. Cooke, Moses Cook, George Tyler, George Saxton, Walter Lee, Ambrose Fowler, John Ingersoll, Thomas Handchitt, Nathanael Weller, and the three Dewey brothers, Israel, Josiah and Jedidiah. John Osborne, John Modesley who was appointed lieutenant to the "footte" company in Westfield, and Samuel Loomis who was made Ensign in 1674.

There were two grants of land made in those early times that have special interest, though neither of the grantees ever had a residence in the western part of the Colony, both having lived at the Bay. Both are referred to in the report of the Committee, Apr. 14, 1670, appointed by the town of Springfield to lay out a tract six miles square for Westfield. Within it was included "about the quantity of two square miles in reference to the farmes of the Worthy Major Atherton & Capt. Clapp."

In 1657 the General Court made large grants of land on the eastern side of the Connecticut River near Northampton to three of the magistrates, and to another one, Gen. Humphrey Atherton, a grant of 500 acres "at Nonotuck beyond Springfield, May 26, 1658." In May of the following year, it having become known that a company of Connecticut people were to plant a settlement on the east side of the river at Norwottuck, now Hadley, the Deputies passed the following vote in which the Magistrates concurred:

"The Court having granted to Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Symonds, Maj. Gen. Denison and Maj. Atherton, each of them, a farm, which they intended to take upon Connecticut River, above Springfield; but as the taking it there will be very prejudicial

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to the new plantation now going on there, which this Court is very willing to encourage, the Deputies desire the four Magistrates to find out some other place to take their farms in, and if it shall not be equal in respect to quality, it may be made up in quantity."

In November, 1659, the Court added 200 acres to Maj. Gen. Atherton's grant and he took the whole amount of 700 acres at Waronoke. According to a deed dated October 18, 1702, Joseph Atherton of Northampton transfers to Nathanael Bancroft of Westfield, "a certain parcell of Land Lying within the bounds of Westfield In a place called Pogassuck being about the eleventh part of a farm of four hundred acres, it Being His whole share In that farm as it Lyes In common with others and yet undivided and which Land however butted or hereafter upon division may be butted and Bounded containing about thirty-eight acres be it more or less."

Nathanael Bancroft was the Grandfather of Capt. John Bancroft who, in 1755, built in Pochassic what was probably the second brick house in the present Hampden County, the old Day house in West Springfield dating from 1754. The Bancroft house was by far the more massive and pretentious of the two and is still a notable mansion. Captain John, its builder, was a prosperous farmer, owning slaves, like a few of his fellow townsmen of the time. He was very proud of his elegant mansion. A tale, which may be pure romance founded on his well known characteristics, has come down to our time, somewhat as follows: He was wont to sit within his commodious domicile and watch for passers by in order to gloat over their envious glances. One day, while thus engaged, he called out to one on the road, "Did you think that you had reached paradise?" Quickly came the stunning response, "Yes! I did think so, until I saw the devil looking out of the window." Sic transit gloria mundi!

The matter of Capt. Clapp's land in Pochassic, lying upon the South side of the River, including the present site of the Town Farm, has special interest because of its relation to the early church in Westfield. He was one of the redoubtables in that first generation of the Bay Colony.

Roger Clapp was born in Salcombe Regis, Devonshire,

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England, April 6, 1609. He came with the first great company to the Bay in the ship "Mary and John," which reached Nantasket May 30, 1630. The following month he took part in the settlement of Dorchester. On the same ship that brought him were the Rev. John Maverick, the Rev. John Wareham and a young girl, Johanna Ford, daughter of Thomas Ford of Dorchester, England. She was born June 8, 1617. Whether the young man who had just reached his majority and the girl of 13 years became specially interested in each other during the long and tedious voyage from the Old England to the New, there are no records to affirm, but three years later, November 6, 1633, Roger Clapp and Johanna Ford were married, she having been then 16 years old. She outlived her husband four years, dying in Boston June 29, 1695, aged 78 years. He made the following provision in his will, dated November 19, 1690, a few months before his death, February 2, 1691:

"I give out of my farm at Pochassuc in Westfield fifty acres unto the inhabitants of that town towards the maintenance of an able minister in that town with this proviso; That they pay or cause to be paid to my dear wife in Boston two bushels of good wheat yearly during her natural life."

Another clause of his will disposes of another parcel of the same farm:

"Preserved having had land of me already at Northampton, he shall have a fifth part of my land at Pochassuck in Westfield."

This son, Preserved Clapp, was born in Dorchester and lived there till he was about 20 years old when he removed to Northampton, where he was admitted as a freeman in 1671. His grandson Ezra, born May 20, 1716, removed to Westfield and may have worked some of the land that had belonged to Captain Roger. He was married there by Rev. John Ballantine, October 13, 1743, to Margaret Ingersoll. Roger Clapp was a man of force, character and resulting influence. When 28 years old he was chosen selectman, and served in that capacity during fourteen later years, previous to 1665. When the church was organized in Northampton,

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April 4, 1661, four of the foundation men, including the minister, Eleazur Mather, were dismissed from Dorchester, and one of the delegates of the church there, who was a member of the ordaining Council, was Deacon Clapp. Thus he was honored with office in both town and church.

Like many another leading citizen of that early period, he was a military official besides. As Captain Clapp, in 1665, he was made commandant of the Castle in Boston Harbor, and so served until 1686 when he retired to Boston where he spent the remainder of his life until his death five years later.

That fortress of so much importance to Boston, was not without interest to the dwellers in the remote Connecticut River Valley. Originally built in a very primitive way in 1634 it soon fell into decay, and in 1643 was rebuilt at a cost of £4000. In 1672, eight years after Capt. Clapp had assumed command of it, fire destroyed it, proving the perishable material of which it had been constructed. The Colony could not afford to leave that island so near Boston unfortified. Immediately the Governor, Magistrates and Deputies called for voluntary contributions to be used in rebuilding, employing stone instead of wood. They, having proven insufficient for the purpose, were supplemented by assessments levied upon the towns. The figures for a few towns nearby indicate to some extent their relative size and wealth just four years after the organization of Westfield:

	Subscription	Assessment
Northampton	41s.	£26. 9s. 2d.
Hadley	93s. 7d.	£23. 17s. 4d.
Hatfield	92s. 6d.	£11. 5s.
Westfield	43s.	£12. 3s. 3d.

In 1676 Edward Randolph sent over from England as a special envoy from the King to make careful inquiry into the condition of affairs in New England, in the course of his report, describes the new fortification: "Three miles from Boston, upon a small island there is a castle of stone, lately built and in good repair, with four bastions, and mounted with thirty-eight guns, sixteen whole culverin, commodiously seated upon a rising ground sixty paces from the water side

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under which, at high-water mark, is a stone battery of six guns."

That was the fortress, formidable for the age, which the struggling settlers of Westfield helped to build, through free-will offerings as well as taxes.

It is impossible at this distant day to know very much about the personal characteristics and histories of those pioneers who began the life of the town. They came here from various earlier settlements in the valley where they or their parents had stopped for longer or shorter periods en route from the Bay. Westfield was organized thirty-nine years, but little more than a generation, after the great immigration to the Bay began, which continued with vigor through a series of years. All the early settlers in the Connecticut River Valley came from those plantations in the immediate neighborhood of Boston.

Thomas Gunn was an old man to brave the hardships of a new settlement. His home lot was the first one west of Little River, opposite the meeting house. He came from Windsor and though nominated as one of the foundation men of the church in 1679, he was then so broken by age, as Mr. Taylor says, that he was excused from that responsibility and from giving a "relation," as the statement of personal religious experience was then called. His wife died November 26, 1678, and he followed her February 26, 1680. His son, Capt. John, was born in Windsor, July 8, 1647. He married in Westfield, January 22, 1678, Mary Williams, daughter of John and Mary Buckley Williams who also came from Windsor.

John Ponder married Temperance Buckland in Hartford, June 22, 1668. She was the daughter of Thomas Buckland who settled at Windsor in 1638. John Ponder's house was south of the foot of Broad Street near the railroad bridge locally known as the tin bridge. There are persons now living who remember seeing the old cellar hole.

John Sacket came from Cambridge to Springfield in 1653. He was born in 1632, three years after his Father Simon Sacket and his wife Isabel came from England. John removed to Northampton about 1659, and thence to Westfield in 1667. He married 1656 Abigail Hannum in Northampton November 23, 1659. He lived to the advanced age of 87 years. She

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was the daughter of William and Honora Hannum. She died October 10, 1690.

Walter Lee was among those who between 1653 and 1658 had grants of land in Northampton. In 1666 he was summoned before the County Court there for neglecting public worship and for profaning the Lord's Day by threshing corn "and for calling Isaac Sheldon a member of Old Nick and a member of Divell." Isaac Sheldon was a prominent citizen, a member of the church the year of its organization, a Selectman the year after the town was organized and later, he was subsequently a Tithing Man and overseer of the poor. His may have been that type of goodness which has a peculiarly exasperating effect upon certain impulsive natures and thus provoked that desperate crime for which Lee was arraigned. It is a relief to find that the next record relating to Walter Lee that we have concerns his work done upon the Westfield parsonage, the town having, in 1678, voted him 15 shillings on account of loss of time about Mr. Taylor's chimneys. The following year he was chosen Surveyor for the Country roads. But a most impressive evidence of his amendment from his early neglect of public worship and his sneers at the pious citizen who became one of the first Tithing men of the Colony, is found in the following vote recorded in 1689: "Walter Lee, Samuel Fowler and the Serjeant of the guard are appointed to take care of children on the Sabbath to see that they atend and keep their places both before and during the time of exercises." Thus he himself, in the course of years, was transformed from a Sabbath breaker into a Tithing Man. He died February 9, 1717, aged at least 84 years. His son John was in the "Falls Fight" 1676.

Another early settler who came from Northampton was George Fyler, the first chirurgeon in that town. He was voted an inhabitant there in 1664, with a home lot of six acres and thirty acres besides on condition of his settling there. In March of the following year the County Court approved of his practicing his profession by granting him the following license:

"George ffyler of Northampton being prsented to this corte to such work service & employment." A few years afterward he removed to Westfield and he too was summoned

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before the Court. At the March term in 1673 he was called upon to answer the charge of being hospitable to Quakers, and a further charge akin to the one urged against Walter Lee several years earlier. The record is curious and amusing, though so diffuse as those old documents, and indeed more modern legal papers, are wont to be.

"George ffiler of Westfeild being prsented by the Jury for diverse disorders & being examined firstly, for entertayning Quakers last Summer he owns he did entertayne thim being necessitated thereunto because none else would as he sayes. George ffiler sayth he shall before the World own that he is one of them whom ye world calls Quakers: Also he is prsented for absenting himselfe from God's publike worshipp on ye Sabbaths he ownes he has genrally absented himself genrally last winter: his speeches have been contemptuous of the Ministers of the Word and their work, viz. that they turne over 20 or 30 Authors in a weeke to patch up an houres discourse or two on the Sabbath. And tho he would prtend that he meant not the ministry in that town or of N. England yet by the testimoneyes it appears otherwise: He seems to be a very Seminary of corrupt heriticall opinions tending to poysoning & corrupting the minds of them with wm he hath to doe. And in Speaking of the religion of the Quakers (he speaks of it as distinct from that prfessed by our Nation in this country) he calls it Our religion, that is his Own & such as hee. The said George ffiler for his venting of his heterodoxyes & adhering to the pernicious wayes of the Quakers was prtested agt by the Corte & admonish thereof. And for his absenting himself fro God's Ordinances on the Sabbath haveing been formrly admonished thereof both by ye Worppll Major Pinchon & also by Westfeild Comissionrs was now also admonisht yr of by the Corte: And it declared to him that it was in order to further dealing with him except he reform his course therein. And for his contemptuous & scandalous speeches of the ministry of this countrey & of Christ's holy institutions as denying the Sacraments &c he is sentenced to pay a fyne to ye County of 5l or eles to be well whipt." Thomas Noble of Westfield, engaged to see the fine paid.

George Fyler must have left the neighborhood soon after-

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ward for in 1674 he was living at Shelter Island which was included within the town limits of East Hampton, Long Island.

George Phelps came to Dorchester in 1667 where he died July 9, 1687. His son Isaac, born Aug. 30, 1638, was for many years prominent in Westfield affairs, having been one of the foundation men and a deacon of the church, and served as Selectman and Town Clerk for a long period.

Aaron Cook was one of the notables among the first settlers, having been already a man of prominence and marked ability in Northampton, where he was one of the original settlers and church members. Four New England towns felt respectively in the first years of their existence the impress of his personality. He came from England in 1630 when twenty years old and took part in the settlement of Dorchester, where he received the Freeman's oath in 1635. Seven years later he threw in his lot with the infant settlement at Windsor. Trumbull says: "Here he remained twenty-three years, a leader both in civil and military affairs. For many years in succession he served as juror and became well acquainted with the methods of legal business as conducted in the courts of that day. In 1656 he was employed by the Town of Windsor to warn public meetings 'by drum or trumpet on ye top of ye meeting house' for which he was paid '20s for ye yeare.' His military service began in Windsor as a private in the train band of that Town. In 1653 he was chosen lieutenant, and captain two years later. Lieut. Cook was appointed to the command of a company of sixty minute men, in 1653, to be ready at a day's warning to operate against the Dutch. The first troop of horsemen ever raised in Connecticut was placed under command of Major John Mason, the celebrated Indian fighter, and in 1657-8 Major Cook became one of its members." (History of Northampton, Vol. I, p. 415.)

He was one of three men, one of the others having been John Strong, his brother-in-law, to whom Trumbull says that the town of Northampton was under greater obligation than to any other three men at the time of its settlement. Capt. Cook settled there in 1661. For the two following years he was Selectman, and in 1662 a commissioner for small causes, was on the first committee to seat the meeting house and

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headed the list of the first tithing men appointed in the Colony, and was on the first committee ever appointed for laying out highways in the region. His military capacity was recognized by choosing him captain of the military company in 1663 and later he was chairman of the town committee on military affairs. That he was an expert hunter is shown by the fact that in three years he was paid bounties for killing twenty-seven wolves.

The fourth venture as a pioneer was begun in 1668 when he removed to Warranoco, after his return from the meeting of the General Court as deputy from Northampton. Soon after arriving he was selected to go to the Bay to procure a minister and was "to be in the Bay the first Sabbath in October." For two years he was a Selectman, and from 1668 to 1672 he was licensed to keep an ordinary. The Rev. Edward Taylor when reaching Westfield, December 1, 1671, found a hospitable welcome at that first inn, situated as it was on the outskirts of the settlement as he entered in from Springfield. Mr. Taylor in his Diary says, "This being the 1st December we came to Westfield the place of our desire in health where we first called at Capt. Cook's who entertained us with great joy and gladness, giving us many thanks for coming and at such a season."

In 1678 Capt. Cook returned to Northampton, where his home lot was on the crest of the hill, including the present site of the Forbes Library and lived there until his death September 5, 1690. Aaron Cook married in Windsor a daughter of Thomas Ford. Their fourth child, Moses, born November 16, 1645, was in Westfield with his Father and November 25, 1669, married Elizabeth Clark of Windsor, daughter of Capt. Daniel Clark. His is the distinction of having been the only citizen of Westfield who was killed during King Philip's War, the tragic event having happened "the last snowy day of March," 1676.

James Cornish, born about 1634, was another Northampton citizen who had to be restrained and corrected by the Court in order that his ways might be mended. He came to Northampton about 1660 from Saybrook, Conn., and was its first school teacher, combining farming with the training of youth. He removed thence to Westfield selling his home lot in 1669.

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Ten years later, in September, 1679, "It was voted to give Mr. James Cornish 18£ for keeping school the half year ensuing which is to be paid in Wheat, Pork and Indian corn by equal proportion."

Though being a man of considerable standing in the community as is indicated by his bearing the honorable prefix "Mr." to his name, which in those days was not used indiscriminately, yet he indulged in language which to the strait-laced puritanism of the time seemed blasphemous, though so far from it according to our modern conception. The charge pressed against him before the Court in 1671 was for taking God's name in vain in the summer of 1670. It was at a town meeting in Westfield, where, replying to some statement of Capt. Cook, his neighbor previously in Northampton, he replied, "As God lives that which the Captain says is false." He attempted before the Court to justify the strong expression. But the Court denied his plea and fined him 10s. A farther charge of cursing was brought against him, supported by the testimony of the two sons of George Sexton. On that count he was fined 20s. the Court "highly resenting that such an aged man" [he was then under 60 years old] "and of his quality and profession, should so dishonor God and give such evil example to youth and others."

In 1675 his house was burned by the Indians.

He was appointed Clerk of the Courts under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros in 1687 and served for two years. There was such difficulty in collecting fees and expenses of travel to which he was entitled that in 1691 he petitioned the Court for remuneration but with the cold comfort that he could resort to legal remedies, "he had liberty to sue." It seems that finally he got his due, and the appeal of his needy condition was so urgent that the Court ordered that he be paid 20s. from the treasury. Whether his two sons, James and Gabriel, were unable to support him does not appear. In 1695 he was still living in Westfield, "being upwards of four score years old." Two years later, according to a record of March 17, 1697, "Jeames Cornish, ranger, of Windsor in the Colony of Conecut" files a bond for about seven pounds received by his Father from several persons in Westfield. The poor old man apparently was obliged

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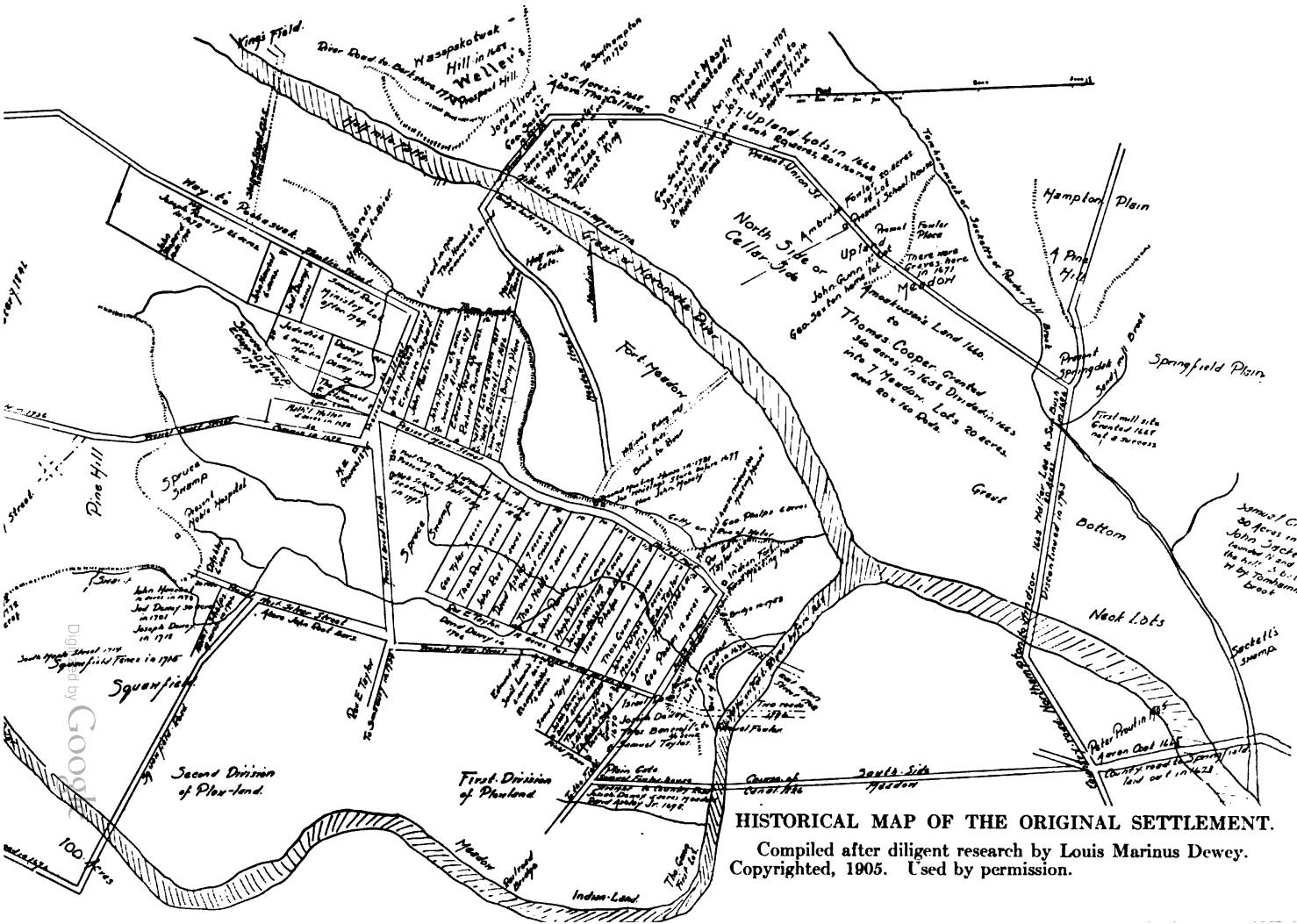

HISTORICAL MAP OF THE ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT.

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to solicit personal loans for small amounts in that final period of stress.

March 12, 1703, it was voted "to pay Benj. Smith 6/- for a room for widow Cornish for one year."

Joseph Whiting is the only one of the original settlers who was distinguished on the Westfield records by the term "Mr." with the single exception of James Cornish. He was the son of William Whiting who came to Hartford in 1636 and who was styled on the records "Gentleman." From 1641 William served as Treasurer of Connecticut until his death in 1647. His son John was Pastor of the First Church in Hartford from 1660 to 1670 and then for nineteen years Pastor of a new church just organized. His second wife, Phebe Grayson, became, three years after his death in 1689, wife of the Rev. John Russell of Hadley.

Joseph Whiting, born October 2, 1645, married Mary Pynchon, daughter of Major John Pynchon, October 5, 1669, the year that he settled in Westfield. He was the first of the long line of merchants who have offered wares for the supply of the needs, and the gratification of the tastes of the citizens. The following year he shared with Daniel Ashley a grant of land on Sacket's Creek, as the site of a mill. About 1677 he returned to Hartford and the following year was chosen to the office of Treasurer of the Colony of Connecticut, which had been held by his Father until his death in 1647. That office he retained until his death in 1717, a period of 39 years, and was succeeded therein by his son John, the youngest of his nine children, who was born December 15, 1693, and who held the office for 32 years.

John Root, one of the foundation men of the church, came with his brothers Thomas and Samuel from Farmington, Conn. Lieutenant Samuel was a deacon of the church from 1692 to his death, December 8, 1712. He left, by will dated December 5, 1712, a large tract known as "the ministry land" to his wife to enjoy during her natural life, adding the following clause "after which my will is that it shall fall unto ye ministry that shall succeed in this particular church now at this present in being in Westfield forever successively." That was his homestead lot lying on the south side of Franklin Street and through which later Washington Street was laid out.

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Among the books recorded in the inventory of his estate are the following: "A great Bible, 2 small ditto, Mourners Cordial, Souls Espousal, French Convert, Israels Safety, Self Justiciary, Blessed Remedy, Groans of the Damned, Baxters Now or Never, Young Mans Guide, Spur to Loiterers, Discourse on Witchcraft, Pilgrims Guide, Barbarian Cruelty, Heavenly Passtime, Military Discipline, Thirsty Sinner, Dying Religion, Abrahams Priviledge, Law Book." That he was equipped as a good soldier in this world is evident from the following list: "Long gun, musket, 2 carbines, backsword and belt, partisan, gun rest, 3 half pikes, 2 cartouche boxes and ammunition, 2 pouches with bullets, bag of bullets, lb. of powder and horns, bag of flints."

Josiah Dewey, one of the foundation men of the church and its first deacon, though not elected until 1692, was born in Windsor October 10, 1641, the son of Thomas and Frances Clark Dewey, who were married March 22, 1628. His Father, the founder of the Dewey family in New England, came early to Dorchester and thence to Windsor, where he died April 27, 1648. The widow afterward, November 2, 1648, married George Phelps, one of Westfield's earliest settlers. Josiah, with his three brothers, Thomas, Israel and Jedediah, moved to Westfield in 1667. They were active, energetic and useful citizens of a type greatly needed in an infant settlement. Israel remained but a few years. Josiah had an early grant of land in consideration of his expected services in building the minister's house.

Josiah Dewey and his wife, Hepzibah (Lyman), left Westfield for Lebanon, near Norwich, Conn., taking their letters in 1700.

Thomas Dewey was the messenger sent to the Bay to procure a minister, who secured Rev. Edward Taylor and made that perilous winter journey home with him in 1671.

On the tombstone of Josiah Dewey in Lebanon, Conn., is an inscription in capitals, pictured in Dewey Genealogy as follows:

"Here lies ye body of Josiah Dewey he was born in Windsor 1640 long served ye Church of Christ in Westfield an ordained Deacon removed to Lebanon in its beginning where he did much sarvis for God & man he lived a holy & a religious

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life & lived to a great age & he slept in Jesus Septemr 7 1732 in ye 92 year of his age."

The three brothers, Thomas, Josiah and Jedidiah, had a mill on Two Mile brook on the road to Windsor, used for both sawing and grinding. For a time Mr. Joseph Whiting was associated with them in the enterprise. Each of the brothers served as Selectman for several years.

John Ingersoll, a foundation man of the church, was at Hartford in 1650 and the following year married Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Lord, by whom he had three daughters. She died in Northampton whither they had removed, in 1656, aged 26. By a second wife, Abigail, daughter of Thomas Bascom, whom he married there, he had four more daughters and finally a son Thomas born in 1668, his mother dying the same year. John married for a third wife Mary Hunt, by whom he had seven more children, belief in race suicide not having become popular at that period. He removed to Westfield in 1666. His homestead was on the Little River street just south of the road to Springfield. He served as Selectman in 1676. His death occurred September 3, 1684. The immense square house, with overhanging eaves, built by his grandson Thomas, early in the eighteenth century, was one of those "forted" in the later Indian wars. It was one of the most interesting antiquities of the town until its destruction by fire somewhat more than twenty years ago.

David Ashley during a long life was a prominent and useful citizen of the town. He took such a place as his Father occupied in Springfield. Robert Ashley reached there about the time that William Pynchon began the settlement. In 1646 he was licensed to keep an ordinary, a privilege in those days confined to men of probity and judgment. In 1653-4 and 5 he was Selectman.

His son David, born June 3, 1642, the firstborn of five children, married Hannah Glover of New Haven, Conn., November 24, 1663, and four years later moved to Westfield. In 1669, with Mr. Whiting, he had a grant of land on Sacket's Creek for a mill, in 1672 he was chosen Constable and again in 1690. He was Selectman in 1676 and in seven subsequent years; in 1690, Highway Surveyor and the first Town Clerk in 1693. His active life was ended December 8, 1718. His

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son, David Ashley, Jr., born March 10, 1663, married Mary Dewey July 11, 1688, daughter of Thomas, born at Northampton January 28, 1668, died at Westfield December 13, 1757. Their son Israel, born October 14, 1710, married Margaret Moseley in 1735. He graduated at Yale College in 1731, was a Physician at Westfield and Surgeon in the army, Selectman for many years, Deacon from 1746 to 1758. He died at Stillwater, N. Y., August 2, 1758.

Captain John Ashley, son of David, was born at Westfield June 27, 1669. He superintended the settlement of the Housatonic Valley, married Sarah, daughter of Ensign Jedidiah Dewey, September 8, 1692. He died April 16, 1759, aged 89 years.

His son John, born December 2, 1709, removed to Sheffield.

Nathanael Weller was born at Windsor January 15, 1648, his brother Eleazar, November 20, 1650, children of Richard and Ann (Wilson) Weller. He was Selectman for six years between 1685 and '95. From 1692 until his death in 1711 he was a Deacon of the church.

"At the Second Sessions of the General Court held
at Boston in New England
October 2d. 1678.

"Whereas It hath pleased his most excellent Majestie ye Gracious King by his Letters April 24th 1678, to signify his Royal Pleasure that the Authority of this his Colony of Massachusetts in New England, do give forth orders that the Oath of Allegiance as it is by the Law established wthin his Kingdome of England, be administered to & taken by al his subjects wthin this Colony, who are of years to take an oath;

"In obedience hereunto, & as a demonstration of their Loyalty the members of that said general Court did readily take the oath of allegiance & by their Example & Authority did require & comand that the same oath should be given to & taken by al his Majesties wthin this Jurisdiction that are of sixteen years of age & upwards.

"And to this end the said Genl Court did order the sending of coppys of the said oath of allegiance exactly agreeing with the copy of it enclosed in his majesties, & signed by the Secretary of State, to the magestratical power of the respective Towns, & did further order that the Justices or those comis-

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sioned wth magistratical power in each Countys should order the convening of the Inhabitants of the respective Townes of the age abovesaid, & to take names & administer the oath of allegiance to the Inhabitants of the Townes hereafter expressed or enroled."

"The names of the Town of Westfeild, who have tooke the oath of allegiance to his Majesty—

Mr Edward Taylor.	John Sacket Senr.	Ambrose Fowler, Junr.
Lieut. John Maudsley.	David Ashley.	Saml Taylor.
Ensigne Samll Loomis.	Thomas Noble.	Gabriel Cornish.
Thomas Gun.	John Ponder.	John Fowler.
Thomas Dewey.	Nathanl Weller.	John Sacket, Junr.
Josiah Dewey.	Jacob Phelps.	Joseph Brown.
Jedidiah Dewey.	Tho: Hanchet Junr.	Griffith Jones.
John Root.	Edward Neal.	William Sacket.
Thomas Root.	Fearenot King.	Luke Hit.
Samuel Root.	John Hanchet.	John Adams.
Ambrose Fowler Senr.	Ebenezer Weller.	Edward Adams.
Walter Leigh.	Nathaneel Phelps.	Saml. Loomis, Junr.
	Joseph Pomrey.	Thomas Bancroft Senr.
	John Scoone.	George Saxton Senr.
		James Saxton.
		Samuel Fowler."

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CHAPTER VI.

Organization of the Church

The settlers of Westfield were alert, in the very beginnings of their civic life, to fulfill the two chief conditions of church life. They strove eagerly to secure a minister, and to build a meeting house. That they were successful in obtaining a permanent religious leader of such marked ability and fidelity so soon after the town was organized, gave them ground for deep satisfaction and gratitude. However, they had abundant cause for regret and solicitude in the fact that the troubles incident to the Indian menace and the uncertainty of the tenure of their lands and their homes, delayed the formal organization of their church until ten years after the town was organized, and nearly eight years after the beginning of Mr. Taylor's ministry. He voiced the painful trial of those years of waiting, in the pathetic preface of his account of formal organization:

"A sore temptation was thrust in upon us by the Adversary that seemed to threaten the overthrow of all proceedings unto a chh state by those on whom that interest was before most apparently devolved. But God, whose designs shall never fall to the ground, hath not only showed himself gratious in this one respect, but also in ye others & therefore after he had stilled the noise of War, hath in some measure restrained the Adversary of the Gospel & hath recollected that little strength that he hath preserved, so far as that in this spring 1679 we came to determine on entrance into a church state ye latter end of ye sixth month."

Even though the delay had been necessarily so prolonged, after they had concluded that the conditions were favorable, they showed no unseemly haste, but proceeded with care, deliberation and dignity, as became the solemn enterprise. While the undertaking was novel to the young minister and the small group of brethren, it was by no means without precedent in many towns of the steadily growing New England. More than forty years had elapsed since the mother church

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of the valley was gathered. The Colonies had passed through their first baptism of blood, from which they emerged, weakened in men and means, but chastened and strengthened in spirit. Their grip upon the great verities for which they and their fathers willingly endured privation and hardship, had tightened; their love for them had deepened. Their passion for religious and civil liberty, "a church without a bishop and a state without a king," had even gained in intensity.

Half a century earlier the church in Salem had been organized with primitive simplicity, according to the instincts and principles of Puritanism. That was the mother church of the Colony.

Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor and Mr. Higginson was chosen teacher. They were inducted to their respective offices by a simple ceremony. Mr. Higginson and several of the gravest men laid their hands on the head of Mr. Skelton and prayed, and then Mr. Skelton with the others repeated the ceremony for his colleague. A confession of faith and covenant were drawn up "according to the Scripture" copies of which were sent to thirty persons, who later associated themselves as a church, on an appointed day, the church of Plymouth having been invited as a witness. Both ministers preached and prayed and then were ordained to their respective offices by another imposition of hands by brethren appointed by the church. Morton, in his Memorial, says that Governor Bradford and some others with him coming by sea and being "hindered by cross winds that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and a blessed success unto such good beginnings."

When the church at Northampton was organized June 18, 1661, with eight charter members, six of that number, all who had minor children, brought their eighteen children who were received with the adults.

It is natural to try to picture the life and conditions of that ancient time in the Colonies. Fortunately there has been preserved a most interesting and illuminating picture of Massachusetts by an observer from oversea in 1676, midway between the arrival in Westfield of Rev. Edward Taylor and the organization of the church. It is from a report to his royal master,

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of Edward Randolph, sent as a special emissary by Charles II., to study conditions in the Colony and warn the inhabitants respecting obedience to the navigation laws.

"The number of the church members and freemen compared with the rest of the inhabitants (who are termed the dissenting party) is very inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one sixth part. * * * The inhabitants within the government, including Hampshire and Maine, are computed to be upward of 150,000 souls. There are rich men of all callings and professions and all mechanical arts and professions thrive well. The farmers are numerous and wealthy, live in good houses, are given to hospitality and make good advantage of their corn, cattle, poultry, butter and cheese. There are about thirty merchants that are esteemed worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds."

This was an observer's impression of great prosperity, but the conditions in the frontier towns were far less favorable, especially during the following year when the devastations and the expenses of Philip's War had been fully reckoned. And there must also be taken into consideration the statements urged by William Stoughton and Peter Bulkely, in the written reply to Randolph's Narrative, which they presented to the Lords of the Committees, declaring that "the rest of the inhabitants were very inconsiderable as to number compared with those that were acknowledged church members." Also they confidently believed "there would not be found above twelve or fourteen merchants that reached up to £5000 and not half of these that came up to 15,000 apiece."

Randolph continues in his Narrative: "There are men able to bear arms between thirty and forty thousand and in the town of Boston about 4000. Their trained bands are 12 troop of horse and 6000 foot; each troop consisting of 60 horses, besides officers, are all well mounted and completely armed, with back, breast, head-piece, buff coat, sword, carbine, pistols; each troop distinguished by their coats.

"The foot also are well furnished with swords, muskets and bandoliers. There are no pikemen, they being of no use in wars with the Indians. The Governor, Mr. Leverett,

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is the only old soldier in the colony: he served in the late rebellion under the usurper, Oliver Cromwell, as a captain of horse."

He then describes the Castle in the harbor of Boston, and minor fortifications about the city: "The town of Boston contains about 2000 houses, most built with timber and covered with cedar shingles, as are most houses in the country: some few are brick buildings and covered with tiles." (Palfrey's New England, Vol. III, pp. 267-9.)

It is remarkable that so great a degree of martial and industrial development could have been achieved by the colonists in forty years, even when making due allowance for errors in Randolph's estimates. It must, of course, be remembered that the soldiery which Randolph described was made up entirely of militia, a citizen soldiery with whom the use of arms was only an avocation, undertaken from sheer necessity, to preserve life and property when every man was sorely needed to toil for the essentials of physical well-being. We can but wonder that so many of the needy settlers spared so much time, and incurred so great expense, in their outfits for the public defense. We need not look farther for evidence of this widespread habit of the practice of arms than the several town records, Westfield being no exception, afford, in the large percentage of the male inhabitants of whom mention is made, who bear military titles. They were very proud and tenacious of the distinction which those titles conferred.

It is not, however, as a military power that the Colony was most distinctive. The supreme purpose of the people was to coordinate properly the civil and ecclesiastical powers in the state at large, and in each separate community. From time to time during that early period there were struggles for supremacy between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Hutchinson, after detailing at length the controversy waged in Boston, a few years before the Westfield church was organized, incident to the calling of Mr. Davenport from New Haven, adds the following explanation:

"I have been more particular in relating this transaction, because it gives us a pretty good idea of the connection between

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the civil and ecclesiastical power; the churches notwithstanding their claim to independence, being liable to control as oft as their proceedings were disapproved by the civil magistrates, and on the other hand, the magistrates, who were annually elected, being sometimes liable to be displaced by the influence of the clergy in elections, when their proceedings were supposed to bear hard upon the liberties of the churches, for the clergy still retained a great proportion of the weight they had at the beginning." (History of Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 251.)

The civil authority was freely recognized to the extent that its formal permission was a necessary condition of the organization of a church anywhere in the Colony. Though at its extreme western frontier, Westfield would not have thought of ignoring that condition. The original custom was to limit the rights of civil authority and the privilege of the ballot to church members, so that a law which forbade the formation of a church without approval of the Magistrates was believed to tend to secure accord between the sentiments of the individual church member and the fundamental principles of the Commonwealth. Hence, a stringent law was enacted March 3, 1636, forbidding companies of men joining in church fellowship "without they shall first acquaint the Magistrates and the elders of the greater part of the churches of this jurisdiction of their intention and have their approbation therein."

Before quoting in full that important authorization of the General Court for the establishment of a church in Westfield, it seems fitting to set forth accurately the statement of the minister preliminary to his account of the proceedings of the little company whom it empowered to act. This is the more needful and advisable, because the ravages of time have already damaged greatly the original church record, no copy of which has ever been published, and because this simple and quaint statement of beginnings is so well worth preserving to future generations. It is a rare distinction of the old church to have still in possession that original record made in 1679, in the handwriting of Mr. Taylor, even though it is most difficult to decipher owing to the wasting of the paper on which the records were made, and the peculiar chirography

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of the ministerial scribe. For many years the priceless volume has been stored in the vault of Woronoco Savings Bank.

The caption on the first page is in ornate characters:

"The Publick Records
of the Church at Westfield
Together
With a brief account of or proceeding
in order to our entrance into
that State

"Warronoko or Kee ye Indian name of the place being upon petition to ye General Court granted to be a Township by ye Court—was by reason of the Rivers upon which it was situated first called Streamfield: but after upon better consideration arising from ye Cardinall Point of its situation, as being almost if not wholly due West ffrom Boston ye Metropolis of ye Colony, as also it being the most westerly Plantation in all the Colony was called W E S T ffI E L D ye name being stated at first by ye Genl. Court:

"Westfield, then Warronokee, coming to be an English Plantation, had first mr John Holyoake, son to that Godly Capt. Elizur Holyoake of Springfield to dispense ye word of life amongst them Ano Dni: 1667 about a year, but in ye beginning of winter following he as finding ye ministerial work too heavie for him desisted ffrom which time till ye beginning of winter they had no minister.

"But then the town being increased sent down to the Bay to seek for one and were supplied by ye Rev. Moses Fiske son of Rev. John Fiske Pastor of the Church of Christ at Chelmsford, here in New England. But being here in their beginnings met with many temptations, so that after he had served the Lord amongst them about three years he left them.

"The town being now destitute of a minister sent down to ye Bay with an eye to ye Revd Mr. Adams Pastor of ye Church at Dedham my classmate yet designing to take ye advice of ye Revd Elders in the Bay about this and finding that Mr. Adams not as yet movable from ye Collidge, their Messenger advised to myself (ye meanest of those that labour in Christs vineyard) who being advised did adventure to go with him

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home and upon ye Lords day following preached my first sermon amongst them from Matt. 4. 17 Repent for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

"I being now brought among them did not determine any settlement, but when I had served some two years here we set Conference meeting at wch I went over all ye Heads of Divinitie unto ye means of ye application of redemption, in order to prepare them for a chh. state before we did enter, tho we began this course, yet I was not determined within myself what to do. But at length my thoughts being more settled, I determined within myself that in case things could go comfortably on, to settle with them & in order thereto changed my condition & entered into a married state, hoping that ye following summer could open a door to let us into a chh. state, but the summer coming opened a door unto yt Desolating war began by Philip Sachen of ye Pakanoket Indians by which this – – handful was sorely pressed yet sovereignly preserved."

There follows here a description of Indian depredations quoted in the Chapter dealing with Philip's War. As a result of those troubles, four of the nine church members among the inhabitants removed from town, leaving too few to justify their proceeding to organization.

Three more weary years passed until as already noted the date was definitely determined.

The record proceeds: "And now coming to fix on the day, we also determined what churches to send unto to desire their assistance & fellowship therein: & so we fixt on this conclusion, viz. to send to Norwich, to Windsor, to Springfield, to Northampton & Hadley unto whom we broke or desires in the form of this letter following—

"I then gave an account of the work of the day and inquired into the order of our motions hitherto and our liberty for the same from

{ Civil Authority
{ Church dismission of members.

As for the answer unto the first this following order which was granted the foregoing year was presented and read.

"August 9th, 1678.

" "These doe signifie that we approve ye christian people

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in ye colony of Massachusetts to enter into a church state according to ye rules of Christ and ye laws of ye country in that case provided and in particular the persons hereunder named viz. Mr. Edward Taylor minister, John Maudelsy, Samuel Loomis, Isaak Phelps, Thomas Gun, Josiah Dewey and John Root, who have made application to us, who together with such others living in that place whom God hath fitted as living stones for that spiritual building (having testimony of their professed subjection unto ye gospell of Christ) we do allow to enter church state and commend them to ye Lord's gracious blessing. Signed ye day and year above written.

JOHN LEVERETT, Govr.

SIMEON BROADSTREET
DANIEL GOODWIN SR
THOMAS DANFORTH
JOHN PYNCHON
EDWARD TING
JOSEPH DUDLY
} Assist.'

"'Honrd & Revnd Sr: together with ye Much Respected chh of Christ at Norwich in which you serve.

"'After ye manifold Temptations & experienced Difficulties of one nature & another that we ye Professed servants of Christ in this place have met withall, & been delayed thereby, with respect unto ye Interest of Christ in a Gospell instituted Order: it hath graciously pleased ye Divine Omnipresent Preserver, ye father of Spirits & ye God of all Mercy in Christ, so far to shine forth upon us, as to lead us by ye hand, so, through ye same as to bring us to a conclusion among o'selves to fix upon ye last fourth day of ye sixth month next ensuing, for ye managemnt of that solemn & holy work of entrance into a city fframe, a chh Instituted State. And thereupon in sense of our own Insuffisionsie for it, need of Advice, Directions & Assistance, as also ye Right Hand of Fellowship in, & about ye same: as also considering ye Result of civill Authority in this matter, yt it behooveth us as or Master to fulfill all Righteousness: & also the custom of the chh of Christ (wch in all commendable things is greatly to be adhered unto) harmonizing herein, we have fixt on certain churches in this business * * * also desire that you would accept of

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such a burden of Christ in ye Gospell put upon you by us in this desire, as yt you would send yr Revnd Elders & Messengers to help & incourage us in this worke yt is to be carried on by us upon ye day mentioned.

"'Thus earnestly desiring ye Everlasting ffather, ye Prince of Peace & ye Eternall Spirit of love that sitts between ye Cherubims, yt is in ye midst of ye Golden Candlesticks & yt speakes unto ye churches, to prevent all impediments, obstructions to or motion, to stir you up to all readiness of mind to accept thereof: to give his gratious presence to you, & by & with you unto us, we remaine, subscribing o'selves

"'Yr Neighbors ffriends, Companions & Brethren in ye common Interest of Christ

WESTFIELD	EDWARD TAYLOR	SER. DEWY
	JOHN MAUDESLEY	ISAAK PHELPS
July 1679	ENSIGN SAML LOOMIS	JOHN ROOT

"'These for ye Revnd. Mr. J. F. pastor of, together with ye chh of Christ at Norwich.'"

The account continues:

"These being sent our work came on apace, for temptations having attended our work one time after time before, I for my part was unhearted until now to prepare, & therefore now I had both hands full & must go down to the Bay before the time. Wherefore having often in private sought God together in order unto this matter, now upon the 20th day of August, that day se' night unto the day of or coalessence we set apart for a fast to be kept by our whole town in order to ye great work of ye day of imbodying, on which day I preached from I Kin. 8: 57. ye Lord our God be with us as he was with our Fathers."

He showed from the text that those about to erect God's ordinances "ought to pray hard to God" that He would be with them, and he adds, "as for the duty of prayer two of the brethren did help carry it on."

Among the delegates to the Council was Capt. Benjamin Newberry of Windsor, who a few years earlier had come to Westfield with a squad of Connecticut troopers to protect the settlement from Indian hostilities.

Mr. Taylor's description of the personnel and the pro-

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ceedings is full of interest as a revelation of a phase of the ecclesiastical life of the Colony in the seventeenth century. We can but be grateful to him for carrying the description to such minute details.

"The day being come, we had none from Norwich." The pastor there, the Rev. Mr. Fitch, was Mr. Taylor's father-in-law, to whose attractive daughter Mr. Taylor had addressed the Model Love Letter elsewhere quoted.

"Capt. Daniel Clark & Benjamin Newberry only from Windsor, Mr. Chauncy their Teaching officer, tho those be sent, durst not adventure from home, Mrs. Chauncy being waiting for her hour. From Springfield came cousin Glover teaching Elder, Mr. John Holyoake, Deacon Burt, Dea Parsons. Messengers from Northampton Mr. Stoddard Pastor, Mr. Strong teaching Elder, aaron Cook & Lt. Clark messengers, & from Hadley there came Mr. Russell Pastor, Lt. Smith, Deacon Tilton & Mr. Younglove messengers & there was ye Worshipful Major John Pynchon of Springfield & ye Revd Mr Samuel Kerr Pastor of ye church at Farmington Guests. The Elders & Messengers coming all over night except such as came from Springfield, consulted our preparation which in some things they did not well approve of, as we had not drawn up a profession of faith & in that I had prepared to preach in ye afternoon & not to begin ye worke with preaching: Their reasons for which were these. viz. as to Confession of Faith, Temptations had so often encountered in our proceedings formerly as I could not tell how to go about that labour, as thinking it might be in vain untill we wrote unto ye Churches & then finding our worke so much that I could not well get through it, concluding to do it by a professing ye Doctrine laid out in ye Catechism of ye Assemblies of Divines at Westminster so far as it goes & where it is deficient to acknowledge ye Platform of Church discipline put forth by ye Revd. Elders & Messengers in a Synod held at Cambridge Anno Domi 1647. If this would not be acceptable then to give an account of our profession, the which I did at last, they not accepting ye former: and indeed did stickle more than was meet till Cousin Glover came & for ye other my preaching in the after part of the day was principally to gain time for otherwise there would be two intermissions."

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The remainder, a few lines, is lost.

In order to give each of the steps whereby the claim for recognition as a church was pressed upon the Council, there must be included the letter which the five brethren from Connecticut presented as their title to an integral share in the enterprise.

"The recommendation of ye Brethren from Windsor church writ to myself—

"'To Revd Edward Taylor
Aug. 22d. 1679

"'Hond & Revd & Beloved.

"'The Lord who appoints the place of our habitation having cast ye dwellings of our Brethren Thomas Gunn, John Maudsley, Samuel Loomis & Isaac Phelps at Westfield (where by the good hand of God upon them they are planting a church for the enjoyment of fellowship with Christ in his ordinances amongst themselves) they have desired their dismission from us, which we have accordingly granted to them & desire that they may be received as becometh saints to Communion in all ye Ordinances of Christ, that they may be further built up in the most holy faith & more obedient to ye praise of him that hath called them.

"Thus desiring ye good Lord to be with you assisting & blessing yr endeavors to build a house among you for him to dwell in, commending you to ye grace of God we remain

Yours, in our common Saviour,
Nathanael Chauncey
in ye name of & by consent of
ye Church.

Windsor,
Aug. 22, 1679.'"

The letter dismissing Josiah Dewey and John Ingerson from the church at Northampton was brief as the one from Windsor was diffuse. The next formal step in the proceedings was the presentation of the personal experience of the seven "foundation men," as they were called. The faith of the church as a basis of its claim to recognition by the Council had been formally proffered, and then it was incumbent on each individual applicant to present his personal claim to

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be recognized as a unit in the new organization, one of the stones in its foundation. Each of these declaration was called a "Relation." Mr. Taylor says: "After the profession of our faith was made we were called out to give some account of the working of the spirit upon our hearts that might be as a foundation for the charity of God's people to act upon in order to ye inroling of us in their soule as suitable matter for such a glorious structure in hand. An account of wch as far as time would admit was then personally given in these Relations (here abbreviated) following, ye wch had at least soon been made & doubtless it would have been to more edification had not ye Elders & Messengers of Northampton & Hadley drove on to ye contrary."

There is no explanation of this opposition given in the record. It seems likely, judging from the length of these relations as Mr. Taylor has laboriously spread them upon the pages of the book in microscopic characters, that even in those days of ample leisure, and pompous dignity of the clergy, the delegates from up the river may have concluded that they could not be detained from home indefinitely. They were all farmers to greater or less extent, both ministers and messengers, and the Council met at a period of the year when crops are wont to need harvesting. As it was, the proceedings, with the time involved in coming and returning, must have eaten up much of three days for them and the delegates from Windsor.

In his own Relation, Mr. Taylor begins by saying:

"The work of ye spirit of God bringing a poor sinner unto Christ consists in { Conviction & / Repentance.

"Conviction is ye first work of ye Spirit of God upon the soul discovering unto it its sin & Misery by ye fall and its help & Remedy through grace. John 16, 7, 8, 9. Ye which work as it affects ye understanding is called illumination as Heb. 6, 4, 10, 32, but as it affects ye Conscience whereby it turns its check upon ye will & affections, its properly called Conviction Joh. 8, 9, Acts 18: 28, 1st Cor. 14, 24 & is a singular spur unto Repentance.

"Now in respect unto what I have observed of this work upon *my own heart* with all humility & soul abasement be it

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acknowledged to ye praise of infinite grace I have and do daily find something of this nature. But to instance only in such things as are pertinent to ye matter in hand.

"As for the first time that ever any beam of this nature did break in upon me was when I was but small, viz. upon a morning a sister of mine while she was getting up or getting me up or both, fell on ye giving an account of ye creation of ye world by God alone & of man especially & of the excellent state of man by creation as yt he was created in ye image of God was holy & righteous & how Eve was made of Adam's Rib & was ye first woman, Adam's wife, how both were placed in Paradice & ye garden of Eden, a most curious place & had liberty to eat of all ye trees therein *except* the tree of knowledge of good & evil, and *this* God would not suffer them to eat of.

"But the serpant did betray them & did draw them to eat of that fruit & thereby they did sin against God, & God was angry & cast them out of the Garden of Eden & set Angels Cherubims & a flaming sword turning every way to keep ye 'Tree of Life' & so man was made a sinner & God was angry with all men for sin.

"But oh, this account came in upon me in such a strong way that I am not able to express it, but ever since I have had a notion of sin and its naughtiness remain & ye wrath of God on ye account of ye same.

"Another morning (as I suppose ye next) following she began to give an account of Christ Jesus, who was ye son of God that came to save poore sinners & to bring them to Heaven."

A synopsis of the story of Christ's life follows, and then he says:

"But, alas this impression though it was great upon ye affections was soon over in respect unto any Original Sin's testifying influence & before growing up I was readily laying after ye vanities of youth.

"But being under ye rigid & watchful eyes of my parents who would crop ye budding forth of Original Sin unto any visible sin with wholesome reproof or ye Rod I was thereby preserved from a sinful Life. But yet ye transgression of ye Sabbath & some degree of Disobedience to my parents &

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too often ye evill of lying & also inward evill were things that did more prevail. All which have had their oppositions by one reproofe or untill they have been a burden unto me."

He then instances the sharp conversation of his Mother against disobedience and lying and the severe texts of scripture against them warning of brimstone and fire which she quoted against them.

Under the second head of Repentance he speaks at length of Conversion, Faith, Hope, Joy and Obedience.

He finally concludes his Relation with the prayer: "The Lord help me carry on all to his glory."

The Relations of the six lay brethren are full of abnormal introspections and extravagant accounts of mystical experiences. In each one there is an account of fierce struggles to realize the enormity of personal sin and a due sense of the wrath of God, the appeal being invariably to fear of the horror of eternal damnation and consequent suffering. John Ingerson feared that he had committed the unpardonable sin, but got help from his Pastor in Northampton, Rev. Eleazur Mather.

In the course of the Relation of Ensign Samuel Loomis, he says: "After this going as an apprentice to Hartford (now under ye Revd Mr. Stone's ministry) as he was reprehending ye evil of profaning ye Sabbath in ye meeting & sporting of youth in ye evening after it, had such an expression as this, yt ye Divell made bonefires by the way of Rejoicing thereat, which fell with such impression upon my spirit as put a check unto me in respect unto such practices."

Josiah Dewey refers to impressions made upon his heart when he was in his thirteenth year, again in his sixteenth, and again in his seventeenth year. Still he put off repentance, even under Mr. Mather's preaching at Northampton. He says, "When I was entered into a married state I saw myself under former engagement of attending heart searching and repenting work." Still he had a long and hard struggle, but became one of the members of the church at Northampton when it was organized June 4, 1661. He was one of the thirty-one subscribers to the covenant on that day, though not one of the foundation men.

The sermon which was delivered by Mr. Taylor after the

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Relations had been concluded, was from the text Eph. 2: 22, "In whom you also are building (up) together for an habitation of God through the spirit."

It is not a rash statement to make, that there is not now a man living who could write such a sermon, or who would if he could, so greatly has the prevailing, and even the exceptional homiletical style, changed since that early day.

An exact and complete analysis of its complicated structure would have a curious interest, but the obscurity of the writing and the infinity of the subdivisions preclude the possibility of securing it. Mr. Taylor spent about ten minutes in "opening the text," and then announced as the doctrine upon which he was to speak:

"A Particular Church of Christ is built up an Habitation of God through ye Spirit."

It is copied out in full with marginal notes and covers thirteen pages of the folio volume. He surely must have turned over the hour glass upon the pulpit long ere completing its delivery. It contains numerous citations from Scripture and from various other authorities and numerous words in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. On two of the pages are figures marking twenty-seven subdivisions of treatment.

After the conclusion of that brief homily, Mr. Taylor says, "ye Moderator stood up & gave a brief account of what was done & propounded ye brethren to ye Elders & Messengers for their approbation unto their proceeding if they desired further satisfaction in ye matter, or judged anything yet further to be attended to in this case before the covenant was entered into, they were desired to manifest the same; if otherwise let their silence manifest it. Whereupon nothing appearing ye Moderator called us forth to enter into covenant, which being done in ye words of ye covenant by and by recited, he pronounced us a church of Christ orderly gathered according to ye rules of Christ in ye gospell.

"And demanded of ye chh. whom they chose to receive ye right hand of fellowship & myself being desired to do it for them Mr. Stoddard upon ye desire of ye other Elders & Messengers of ye churches gavem me in these words—

" 'I do in ye name of ye chhs give you ye right hand of fellowship.'

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"This was not altogether approved on but it was judged to have been most meet to have been done in ye name of Christ.

"But Mr. Stoddard rather chose these words having some instance for the use thereof.

"This being done the Moderator demanded of ye church whom they chose their officer & into what office. Whereupon ye brethren of ye church laid my unworthy self under a call unto ye office of Pastor unto them. Which being propounded unto myself for acceptance I manifested my acceptance.

"Then it being demanded of the brethren whom they pitched on to carry on the worke of ordination for them they desired ye Revd. Elders to manage the worke for them onely Brother Samuel Loomis being chose to joyne in ye worke of Imposition of hands, & this being manifested the worke was thus performed. Ye Revd. Mr. Russell, Mr Glover Mr Stoddard Elders & Brother Samuel Loomis laid on hands. Mr. Russell prayed before ordination & Mr. Stoddard ended ye worke with prayer.

"In ye Ordination wh was to this effect 'Whereas you Mr. E. T. are called by this chh of Christ at Westfield into ye office of Pastor unto them ye which call you having manifested ye acceptance of, we do here in ye name of Christ pronounce you Pastor of ye same &c' ye charge was almost wholly omitted.

"After ye whole was done, Mr. Stoddard being deputed by ye Elders to give the right hand of fellowship to me in this office, did it as before, wh being done Brother Loomis set ye 122 Psalm which being sung ye assembly was dismissed with a blessing & so ye work was accomplished."

In order to complete the account of the day's momentous proceedings it is needful to append the form of the Church Covenant to which reference was made by Mr. Taylor.

The Covenant was this following:

"In ye sense of or own Nothingness depending on God's gracious supply & in faith in his incouragement given us thereunto. We in obedience unto his commands & in imitation of his saints in scripture do here in ye presence of Almighty God & Men give up orselves unto ye onely true God in Jesus Christ to

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walk in his ways with all or hearts: Bewailing so much as all these humane infirmities which do any way hinder the same.

"And further in awe of ye same God & dependence on ye same supply of grace we mutually oblige orselves to walk together according to ye Rules of ye Gospell in ye communion of saints in a particular church Instituted Stated for ye carrying on of all Gospell ordinances, ye Ministry of ye Word Sacrament & Discipline & allso all those Mutuall Duties of Helpfulness & Subjection in ye Lord one unto another according to or places which God recognizeth in his Word as means for ye preventing of or recovering from Evill yt Sin may not lie upon us but that God may dwell amongst us. Unto ye performance of wh covenant so & so long as we shall remain members of this Society, We Solemnly Oblige orselves Earnestly crying in ye name of Christ unto ye Father of spirits to assist thereunto & subscribe our Names.

Edward Taylor
John Maudesly
Samuel Loomis
Josiah Dewey
John Root
Isaac Phelps
John Ingerson."

The following note is appended:

"Brother Th. Gun being nominated for a foundation man desired to be omitted & was admitted ye 21 ye 7 m. without Relation in that he was so much decayed by age that it would be a hard thing to gather it & he was a man of approved piety & was recommended to us by Windsor church."

Two notable features in this account of their proceedings from an ecclesiastical point of view are found in the recognized position of Rev. Edward Taylor when about to be ordained, and the fact that instead of having alone the hands of ordained ministers placed upon his head in the formal act of consecration to the ministry, a layman of the company just instituted as a church, Samuel Loomis, was included among the ministers.

As to the former point, Mr. Taylor was among them as a brother on equal terms and singled out by their vote for ordination. The infant church thus constituted had no other officer

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than Pastor for a long time. The record says, "No ruling elder nor Deacon was elected only Brother Loomis was desired to look after the preparing wine & bread & to furnish ye Lords table."

He was afterwards chosen deacon but hesitated about accepting the election and while waiting for the election of a colleague he died without having been ordained to the office. It was not until 1692 that Josiah Dewey and Nathanael Weller were ordained to the office, so that the church was for thirteen years in the anomalous condition of having no other officer than the pastor.

The course which was pursued respecting women was different from the present custom in organizing a church. Even the wives of the foundation men were not admitted with them. They, with Mr. Taylor's wife Elizabeth, were received several months later.

During the first ten years of its life the ratio of women to men in the membership was about two to one.

The custom of selecting seven foundation men may have been instituted by Davenport and his company who sailed from Boston to Quinnipiack, afterward named New Haven, in the early spring of 1638. In order to choose their charter members more intelligently, they agreed to dwell together a year before completing their organization. No church having been formally instituted, they formed what they termed a "plantation covenant" to distinguish it from a church covenant. In it they declared that all civil matters should be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth—all the free planters having met in a barn June 4, 1639, "to consult about settling civil government according to God."

Mr. Davenport prayed and then in his sermon proved the fitness of choosing seven competent men to construct the form of government which was contemplated. He recommended the appointment of twelve men "and it should be in the power of those twelve to choose out of themselves seven that should be most approved of the major part to begin the church." In August of the same year, 1639, the church at Milford was organized and in September the church in Guilford. Each of them was on a foundation of "seven pillars."

The complete official equipment of a church in those

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early days included four classes, pastor, teacher, ruling elder and deacon. The distinctive function of the pastor was private and public exhortation and that of the teacher was doctrinal and scriptural explanation, while both were authorized to preach and to administer the ordinances. Many churches had ruling elders who shared with the teaching elders the province of discipline. The deacons had charge of prudential matters and provision for the poor. The offices of pastor and teacher soon came to be combined in a single man and the practice of maintaining two preachers in one church, which was by no means uniform in early times, was gradually abandoned altogether. Indeed the frontier churches were too poor to afford a single minister aught but the scantiest support, all the settlers sharing the common lot of poverty.

Every one of the four classes of church officials was consecrated to his duties by religious solemnities.

The infant church of Christ in Westfield was started on its long career of usefulness and development, destined to be the Mother of many children, in the home community and in the region round about. It had but a feeble beginning on the frontier of the Colony with only four neighbors in the great county of Hampshire, but it was one more stake in the wilderness. That handful of sturdy men at an outpost of christian civilization was instinct with the devoted and heroic spirit of the Puritan fathers of a preceding generation who came to the Bay moved to a large extent by the purpose of the Pilgrims who came to Plymouth but a decade earlier. They founded their church on the same basal principles of civil and religious liberty, determined to conserve the truth in its purity as they interpreted it and to hand down to their posterity inestimable privileges, in church and state. Their young minister was the only man of them whose birthplace was in the earlier home across the sea, but he, like their parents, had come oversea to gain rights denied them in England, and with the heart of a religious zealot. He was to share their labors and sacrifices during a long life and co-operate with them in the maintenance of institutions that have made the old Bay State synonymous with all that is highest and best in civil and religious life. That first church in Westfield is vitally related to every other Protestant church in the

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territory which the town then comprised, including wholly or partly the present bounds of several other towns, and it was related indirectly to the life of many other churches subsequently established in many other towns. Those men, like multitudes of others of every generation, builded better than they knew. They feared God and kept his commandments and as a necessary result their influence spread in circles which have been widening to this present time and shall not cease to expand while men continue to dwell upon the face of the earth.

Hardly was the organization of the church completed when it had occasion to realize its integral relationship to the great body of churches in the Colony. What is known as the "Reforming Synod" met in Boston September 10, 1679, in response to a call of Gov. Bradstreet, elected in the preceding May, and the General Court, to consider matters of grave importance to church and Colony. It took up at once two general questions: "1. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England? 2. What is to be done, that so these evils may be reformed?"

Mr. Stoddard of Northampton was a prominent member of the Synod and perhaps Mr. Taylor also. He must have felt eager to attend its sessions where were gathered the ecclesiastical leaders of the day, both lay and clerical.

The Synod sat for ten days and in its "Result" rehearses an appalling array of evils which were supposed to have provoked the Lord to judgment. Among them as recorded by Mather in his Magnalia are "a great and visible decay of the power of godliness," "abounding pride," "oaths and imprecations in ordinary discourse," "Sabbath breaking, remissness in family government and family worship," "sinful heats and hatreds," "intemperance," "promise-breaking," "inordinate affection unto the world." According to more detailed specifications there are included "that heathenish and idolatrous practice of health-drinking, immodest apparel, laying out of hair-borders, naked necks and arms, or, which is more abominable, naked breasts, and mixed dancings," &c.

The General Court which met in October, ordered the printing of the Result and "commended the same to the serious consideration of all the churches and people in the jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all persons in their several capacities

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concerned to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein." (Mass. Rec. V, 244.)

Cotton Mather did not share the desperately pessimistic views of the Synod respecting the low ebb of morals and religion in the Colonies. He says:

"New England was not become so degenerate a country, but that there was yet preserved in it far more of serious religion, as well as blameless morality, than was proportionably to be seen in any country upon the face of the earth." (Parentator &c. 82.)

The stern and strict Puritanism of the fathers was manifested in a habit of close scrutiny of the externals of conduct, as well as in a keen search after the secret sins of the heart. According to their severe principles, there were no trifles, no things indifferent, in moral affairs. The individual conscience must conform rigorously to the strict standards commonly recognized as obligatory upon society. The sweeping generalizations of widespread degeneracy made from time to time by individual censors, as well as by bodies convened under ecclesiastical auspices, must be interpreted by us with large allowance made for the excessively stern standards of the period.

Twenty years later the ministers in the Bay took concerted action to enlist all the ministers in the Colony in an earnest effort to arouse the churches to renewed vigor and devotion. A formal message was issued by a Conference of ministers to all the churches in the Colony, a copy of which Mr. Taylor has preserved on the church records.

d mo

"Boston 1–4–1704.

"To serve the great intention of Religion wch is lamentably dekaying in the Country it is proposed

1st

"That ye Pastors of ye churches do personally converse with ye people in their flocks & with all ye feasible * * * & goodness endeavour to win their consent * * * of grace in all ye glorious duties of it.

2nd

"That unto this purpose ye Pastors do take up ye laborious

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but engaging practice of making their personall visits unto all that belong unto their Congregations and the people *among them.*

3rd

"That Pastors in this way of proceeding as far as they can publicly & solemnly to Recognize ye Covenant of God and to come into such a Degree of ye Church state as they shall be made willing to take their station in, but not to serve of until they shall be qualified for and persuaded to Commune with ye Church in all special ordinances.

4th

"That for such as have submitted to ye Government of Christ in any of his churches no Pastor of any other churches any way go to shelter then under their wing from ye discipline of those from whom they have not been fairly recommended.

5th

"That those who have not actually Recognized their subjection unto ye discipline of Christ in his church yet, should either upon their Obstinate refusall of such subjection or their falling into other scandals be faithfully treated with proper admonition. About ye method & manner of managing of which, ye Pastor with their several Churches will be left to ye exercise of their own discretion.

6th

"It is desired & intended if ye Lord please yt at ye several Conventions of ye Ministers there may be given by each of ye Pastors present an account of their proceedings and success in the holy work relating to that which has been proposed that so ye joy of ye Lord may have ye Glory of his grace & that ye condition of Religion in ye country may be better known and served among us.

7th

"As subservient to these great & good intentions it is proposed yt ye Associations of ye ministers in ye several parts of ye Country may be strengthened & ye several Associations may by letters hold more free communications with one another.

Voted & Unanimously consented unto
Boston June 4th 1704."

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In December following there came to the church another deliverance, this time from a convention in Cambridge.

"The following Coppies were sent to the ministers of this County & read by mee this 24th day of 10th month to the whole assembly after ye preaching was over.

(Edward Taylor)

" 'To be communicated to ye Association.

" 'To ye Revd Solomon Stoddard Pastor of ye Church of Christ at Northampton.

" 'Cambridge, Nov. 6, 1704.

" 'Dear Brethren:

" 'The ministers who sometimes met at Cambridge & at Boston The coppy of wch proposalls here enclosed will sufficiently give you to understand ye intentions of them & we have all possible reason to believe their good affections for such intentions.

" 'Its well known ye Pastors who have taken ye pains personally to visit their flocks suitably, prudently, & faithfully address all persons on ye great concerns of their everlasting happiness have had an uniform success attending their holy labours. Chrysostom, Augustine &c gave us an encouraging example for such labours in after years. All ye publick sermons in ye days of Calvin did not more good at Geneva than ye private visits wch ye several ministers of N. E. by joint consent made unto their several families under their charge. Both Englands have seen a greater influence of diligence & advantage in their discharge of ye Evangelesticall Ministry.

" 'But then ye Pastors of or Churches may ye more comfortably enjoy ye assistance of one another, which doubtless all finde more than a little needful for them, under ye difficulties wch in their ministry they often meet with. All you are very sensible how useful their well formed Associations may be to them. Our own did not fail to feel the benefits of them & it is to be hoped that where such Associations have been already formed they will be lively maintained & preserved & carried on. And where they are not yet formed ye Lord will stir up his servants to consider what they shall do that they may not incur ye inconveniences of him that is alone.

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" 'But there is one thing more that is greatly desired and never yet so fully attained unto viz—That ye several Associations of Ministers may uphold some communion & Correspondency with one another & that they would freely communicate unto one another by Letters whatever they may apprehend a watchful regard unto ye great Interest of Religion among us, may call to be considered.

" 'It is with special respect unto this Design yt the Ministers of ye Association sometime meeting at Cambridge made this essay & having laid these things before you do heartily recommend you & all your studies to serve him unto ye blessing of ye Lord.

" 'They do this by ye hand of
Sirs, yours
" 'To ye Reverend Samuel Willard
Solomon Stoddard, Moderator' "

To be Communicated

Not content with their long services on the Sabbath the people early established a service during the week.

"After the churches had settled well down to their work, a weekly lecture—essentially a repetition of one Sabbath service, became a fixed institution. Different days were selected for these observances and people in the eastern section of the colony had opportunity to hear a sermon every day in the week by attending them in different towns."—(Dexter's Congregationalism, p. 457.)

Judge Sewal in his Diary makes frequent references to the Lectures which he took delight in attending. The custom in the Valley is thus referred to by Trumbull:

"As the number of towns increased in this section they united in carrying on the service. After six towns had been formed in Hampshire County the ministers in them united and there was a lecture in each town once in six weeks. Hence they were called 'six weeks lectures.' It is stated that a daughter of Rev. Solomon Stoddard in her youth often walked to Hatfield to attend lectures there and back to Northampton the same day. The six towns were Springfield, Westfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, Deerfield."

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CHAPTER VII.

The Pilgrim Pastor and His Meeting House

The plans for settling the region of Woronoco included from their inception the procuring of a spiritual leader, as has been intimated, and as is shown by the following record of action taken there when the name of the proposed town had not been decided upon, a year before its formal organization:

"At a meeting of the Committee Aug. 11th 1668 at Streamfield—

"1 It was voted unanimously that we will looke out for a minister to carry on the worke of God in this place.

"2 It is voted by all the Inhabitants and planters present that they will allow to a minister the sum of forty pounds the first year.

"3 It is voted that the said sum shall be raysed for the present (untill the Company are settled here together & so long as they shall agree) upon the land.

"4 It is voted that all mens lands wch they are possessed of shall be vallued according to the goodness thereof in its own nature & so pay to all rates.

"5 It is voted that wee look at ourselves as free & at liberty to seeke out according as God shall guide us for a Minister to carry on the worke of Christ here.

"6 It is voted to send to Mr Holyoke to carry on the worke.

"7 It was also voted that Geo. Phelps & James Cornish shall go to Springfield to treat wth Mr Holyoke & to receive his answer."

A month later another plan was decided upon, Mr. Holyoke having found that he could not continue to serve them as they desired.

"At a meeting of the inhabitants on the 24th day of the 7th month, it is voted & agreed that Capt. Cooke shall goe into the Bay to secure a minister for this place such a one as he shall be advised to by the Elders in or about the Bay, if the Committee at Springfield doe approve of our acts herein.

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"It is voted that he shall take his journey so soon as to be in the Bay the first Sabbath in October.

"Voted that Jo: Cornish shall goe to the Committee tomorrow to get their approbation & acquaint the rest of the pprietors there of what is done

"It is voted that he speake to Capt. Pynchon and desire him to promote or designe in the Bay in getting a Minister."

Two months later further action in behalf of Mr. Fiske, who had been procured from the Bay by Capt. Cook, was taken.

"Nov. 30th 1668 at a meeting of the Committee for Woronoco they agreed determined & granted an allotment at Woronoco for the Minister of 40 acres of land in all the divisions and also a home lot of 6 acres. This may lye on the Fort side where Mr John Holyoke had his grant or as Mr Fiske or the inhabitants shall desire."

In the following January, 1669, it was voted unanimously to urge Mr. Fiske to continue in the ministry with them, promising him £40 per year "and for the future a good maintenance as God shall enable them."

"It was also voted that the Meeting House shall be set on the Fort side, that is, near the junction of the two rivers.

"Feb. 5, 1667 certain lands were granted to Josiah Dewey on condition that he express satisfaction for what he expects of the town on account of building the ministers house."

The Rev. Moses Fiske, son of the minister of the church at Chelmsford, served them about three years. The invitation given to Rev. Mr. Adams of Dedham after Mr. Fiske left his position, was not accepted on account of some difficulty about removing from the college. Failing there the messenger, as will appear later, turned to another divinity student at Cambridge, Mr. Edward Taylor, and finally persuaded him to accept the invitation of the frontier town to become its minister.

It is common to restrict the term "Pilgrim" to a person who belonged to the original company which came to Plymouth in the "Mayflower." For purposes of exact discrimination that may be well. The pioneer band which reached

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the bleak coast of Massachusetts in 1620 must always occupy a unique place of honor and esteem as heroes of christian faith.

But there were really other Pilgrims besides, who sought freedom through exile, and proved themselves worthy scions of the same Puritan stock. Continued outrages upon conscience in the homeland provoked continued emigration to the rough shores and forest retreats of New England.

Though the Connecticut Valley was not settled until nearly a score of years after the landing at Plymouth, and Westfield not until a long generation later still, yet at least one actual Pilgrim was among the little company which faced the dangers and waged the conflicts with wild nature and savage men of the town which for three quarters of a century marked the western frontier of the Commonwealth. The towns of Springfield, Northampton and Hadley had been established previously on the Great River, where some Pilgrims, and the children of others, had made their homes and were proving their sturdy spirit.

These heroes of the faith in this Valley afford abundant and worthy material for the pen of an eloquent historian. The honor accorded the original Pilgrims of the Plymouth Company should be shared with those who sought and subdued these inland regions. Dangers and hardships were endured here more grievous in some respects than those of the Bay. The pioneers were borne hither by the true Pilgrim spirit, to live as christian heroes, and, many of them, to die as christian martyrs.

There should be in each one of the early towns of the Valley, a Pilgrim Hall, where the names of the primitive settlers who braved so much in their zeal for Christ and His Church, might be plainly emblazoned upon the walls, and where such of their personal relics and memorials as have survived the ravages of time, might be garnered and sacredly preserved.

Though the records of that grand personality which dominated the early life of Westfield for more than half a century are so meager, and what we can learn of the Rev. Edward Taylor whets the appetite to know more, still there is enough preserved to afford a fair sketch of his character. The more thoroughly these too scanty items are studied, the more ear-

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nestly do we long for more light to shine upon this Pilgrim Prophet.

He was the spiritual Father of the town to an extent rarely equaled in the history of early New England life, or indeed, of communities anywhere.

Coming hither when the settlement was small and new, and abiding with benedictive influence through so long a period, while church and town passed through critical experiences and harrowing trials, he must be revered for what he was and for what he did.

The annals of that early colonial life concern Sacred History though not contained in the oracles of Hebrew Scripture, but still Sacred History. It is the record of men called of God from a land of oppression to a land of liberty: a people cherished by Him in its infant feebleness, taught by His Spirit to do the things pleasing to Him and inspired with burning devotion to Him. Every individual person in the band of frontier colonists did not prove unflinchingly valorous, or unswervingly virtuous, but neither did all the children of Israel led out of Egypt toward Canaan.

But on the whole, the early life of the settlers of the Woronoco valley was heroic; and the presence of such a priest of God as Mr. Taylor did much to make its early history sacred. He was both a true prophet and a true priest, since he spoke for God to the people, and to God for the people. His life was truly consecrated to their welfare, and it was a life so rarely gifted and empowered as to make a deep and permanent impress upon the town.

Edward Taylor was born at Sketchley near Coventry, in Leicestershire, England, in 1642. No records of his parentage or family have been preserved except in his vague reference to a brother in his Diary, to his Mother and a sister in his "Relation," given at the time of the organization of the church. His early education was under a Non-conformist Schoolmaster, who qualified him for teaching. He kept a school for a time at Bagworth, in his native country, and according to a quaint record, "to such good Acceptance that some Gentlemen in the Neighborhood took pains to procure him a Licence, which was offered him in case he would take the Oaths then required, which he conscientiously scrupl'd, and

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so was oblig'd to quit his School to the grief of the neighboring Gentry, particularly the Family of the Harrisons, then of considerable Note in those parts; otherwise (we may suppose) this Part of the World had never known him."

He studied seven years at one of the great universities, probably Cambridge. The ejection of two thousand dissenting clergymen in 1662, and the persecutions to which the Puritans were subjected, finally constrained him to exile himself for the sake of the liberty promised in New England. It was not till several years after the Act of Uniformity was passed that he actually took that step, waiting, perhaps, in the hope that more favorable conditions might obtain, before starting on what proved to be a tedious and perilous voyage of 70 days.

It is fortunate that he kept a diary in those days, and fortunate, too, that it has been preserved. Though meager, and covering only scattered incidents during three and a half years, it is interesting and valuable for such dim light as it throws upon his historic personality when approaching his notable life work.

It seems as though it were a slighting of precious antiquarian lore to omit any single item of that personal journal, but nevertheless, it could not be quoted entire without too great an expense of space in this volume, though that conclusion is regretfully reached. However, generous quotations from it will be made:

"A.D. 1668, April 26, being Lord's day, at between 10-11 at night, I came for sea, taking bote at Execution Dock, Wapping, & a smooth tide, a gentle gale of wind & a prosperous fare to Gravesend.

"Lord's day May 3. I had a sad forenoon but toward evening the Shipmaster sent for me to go to prayer with them.

"Lord's day May 24th. I then being put to exercise [not having been licensed he could not preach] spoke from John 3d, 3d.

"May 31 Lord's day, wind west. I was very sick so that I could not perform the duties of the day.

"June 7 Our latitude is 43° These last two days we sailed well nigh 150 leagues. I being somewhat better in health than before did exercise from & apply the doctrine that before I approved.

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"June 13 we exercised from Is. 3d 11th.

"June 18 after dinner I read the 4th chap. of John in Greek. Lords day June 20 I approved the doctrine I delivered the Lords day before. Lords day June 28 I exercised from the words For the reward of their hands shall be given them. Is. 3d 11.

"July 4, thick fog. we saw Land on both hands, Plymoth on ye Left & Salem on ye Right towards Sunsetting. about five a clock we saw ye Ilands in our passage up to Boston: about three a clock on ye Lords day Jul. 5 In ye morning we came a shoar."

Mr. Taylor brought letters to the Rev. Increase Mather, who at that time had been for four years minister of the North church of Boston, and afterwards became President of Harvard College. Mr. Taylor spent his first two days in New England as Mr. Mather's guest, and then presented letters to John Hull, the mint master, who invited him to his house till he had dispatched his "Businesse & were settled in the Colledge, & also to bring his Chest to his wearhouse. This Gentleman would not be said nay, therfore I was wt him, & received much Kindnesse from him. I continu'd wth him till I settled at Cambridge."

A daughter of Mr. Hull became the wife of Judge Sewall, Mr. Taylor's classmate at Harvard.

A third person to whom he brought letters was "Mr. Mayo, minister of God's word to his people who meet in the new meeting house."

Mr. Taylor must have been well considered by men of influence among the English Puritans, in order to secure personal introductions to such prominent divines on this side of the sea.

His long voyage, with its discomforts and hardships, was ended. It must have been to him a tedious trial of patience, since the ship that bore him, though starting from its moorings on Apr. 26 did not finally move out into the open ocean beyond Lands End until May 21, almost a month later, having been detained by adverse winds and other hindrances, long enough for one of our modern ocean greyhounds to make four transatlantic trips.

His plan for entering Harvard was evidently well-matured

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before leaving the old country, as is shown by the account of his movements after reaching Boston. His Diary states: "About 14 July I went to Cambridge to speak wt ye President. About Jul: 22, I went to Cambridge again, & lay at ye Presidents: at night it thundered, lightened & rained, very much & as his Son Elnathan & I were going to bed about 10 or 11 a clock in the night as it rained there came a white peckled Dove Pidgeon & flew against ye Casement of or Chamber window: & there sat: & I onely being in bed when I heard it were a Pidgeon got up, and so we opened the Casement upon ye Dove So far, as that we took him in, & when he was in we would have caught him, & he run from us & cooed & brissled at us. in the morning he was let out againe. The President, when he heard it, said he would not (of any good) he should be hurt: ffor one should not heare of ye like: it was omenous surely."

The President to whom reference is here made was the Rev. Charles Chauncey, who was Professor of Greek at Cambridge, England, and became in 1654 the second President of Harvard, a position which he retained until his death in February, 1872, two months after Mr. Taylor reached his parish in Westfield.

The Diary continues: "Jul. 23. I was admitted in to the Colledge. Being settled in the Colledge, Pupill under Mr Thomas Graves senr ffellow in a great, & yet civill Classe: I continued there 3 years & ¼ all wch time I was College Butler. during wch time these occurrants are most observable.

"viz. I. Mr Graves not having his name for nought lost ye Love of ye Under Graduates by his too much Austerity, whereupon they used to strike a nail above the Hall-Doore Catch while we were reciting to him, & so naile him in the Hall: at wch disorder I was troubled, whereupon being desired by him to go into the Buttry privily, & watch who did it, one morning I did so: but being discovered by the Schollars I was fain to hast out, & make hast to Boston, before I spake to Mr. Gr: the better to cloake over ye businesse, that so ye Schollars might conclude it was accidentall, & not ex proposito (for I was fearfull of incensing them against mee) for wch, notwithstanding the hazzard I was in of setting them against me, & the love I expressed to Mr. Gr: in putting myselfe

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for his sake unto such hazzard & I was checked by him when I came up again.

"2ly When he went about to read to us Naturall Physick, he would read to us out of Mageirus, wch was reputed none of the best, & had not been read by ye other Classes in ye Colledge, & so we did refuse to read it: & I also (though since I have read it I am sorry I opposed it) in so much that he seing he could prevaile wt me to read it tho: yy should continue opposite thereto gave me (in his passion) ye unwerthiest language that ever I received of any man, to my knowledge. But before we had read it through he left us to Mr. Joseph Browne who, upon his going away, being chosen ffellow, slighted it as much as wee. Mr. Browne now being or Tutor carried so respectively to us that he had or very hearts, & we scarce did anything wtout his advice.

"3ly In the spring of my second years residence in ye Colledge (being 1670) I going to reckon wh Goodman Steadman for my winters wood, his wife Elizabeth lying at that time under trouble of Spirit, though she had not at that time revealed it, complain'd with griefe of my strangeness, saying, that they were not good enough for my company. & withall, said wt teares in her eyes that she was perswaded that if I knew her condition how it was with her I would come often to yer house: wch when I perceived that she was a woman of a troubled Spirit, I went oftener, & was, though an unworthy creature an instrument of some use unto her for her comfort, & support: who afterward proved a great, & good nurse to me whenever I was in any kinde of affliction. So long as I was in the Colledge the Lord gave me the affections of all both in the Colledge & in the town whose love was worth having, yet some there were that added afflictions to me by their whispering, backbiting tongues, wch made me much desirous to go from Cambridge, judging it to be some who spoke me fair to my face, but grudge me my Charitable, & well grounded Esteem of goodw: St. ye object of their Envy, when on this account I purposed to lay downe my place at or Commencement, ye Praesident by his incessant request & desires prevailed upon me to tarry in it as yet. but the quarter following I had more afflictions than I had in all ye 3 years before. but being invited by Mr. fflint over to Brantery to

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be at their house, & make use of his study there, I found some inclination thereto, & went Nov. 13, 1671 to Brantery, but not finding a second invitation upon the same ground, I returned & settled in ye Colledge & was instituted the 16 day of Nov: Schollar of the house. But the 17 being the Quarter day Thomas Dewey a Messenger sent from Westfield on Connecticut River to the Bay to get a Minister for that People: being by 8 or 9 Elders, met at ye Lecture at Boston ye day before directed to myselfe, came to me with a Letter from Mr. Increase Mather Pastor of ye 2d Church at Boston; whom for an Answer I referred to the Revd President, & ffellows. Reserving liberty to advise with ffriends, & finding Mr. Danforth for it, Mr Oaks indifferent rather advising to it, the President altogether against it at this time: & the ffellows advising rather to it than anything else, giving this a reason why their advice was not positive, because they were to respect ye Colledge good, hereupon I was both incorriged & discorriged. But Mr Danforth ye Magistrate driving on hard, advised to take other advice, wherefore delaying to give an answer till 21th day I did on the 18th advise with Mr. Inc: Mather, & Mr. Thacher whose advice was positive for it. But the 20th day Thomas Dewey came again, & lay hard at me to go wt him that weeke, but I could not, neither did I promise him to go, yet he saw by my preparation sufficient to raise his expectations & to make him conclude that I would go, but on thursday, 23rd at night it fell a great Snow. yet on ye 26th though it snow'd a pace he came for me, & would have gone with me, would I have gone, though on the 27th Mr. Belcher, Mr. Tim: Hide, Sam Green: &c. were to go, wherefore tarrying till then, I not knowing how to cast down Goodman Dewey's expectations after I had raised them, I set forward not without much apprehension of a tedious & hazzardous journey, the Snow being about Mid Leg deep, the way unbeaten, or ye track filled up again, & over rocks & mountains, & the journey being about 100 miles, & Mr. Cooke of Cambridge told us it was the desperatest journey that ever Connecticut men undertooke.

"On the night before I went to take my leave of or Hond President whose minde was changed & his Love was so much expressed that I could scarce leave him & well it might be

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so, for he told me in plain words that he knew not how to part wt mee. But as my proceedings were by Prayer & consell, so my journey was carried on by mercy & good success.

"The first night we Lodged at Malbury where or Company was increased by one more, from thence we went out, the day following about half an hour before Sunrising, for Quabaug, l. e. Waterfield, but about 11 of clock wee lost or way in the Snow & woods, wch. hindered us some 3 or 4 miles: but finding it again by the markt trees, on we went, but or talk was of lying in ye Woods all night for we were then about 30 miles from or Lodgen having neither house nor Wigwam in or way. But about 8 at night we came in, through mercy, in health to or Lodgen, from wch the next day we set out for Springfield which we arrived at also in health, & on the next day we ventured to lead or Horses, in great danger over Connecticut River, though altogether against my will, upon ice, wch was about 2 dayes in freezing, but mercy going along with, though the ice cracked every step yet we came over safely, & well, to the wonder almost of all that knew it. this being the 2d day of Decr. we came to Westfield the place of or desire in health where we first called at Capt Cooks who entertained us with great joy & gladness giving me many thanks for comming, & that at such a season; but though we had had both fair & warm weather all ye way, yet before I had been half an hour wth in his house, there came such gusts of winde against his house, as I scarce ever heard, then after a while we went to Mr Whitings, & then I know not that ever I heard such gusts & Shuffs of winde as blew then. There the men of the town came to Welcome me, & after supper I went to Goodman Ashley's where I was to be till Mr Whiting had Got his house ready yt I might be with him. On Lords day after I preached to them from Matth. 3.2. my first sermon, being Decr. 3, 1671, on thirsday I removed to Mr Whitings where I settled in Quarters."

"On Friday at night Jan. 12 about nine or ten o'clock Thomas Dewey being gone from home to Northampton had his house and almost all his goods burned down, and one of his children, i. e. a little girl, being almost undressed to go to bed & affrighted ran into the parlor or bedroom where had not the youth run in to have got something out, & as

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he went out hit her with his foot or stumbled at her she had in all likelihood been burned. The fire came thus: one of the boys went up into the chamber with a stick of candlewood burning for some corns to play at checkers & the stick dropped a drop in some tow & so fired. John Osburn their next neighbor a man likely to have stood them in stead at that time was providentially hindered from taking any notice thereof by the falling of his child into the fire at the same season. This Thomas Dewey was the messenger that I came up with."

The courage and endurance requisite to attempting and accomplishing such a journey were an earnest of the spirit in which Mr. Taylor was to breast the dangers and hardships of his long pastorate on the frontier, a pastorate which covered four of the six Indian wars. During its continuance the years during which the Indian menace was not emergent barely equaled those in which each day's work could be done only with a weapon at hand and each night's sleep might be broken by the war whoop. Even the elements, in the savage fury which they displayed on that day of his arrival in Westfield, symbolized to the young theologue the harsh experiences in store for him as shepherd of that feeble flock in the wilderness for nearly sixty years.

The first house that gave him shelter was the first house of public entertainment in the new settlement. Capt. Aaron Cook, taking up his grant of land three years before, had come prepared to assume the hospitable task as shown by the Court Records for March, 1668.

"Capt. Cooke hath liberty to give entertaynement at Worronoco to travellers with liberty to sell wines or liquors for ye yeare ensuing."

He continued in that capacity for five years, and for two years was Selectman.

His house was on the northern side of the highway, somewhat west of where the Little River Street, the old Windsor road, leaves it, and west of the house of the late Peter Prout, now marked by a small boulder.

The vote of the town has been already cited, whereby he was to go to the Bay to procure a minister, so as to be there by the first Sabbath of October, 1668. It was just

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about that time that his name appears again on the Court Records:

"Sep. 29, 1668.

"The Indian Wollump of Woronoco complaining agt the English there for damage done in his corn by their cattell & particularly agt Capt. Cooke: This Corte ordered Samuel Marshfield & Jno. Dumbleton to repair to Worronoco to make inquiry the best they can wt damage the Indians had in their corne and by whom & by what meanes & occasion & to endeavor to gett ye neighbors there to make satisfaction & in case they can gett no issue they are to prepare things for us yt the case may be presented to ye next corte at Northampton."

The house and store of Mr. Whiting were on the north side of Main Street just east of the corner of Meadow Street. The lot was sold when in 1677 he returned to Hartford, the purchaser having been Lieut. John Maudesley from Windsor. The land, or part of it at least, has been in the family, through successive generations, to the present day.

Goodman Ashley's house, whither Mr. Taylor repaired after supper on that first evening, stood on the south side of Main Street just about where Cross Street leaves it.

That he took up his task in the town with earnestness and vigor cannot be doubted. He was one of many who came out to the new world to develop a self-reliant manhood and occupy a position of eminent usefulness and far-reaching influence in colonial affairs, while making most emphatic his mission as a preacher of the everlasting gospel:

"Theologian, from the School
Of Cambridge on the Charles,
Skilful alike with tongue and pen,
He preached to all men everywhere
The gospel of the Golden Rule,
The New Commandment given to men,
Thinking the deed and not the creed
Would help us in our utmost need.
With reverent feet the earth he trod,
Nor banished nature from his plan,

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But studied still with deep research
To build the Universal Church,
Lofty as is the love of God
And ample as the wants of man."

Longfellow might have written that with Edward Taylor as his subject.

No less truthful a sketch of him, as many suggestive facts in the town records indicate, is the sketch given by the author of "The Colonial Parson of New England."

He says: "The parson is one who has had to do with the inner life and immediate experiences of his people. Not the less on that account, has he been a tremendous influence and a vital factor in all the events of his day. While there are writers who contend that the parson in New England made himself officiously prominent, yet we believe that such writers misinterpret history. He was 'the power behind the throne' on many of the great occasions. It was not modesty so much as expediency that held him in reserve. He was at one time somewhat like Savonarola at Florence, a dictator. But he was wiser than the Florentine leader. The parson kept himself discreetly in the backbround: shaped affairs through his heedful servants, the magistrates: did not obtrude his interferences in state matters: taught, inspired, moved, directed the state, at the same time that he was simply identified by the popular mind with the church and religion." (pp. 35, 36.)

The Pilgrim Pastor of the Westfield church, who for more than half a century wrote himself into the life of the town, shaping the development of its religious and civic organism, was a peer of the foremost ministerial leaders of New England. It is not an extravagant claim to assert that had he settled in Boston, instead of spending his life on the frontier, he would have been famous in the annals of colonial times. A competent, though friendly, contemporary critic, Judge Sewall of Boston, said of him: "He and I were Chamber fellows & Bedfellows in Harvard College Two years: He being admitted into the College drew me thither. I have heard him preach a Sermon at the Old South upon Short warning, which, as the phrase in England is, might have been preached at Paul's Cross."

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During the perplexities and discouragements of Philip's War, it was he, who, though only thirty-four years old, was deputed by the town to frame its reply to the provincial authorities who had made almost mandatory their advice that the enterprise of separate settlement should be given up and the people should move to a safer region.

The first hearty welcome accorded him upon arrival, seems to have been followed by generous appreciation of his value on the part of his fellow townsmen. At the close of his first year among them, though no church had been organized and no meeting house had been completed, in December, 1672, it was voted "that the town render their earnest desire of Mr. Taylor's continuance with us in the ministry and are willing to give him land house & maintenance as is formerly recorded.

"Mr. Joseph Whiting George Phelps, Deacon Hanchet & Aaron Cook are chosen to present the thing to Mr. Taylor.

"The men chosen hath been with Mr. Taylor and say though he hath not promist he may continue with us, if more be added to procure such helper as is necessary to carry on the worship of the church as stated."

A preceding vote at the same meeting may be referred to in this response to their appeal.

It was voted that 15 acres of land should be laid out for some kind of a helper to Mr. Taylor. In Mr. Bartlett's copy of the record which cannot now be found, he writes the word "riffleman" and follows it with an interrogation point, with good reason, since it is perfectly unintelligible.

Mr. Taylor evidently felt some apprehension lest the work should overtax his powers and wanted to have everything possible done to insure its success.

Another movement in that direction was made at the same meeting, looking toward the provision of a place of worship.

"Voted that the town will go on with building a meeting house with all convenient speed as may be. The dimentions are as follows 36 foots square and the form to be like Hatfield meeting house as the Committee chosen shall agree.

"Mr. Joseph Whiting, Deacon Hanchet, John Sacket, John Root & Aaron Cook are chosen to manage all concerns

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about it for the best advantage to the town in building, to employ the town help both in labor & teams in equal proportion, such as are able to do work about it are to have, with and for such as may undertake the work, equal consideration."

That is the first definite action, the record of which is preserved, taken by the town in this important matter. There was so much to be done in the way of preparing shelter and essential supplies for the families in those early years of the settlement, that it is hardly to be wondered at that a meeting house was not provided at an earlier date.

The exiles from England recognized as an early requirement of their community life, a place of worship. It must of necessity have been plain and rude, since they had no resources to make it otherwise. Nor was it an innovation upon their custom to worship in buildings differing widely from the substantial and beautiful parish churches of the homeland. As Separatists from the Establishment they had been obliged to put up with such shelter as their slender means could command, and indeed, these more humble structures, plain and bare, were in accord with their passionate protest against the elaborate system of symbol and ritual of the church which, to their minds, was hardly less obnoxious than the scarlet woman of Rome herself.

When the Pilgrims reached Plymouth, they arranged as soon as possible to use as the meeting place for worship on the Sabbath, "a timber fort both strong and comely, with flat roof and battlements," as Gov. Bradford tells us in his history. This served them as a place of worship for thirty years. The fort and the meeting house thus united, provided for two needs of essential importance to every Puritan community in the new land,—protection from savage depredation, and a place for the cultivation and expression of their religious life, life without religion being not worth preserving.

The very earliest vote extant in the town archives relative to this matter was taken at a meeting of proprietors "at Waranoco, the 21th Jany 1668 article 6. It is voted that the meeting house be sett on the ffort side." Thus it came about that the building was erected very near to the old Indian fort, at the confluence of Great River and Little River, near

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the present iron bridge, another instance of the union of a place of defense and a place of worship. The spot was marked by a stone monument several years ago, though the contiguous land has been considerably changed from the early days by the changed courses of the rivers, the channel of the Great River being farther south than it used to be, and that of the Little River being farther west. Part of the tongue of land which defined them has been washed away.

Some thirty years ago there was a dim record on a tattered leaf which has since been lost. It was then barely legible and, as well, barely intelligible, and undated. Its confused and perplexing statement was as follows:

"Whereas there has been some difficulty about the former vote about the standing of the meeting house upon the hill, after debating in the town came to vote of the town to lott, that the friend one of God should determine it, and after solemn looking to God the lots were drawn, the lot came forth for the place before goodman Phelps or goodman Gunns if Mr Taylor se cause."

If George Phelps were intended it was the first lot west of Little River, part of which has since been washed away. Next west of it was the minister's lot, originally John Holyoke's, then Moses Fiske's, then Mr. Taylor's, and the next on the west was Thomas Gunn's, all on the south side of the highway.

No farther action of the town is recorded respecting this important matter, but we learn of a peculiarity of its construction from the records of the church at West Springfield, built in 1702; a description of that neighboring meeting house indicates that the floor was placed below the framework of the sills, on sleepers which rested on piers. The floor, therefore, was so low, being at the bottom of the sills, as to make it necessary for every one entering the house to step over the sill down to the floor, which must have been exceedingly awkward. The account says that Westfield meeting house was built on a similar plan "which was a stumbling block to many."

The Hatfield meeting house was built, probably, in 1671, though the records do not make the date quite certain. On the summit of its roof, which was pyramidal in shape, the

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house being square, was a turret which was utilized as a watch tower during some of the Indian troubles. Whether the Westfield building possessed a similar feature cannot be known absolutely.

Where the people met for worship during the years preceding the completion of the meeting house is an interesting question. Mr. Bartlett in an article published in the Westfield Times and News Letter, August 28, 1901, says that the house of George Sexton was utilized for this purpose. It was the first house in Westfield, and was built in 1660, on the west side of the road to Windsor, the present north and south Little River Street, not far south of the road to Springfield. It stood not far from the old Ingersol house. His son Benjamin was the first child born in Westfield, who lived to be 87 years old, and his funeral was attended by the Rev. John Ballantine in April, 1754. A hundred years later the old house was once again used for religious meetings, then by the Separates, as they were called, who had come out from the established Congregational church, and stood for a stricter interpretation of doctrine and practice than the popular habit of the period approved.

In 1675 the General Court enacted "that a meeting house should be erected in every town in the colony," and if the people failed to do so at once, the magistrates were empowered to build it and to charge the cost of its erection to the town. Two years later, in 1677, the General Court made arrangements for a consolidation of the inhabitants of Westfield, they who lived near "the meeting house," breaking their lots, to allow those outside the fortification to come within it, showing that at that date a meeting house was standing.

In December, 1672, the vote already quoted was taken relative to building a meeting house like that in Hatfield, and there is no more definite mention of the matter in the town records, and, strange as it may seem, Mr. Taylor makes no reference in any way to the meeting house, in the elaborate account which he gives of the beginnings of settlement and the organization of the church. It is fair to conclude that the important task was completed about 1673.

Town Records:

"June 11, 1676. Voted that Lietenant Mosly Sergant

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bancroft & Josiah Dewey shall apoint persons where they shall sit in the meeting house voted that the townsmen shall endever to get a man to record mens land in the towns."

In January, 1678-9, Lieut. Moseley, Serg. Bancroft and Josiah Dewey were appointed to seat people in the meeting house: seats to be paid by the town for those who did not pay for themselves.

A house for the shelter of the minister was provided several years earlier. In January, 1688, more than a year before the town was formally organized it having been voted unanimously to urge Mr. Fiske to continue his labors, the following vote was added: "It is agreed unanimously to disburse 40 lb in building a house for the ministers incouragement wch shall be paid in such maner as may be to best advantage." In March, 1678, it was voted "to give Walter Lee 15 shillings upon the account of the loss of time when he was a bought Mr Taylors chimbleys, provided that he deliver up the bills," meaning, undoubtedly, give a receipt for the amount in an itemized bill.

The same year a vote was recorded which, though quaint in phrasing, is full of considerate courtesy toward the young couple at the parsonage.

"It was voted that Lieut. Mosely & Isaac Phelps they are to take care about Mr. Taylors hay & corn in hay time & harvest for the gathering of it in and the town are to spin Mrs. Taylor a day's work apiece in haytime & harvest & they are to have a day or two to said warning."

Mr. Taylor's stipend varied during the early years, ranging from £50 to £80. In 1686 it was the larger of the two sums and again in the following year. In 1691, however, it was reduced to £60, and in the following year £80 was the sum voted, but with an added request that he would abate £10 thereof. It was an original way of sugar coating a demand for a rebate. Mr. Taylor could not fall back upon any Interstate Commerce law as a justification for a refusal to submit to the hard exaction, though what course he pursued is not suggested by the records.

The steady growth of the town, in spite of the ravages and hardships of two wars already endured and the menace of a third about to begin, is indicated by the fact that the

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meeting house could not accommodate all the people who desired to worship there, for in May, 1703, it was "voted to build Gallereys on each side of ye meeting house, allso att the same meeting Nathl Bancroft Joseph Mawdsley & Stephan Kellogg were chosen to be a Committey for to agree with a man or men to carry on said worke to effect.

"also voted that all persons that have seats in the meeting house that have nott paid for them ye Towne votted that they should pay for them."

In December of the same year still farther changes were decided upon which must have altered greatly the appearance of the interior.

It was first voted "that there should be a new seating in ye meeting house.

"Also voted that those antiant Inhabitants which are now in Towne which paid 5 s a seat should have paid to them again 1 s. 6 d. a piece out of ye next Town Rate which shall be made.

"Also voted to build pews in ye meeting house where ye plank seats now stand.

"That the fore pewe to be in Dignity between ye fore seat in ye body & ye Table. And ye second pewe to be in Dignity between ye first & second seat in ye body.

"And ye fore Gallerey is accounted to be in Dignity between ye 3rd & 4th in ye body.

"And ye 2nd seat in ye fore Gallerey to be in dignity between ye 5th & 6th seat in ye body.

"And ye Alley seat in ye Gallery to be in Dignity with the 6th seat in ye body.

"And ye 2nd seat in ye side Gallery to be in Dignity between ye 6th and 7th seat in ye body.

"That Capt. Phelps, Lieut. Root, Nathl Bancroft, Saml Ashely & Thomas Noble are to seat persons in ye meeting house.

"Also it was agreed that the vote made May 10th respecting persons paying for seats in ye meeting house should be null & of no effect."

Even when the only seats were hewn planks raised on legs with no support for the back, the matter of dignity was carefully observed.

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But when galleries and pews were added the task of "dignifying the meeting house" became one of great complexity and delicacy, and was subject to frequent revision.

The grounds of precedence were as well established and the necessity of observing them was as inexorable as they are in the ceremonials incident to a modern Coronation in Russia or England.

In 1688 "The Town agreed with Lt. Saml Loomis to sweep the meeting house & to open & shut the doors when needful for which he is to have 20 shillings a year."

How long he continued to act as janitor we cannot ascertain, but long afterward, April 19, 1716, a vote is recorded which casts some reflection upon the tidiness of the person who had then been acting in that capacity:

"The Selectmen have agreed with the Widow Williams to sweep the meeting house from this time until the last of March next & then to leave it clean swept & she is by this agreement to have for her service either 20 shillings in money, or in grain at Town prices one quarter which makes her due to bee 26s. 8 d."

In 1689, "Walter Lee, Samuel Fowler and the Sergt. of the Garde are appoynted to take care of the children and youths on the Saboth to se that they atend and keep their places and behave themselves seamly both before and in the time of exercise."

Many years earlier it became necessary in Springfield to provide restraints for children who even in that early period had in them the spirit of play, and, perhaps, of mischief.

"At a meeting of the Select men ffebr. 22th 1663 vizt Deacon Chapin Nathaneell Ely George Colton Rowland Thomas & Elizur Holyoke

"The Select men considering the great damage done to ye glas windows of ye meeting house by childrens playing about y meeting house. They doe order yt if any persons children or others shalbe found playing at any sports about ye meeting whereby ye glass windows yr of may be endamaged Such persons shalbe liable to a fine of 12d apeece for each tyme they shalbe found soe playing, wch fine is to be paid wthin 3 days after such default: & if the Governors of any youth yt Soe offend shall refuse to pay the said fyne

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such youths shalbe liable to be whipt by the Constable before 3 or more of ye Select men who shall determine ye number of stripes to be inflicted & if any other persons Soe offending shall refuse to pay ye sayd fine as aforesaid they shalbe liable to ye like punishmet as aforesaid & all such fines shall goe one halfe to ye Informrs & ye other halfe to ye Select men for the use of the Towne in bearing publik charges."

Trouble with the boys did not cease altogether with passing years as may be readily believed, judging the past by the present.

At the regular Westfield March meeting in 1718, after the choice of town officers, it was voted:

"That the Tithing men shall have full power to take especial care that all disorders in the meeting house especially on the Sabbath Day are * * * & to give such correction that they shall think fit unto the boys to keep them in order."

In 1722 "It was voted that in case any persons were disorderly upon the sabbath day in the Public worship & so made to appear, should be put in the stocks the Munday following & that the Tithing men shall take the care that the mater bee prosecuted to effect."

The town officers of those days were intent upon the execution of their mandates and upon securing respect for their authority. Responsibility sat heavily upon them and none was to imagine that they bore the rod in vain. Reverence was then a legal obligation.

The physical vigor of Mr. Taylor is remarkable. With all the work which he accomplished as minister of the town, besides that which was involved in the cultivation of his farm land, and in the making of many books for his library, in addition to that of his various writings and his public obligations, in spite of it all, there is no hint of the failure of his natural force until he had nearly rounded out his fourscore years. In the summer of 1721 he had help from Mr. Benjamin Lord, who had married Mr. Taylor's daughter Ann in the previous year and became the eminent minister of Norwich, Conn. In October, 1721, Mr. Lord was voted "3 Pounds of the bank money for his help" during the season past.

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Early in 1722, Deacon Noble and Capt. Ashley were appointed "to go and discourse with" him concerning the selection of a colleague.

"At the same meeting Dea. Th. Noble was chosen as a messenger to go in the towns behalf to give Mr. Brown [of New Haven] a call, and also voted to give Th. Ashley five or six shillings to encourage him to go and accompany Deacon Noble in his journey."

The quest was evidently vain, since negotiations were opened in April following, 1723, with Mr. Isaac Stiles "to keep ye school for ye year ensewing & to assist Mr. Taylor in the ministry in order to a settlement amongst us."

Daniel Bagg, Deacon Ashley and John Shepard were appointed a committee to treat with both Mr. Stiles and Mr. Taylor concerning the plan, and at an adjourned meeting £50 were voted to him for a year's work and a proportional part for less. On June 1, Mr. Stiles married Keziah, daughter of Mr. Taylor, and two days later the town voted, "to alow the Rev. Mr. Taylor help in carrying on the work of the ministry."

In August Mr. Stiles was voted £100 annual salary when he should undertake the whole work of the ministry, though sundry persons entered upon the record a formal dissent from that vote, for reasons not given. They were John Phelps, John Shepard, Sam'l Fowler, Jr., David Ashley, Jr., John Moseley, John Bancroft, Nath'l Bancroft, Jr., Joseph Root, Jonathan Fowler, Hanford Old, Isaac Phelps. They formed a very respectable minority as regards number and standing, so that it is the more exasperating to have had them leave the ground of their disaffection a matter of uncertainty.

The answer which Mr. Stiles rendered to the proposal of the town was adequately safeguarded:

"Gentlemen: Upon mature deliberation & Good Advice I have thought fit & advisable to accept your call at present with this proviso—that there arise no sufficient discouragement, which if there should I shall then look upon myself as free from any obligation to you."

Such hypothetical acceptance of a call in these modern days would hardly be considered a sufficient basis of a contract between pastor and people. That Mr. Stiles did not at once

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enter upon his dual duties is evident from the following action taken in the succeeding spring, March 10, 1724:

"Voted, to give Mr. Stiles a call into the school in order to setle him in the ministry & to give Mr. Stiles 50£ for keeping the school one year that is to say the 3 summer months, he shall be obliged onley for keeping the Latin schoolers & that 3 months to preach half the time & the other part of the year as to the preaching shall be left wholey to the Rev. Mr. Taylor & Mr. Stiles, and if he preacheth half of the time, he shall have Friday & Saturday, out of every weke for to prepare to preach & when Mr Stiles doth not preach the one half, then to atend the school every day in the week & ye year shall begin on the 1st day of April 1724.

"Also voated to give Mr Isaac Stiles 100£ a year when he shall take upon him the whole work of the ministry.

"Also voated that Deacon Ashley shall go down to New Haven to Mr Stiles & treat with Mr Stiles & to lay ye Town proposal before him & to recieve his answer & to make report to ye town again."

Disappointment seems again to have followed, as in the case of Mr. Brown. Mr. Stiles settled in North Haven and became the Father of the renowned President Stiles of Yale College. In Feb., 1725, it was voted to allow Mr. Bull the same terms as those which failed to secure Mr. Stiles, and apparently he began about that time to act as schoolmaster and assistant to Mr. Taylor.

"Apr. 1, 1726. Deacon Noble, Deacon Taylor & Capt. Dewey were chosen a Comitey to go to Mr. Taylor and discourse with him to se whether he be willing to lay down preaching."

Mr. Bull was ordained as associate minister October 26 following.

The last vote respecting Mr. Taylor which appears upon the town records was taken December 27, 1728, when it was agreed "to rais 10£ for Ms Hitable Taylor to inable her to provide help to tend Mr. Taylor," a most considerate act to meet a most pathetic condition.

He never fully recovered his health after a severe illness which prostrated him a few years before his death, though

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during his long life previously he had been a man of exceptional vigor. The divine call to rest from his labors reached him June 24, 1729, fifty-seven and a half years after he had made that perilous winter journey from the Bay to become shepherd of the feeble flock upon the frontier of the Colony.

He was buried in the old cemetery where his tombstone still stands bearing the quaint and appreciative inscription:

"Here reste ye body of ye Rev'd Mr Edward Taylor ye aged, Venerable, Learned & Pious Pastor of ye church of Christ in this town, who after he had served God & his generation faithfully for many years fell asleep June 24, 1729 in ye 87 year of his age."

A communication from Westfield in the Boston News Letter speaking of his death adds: "And what a rich blessing God sent us in him almost Fifty eight Years Experience has taught us * * * He was eminently holy in his Life, and very painful and laborious in his Work till the Infirmities of a great old age disabled him: and continued to have the sole Oversight of this Flock till October 26, 1726, when the Rev. Mr. Bull was ordain'd among us: in which solemn Action he bore his Part." After that event "he declin'd preaching publickly, tho' always before very loth to be prevented on any account. And when about two or three Months after, he was by much Intreaty prevailed on (the only Time he was so) he did as it were preach his own Funeral Sermon, from Zechariah i. 5. Your fathers, where are they? and the prophets do they live forever?" Respecting those days of decrepitude, Judge Sewall writes under date of 18 April, 1728, a year before Mr. Taylor's departure:

"The Rev. Mr. Taylor of Westfield sits in his great Chair, and canot walk from thence to his Bed without suport. He is longing and waiting for his Dismission."

It was later in the same year that the town voted 10£ to his daughter Mehitable to help provide for his care, as noted above. His long life bridged many momentous events and epochs of English history. Born under Charles I, it included the period of the Commonwealth and Cromwell as Lord Protector, and the reigns respectively of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, Queen Anne, George I, and the first two years of George II. Critical times were they

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in the experience of the Colonies, struggling on the one hand against tyranny from oversea, and on the other, for the preservation of life and property against the menace of savage foes and their French allies. It was not until more than a quarter of a century after Mr. Taylor's death that the home conflict was finally settled and the English supremacy was permanently established.

A brief sketch of his Grandfather, which we wish might have been far more elaborate, was made by President Stiles, who says:

"My Mother was the daughter of the Rev. Edward Taylor, A.M. Pastor of the Congregational Church in Westfield, in Massachusetts. He was an excellent classical scholar, being master of the three learned languages and every way a very learned man. * * *

"The greater part of grandfather's library descended to me, but did not entirely come into my hands till after the death of my father, Rev. Isaac Stiles * * * Characteristic anecdotes, very curious in botany, minerals and natural history. He was an incessant student, but used no spectacle glasses to his death. I have a manuscript folio of six hundred pages, his commentary upon the Evangelists. He was a vigorous advocate for Oliver Cromwell, civil and religious liberty. A Congregationalist in opposition to Presbyterian church discipline. He was physician for the town all his life. He concerned himself little about domestic and secular affairs. Attended to all the public state of the provinces and Parliament; greatly detested King James, Sir Edmund Andross and Randolph: gloried in King William and the Revolution of 1688: felt for the dissenters in all their apprehension in Queen Anne's reign, and triumphed in the House of Hanover. He had a steady correspondence with Judge Sewall of Boston, who duly communicated to him all the transactions of the Assembly and occurrences in the nation.

"A man of small stature, but firm; of quick passions, yet serious and grave. Exemplary in piety, and for a very sacred observance of the Lord's Day."

Mr. Taylor was indefatigable and tireless in the use of his pen, to an almost incredible degree. A large part of his

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library, a catalogue of which, as furnished by a testamentary inventory of his estate, is given in the Appendix, was the fruit of his prodigious industry in this respect. According to tradition, he left no less than a hundred volumes which he had transcribed and bound with his own hands. Two such specimens of his industry and handicraft are owned by the Westfield Atheneum, presented by one of his descendants, July, 1897, Dr. Oliver Brewster Taylor, of Manchester Green, Conn.

One of them, bound in hogskin parchment, is, "Origen against Celsus" of about 500 pages. The other is "An Extract of the Council of Trent which was set forth at large by Petro Soane Polano, containing eight books, holding forth the Ordinary Acts of ye Council," &c.

"London, Printed by Bonham Norton & John Bill, Printers to ye Kings most excellent Majestie.

1629"

Many of the books which he thus transcribed were loaned him for the purpose by his intimate friend and college classmate, Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston, who made many references to him in his justly famous Diary and his less familiar Letters. They are not devoid of interest as throwing side lights upon the life and character of the great personality of Westfield's Pilgrim Pastor.

"Aug. 20, 1685. Mr. Edw. Taylor lodges here this night, he hastened to Town against Lecture day that so he might see Mr. Adams among the Ministers after Lecture; but coming, found me gone to his Funeral."

That was the Rev. William Adams of Roxbury.

"Sabbath Octr 17, 1686. Mr. Edward Taylor preaches in the Forenoon."

"June 2, 1691. Mr. Edward Taylor puts his son James to Mr. Steward, Shopkeeper of Ipswich, for Seven years, to serve him as an aprentice. Term to begin the first of July next, Mr. Taylor desires me to represent himself in making the Indenture if Mr. Steward desires the accomplishment of it before he comes down again."

"Wed. Mar. 22, 1693.

"Our Kitchen chimney fell on fire about noon and blazed out sorely at top, appeared to be very foul: the fire fell on

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the shingles so that they began to burn in several places, being very dry: but by the good Providence of God, no harm done. Mr. Fisk was with us and we sat merrily to dinner on the good Westfield pork that was snatched from the fire on this Occasion."

When Mr. Taylor made his final visit to Boston there is no means of ascertaining.

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Pilgrim Pastor's Home and Family

The preceding chapter has dealt chiefly with the public life of the Pilgrim pastor during the early struggles of the town. He was for so many years so closely identified with its affairs, and they in turn were so intimately associated with his experiences, that neither can be considered independently of the other. The church was an essential and prominent feature of the life of the town and the attempt has been made to show how largely he was instrumental in bringing it into existence and shaping the first half-century of its progress. A less talented and vigorous personality than his would have met with less remarkable success than that which crowned his long and devoted ministry. During it he received into the church nearly two hundred people, and baptized nearly seven hundred children though none but those, one or both of whose parents were church members, were eligible to the rite. The organization had grown during his pastorate from infancy to maturity. So notable a public man provokes curiosity respecting his private, home life. But here again, as in the public life of Mr. Taylor, the data which are the condition of acquaintance, are far too meager, but such as have come down to us are full of interest. It is not easy, at this remote day, to think of him as a young man, with the making of a home before him. He was for so long a period, to his people and the province, the "Aged, Venerable & Pious Pastor," as described in his epitaph, that it is natural for us to picture him, either in the maturity of his powers, or as having passed beyond it.

But it was as a young man that he left his home in the old country, and as a young man that he assumed his pastorate in the wilderness without a ministerial brother on the West nearer than the Hudson River. One cannot take a sympathetic view of this young christian hero without being moved by the pathos of his condition.

However humble may have been his home in England,

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though we know absolutely nothing respecting it, we do know that it was in the midst of an old civilization, while here he was surrounded by the crudities and asperities of the frontier. Springfield, the mother-town and nearest neighbor, was but a hamlet, and Boston, the capitol, was but a small town. Mr. Taylor was farther removed in time-distance from home and family than a foreign missionary today, at hardly any point of the earth's surface, would be from his home. The voyage across the tempestuous Atlantic in that period of rude and small sailing craft was terrible in respect of danger, duration and discomfort, his own having consumed, as already noted, no less than seventy days. He was but twenty-six years old when making that perilous and lonesome journey; and was twenty-nine years old when assuming the pastoral care of the community, never again to see his native land, or his family and friends left there when starting hither. There is nothing to indicate that a single relative of his was on this side of the sea to greet him, or came over afterward to cheer his heart and become acquainted with its later garnered treasures.

What strain upon his spirit must that long experience of absence from familiar scenes and dear people have caused, especially in its early years, before new ties could have grown deep and strong!

One has written, somewhat recently, with great tenderness and considerateness, of the "Homesickness of the Fathers," as shown by the way in which they perpetuated the old country names of towns in the settlement of New England in each of its several States. Two nearby instances are found respectively in Springfield and Northampton.

It was shown also by the eagerness with which they called the first red-breasted bird which they chanced upon, a robin, though so different from the English bird of that name. The bright yellow flower which gleams in spring in moist places, they called after the yellow cowslip of the homeland though ours is really the marsh marigold. And because the white flowers of the trailing arbutus suggested the very different bloom of the hawthorne hedge, or May, they called it the Mayflower.

These illustrations of feeling for inanimate objects were

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but evidences and symbols of the deeper feelings which yearned fondly for beloved people in the distant homeland.

Braving the pangs of homesickness which few of his people could share with him, the great majority of them having been born in New England, the young minister of Westfield carried on his work in patient earnestness. That his was a sensitive spirit, easily subject to emotional excitement, his brief Diary shows. The strength and tenderness of his early home ties are also clearly suggested by references to a brother Joseph in his Diary, and to parents and a sister in his "Relation," given when the church was organized.

He had the privilege, shared by his parishioners, of making a home for coming years, though never again was he to know the shelter of the rooftree of his childhood in England.

The parsonage which had been occupied by Mr. Fisk and awaited Mr. Taylor's coming, would have been a cheerless place for the lone man to occupy and hence, "he settled in quarters" at Mr. Whiting's as his Diary records. Very probably he remained there until ready to establish a home in proper fashion.

What that original parsonage was like in size and form we can know, not certainly, but only probably, concluding that it was one of the common type of that day. It must have been small and rude as first fashioned, in keeping with the poverty and feebleness of the infant settlement. Even though the people may have thought that the best was none too good for the minister, yet their best was very primitive and simple. There was at that period a great scarcity of lumber and hardware for building purposes. Timber was plenty enough, but the facilities for preparing and finishing it for use were very limited. It is not unlikely that the first parsonage was built of logs, perhaps unhewn, and contained but few rooms. During the half-century that Mr. Taylor occupied it there was time, and there certainly was necessity, for its enlargement. From the Inventory of his estate we learn that, at the time of his death, it contained a study and a parlor besides several other rooms, and the family life which they sheltered hallowed their every feature, nook, and cranny.

Caulkins, in his history of Norwich, Conn., says that

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Mr. Taylor studied for a while under the Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich. Mr. Taylor makes no reference to that episode in his educational career in the Diary which covers the period at which it must have occurred. Had he been able to forecast the important bearing which it was destined to have on his home life, he doubtless would have made at least brief mention of the fact that he was for a time a student in that Connecticut parsonage. At any rate, it played a significant part in the drama of his life. We have indisputable evidence that about three years after his arrival in Westfield his mind and heart were turned thither with absorbing interest shown by a well-known letter of his, bearing date of 8 day of the 7 month, 1674, and is addressed to "my friend and only beloved Miss Elizabeth Fitch at her father's house in Norwich." It has been aptly called, "A Model Love Letter." The Rev. James Fitch was one of the original proprietors, and the first clergyman settled in the town of Norwich, and it was therefore with poetic justice that the first settled clergyman in the town of an adjoining Colony should woo his daughter.

The original of the Letter, a copy of which follows herewith, was intrusted many years since to the care of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford though an effort to discover it, subsequently made, proved futile. It is to be hoped that so important a document may not continue to be so safely laid away as to defy all attempts to unearth it. Whether or not that hoped-for result may eventuate, we may feel complacent over the possession of a well attested copy of this quaint missive.

"Westfield, Mass., 8th day of the 7th month, 1674.
"My Dove:—I send you not my heart, for that I hope is sent to Heaven long since, and unless it has awfully deceived me it hath not taken up its lodgings in any one's bosom on this side of the royal city of the Great King; but yet the most of it that is allowed to be layed out upon any creature doth safely and singly fall to your share. So much my post pigeon presents you with here in these lines. Look not (I entreat you) on it as one of love's hyperboles. If I borrow the beams of some sparkling metaphor to illustrate my respects

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unto thyself by, for you having made my breast the cabinet of your affections as I yours mine, I know not how to offer a fitter comparison to set out my love by, than to compare it unto a golden ball of pure fire rolling up and down my breast, from which there flies now and then a spark like a glorious beam from the body of the flaming sun. But alas! striving to catch these sparks into a love letter unto yourself, and to gild it with them as with a sun beam, find, that by what time they have fallen through my pen upon my paper, they have lost their shine and fall only like a little smoke thereon instead of gilding them. Wherefore, finding myself so much deceived, I am ready to begrudge my instruments, for though my love within my breast is so large that my heart is not sufficient to contain it, yet they can make it no more room to ride into, than to squeeze it up betwixt my black ink and white paper. But know that it is the coarsest part that is couchant there, for the finest is too fine to clothe in any linguist and huswifry, or to be expressed in words, and though this letter bears but the coarsest part to you, yet the purest is improved for you. But now, my dear love, lest my letter should be judged the lavish language of a lover's pen, I shall endeavor to show that conjugal love ought to exceed all other love. 1st, appears from that which it represents, viz.: The respect there is betwixt Christ and his church, Eph. 5th, 25th, although it differs from that in kind; for that is spiritual and this human, and in degree, that is boundless and transcendent, this limited and subordinate; yet it holds out that this should be cordial and with respect to all other transcendent. 2d, Because conjugal love is the ground of conjugal union, or conjugal sharing the effects of this love, is also a ground of this union. 3d, From those Christian duties which are incumbent on persons in this state as not only a serving God together, a praying together, a joining in the ruling and instructing their family together, which could not be carried on as it should be without a great degree of true love, and also a mutual giving each other to each other, a mutual succoring each other in all states, ails, grievances; and how can this be when there is not a love exceeding all other love to any creature? And hereby if persons in this state have not love exceeding all love, it's with them for the most part as

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with the strings of an instrument not tuned up, when struck upon makes but a jarring, harsh sound. But when we get the wires of an instrument equally drawn up, and rightly struck upon, sound together, make sweet music whose harmony doth enravish the ear; so when the golden strings of true affection are struck up into a right conjugal love, thus sweetly doth this state then harmonize to the comfort of each other and to the glory of God when sanctified. But yet, the conjugal love must exceed all other, yet it must be kept within bounds, for it must be subordinate to God's glory; the which that mine may be so, it having got you in its heart, doth offer my heart with you in it as a more rich sacrifice into God through Christ, and so it subscribeth me,

Your true love till death,
EDWARD TAYLOR.

This for my friend and only beloved
MISS ELIZABETH FITCH,
at her father's house in Norwich."

His reference to the gentle bird by whose name he addresses his betrothed was made realistic in the original draft by an illustration which is reproduced in Caulkins' History. It suggests a dove, the beauty of which is somewhat marred by a total absence of feathers, they having been sacrificed in order to admit of the following couplet being stretched along the whole length of the ornithological curiosity, bearing a stalk with a few leaves in its bill,—

"This dove and olive branch to you
Is both a post and an emblem too."

Soon after this curious blending of romance and theology was dispatched on its amatory mission the two lives were legally united and began in the new home what there is every reason to believe was an experience of rich conjugal felicity. The marriage occurred November 5, 1674.

During the fifteen years that Mrs. Taylor was spared to preside over their home, eight children were welcomed into it, only three of whom reached their majority. Samuel, born August 27, 1675, took to wife, January 5, 1704, Margaret, the daughter of John Moseley, one of the Foundation Men. The

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second child, Elizabeth, named for her Mother, was born December 27, 1676, and died February 5, 1683. James was born October 12, 1678. As a youth he left the frontier home to attempt a career in the far distant Bay. Two significant entries respecting him are found in Judge Sewall's Diary, the one already quoted in the preceding Chapter, relative to his being apprenticed in 1691, when he was thirteen years old, to Mr. Steward of Ipswich, the other, which here follows, relative to his tragic death in a foreign land. In Sewall's Letters he speaks of having written "To Mr. Edward Taylor of Westfield, Mar. 14, 15, 1701, giving him an account that Mr. James Taylor, his Son, arrived at Barbados, the 18th January; about a week after, Fell sick of a Fever, died Janr 30, was buried the last of January.

"My wife and I more than sympathize with you, the Loss is partly our own. Lost two thirds of his horses, most he carried, came to a bad Martket. * * * Enclosed Mr. Willards Sermon against Swearing preached the day of Mr. Taylors death; might partly asswage his grief. Enclosed my verses for opening the New Century."

From this absurd hodge-podge of commercialism, condolence, blundering stupidity and egotism, we may gather the inference that this son, after having perhaps completed the term of his apprenticeship with the Ipswich merchant, attempted an enterprise on his own account which resulted thus disastrously. The loss of this son was the more harrowing because before it occurred death had been so frequent a visitor in the Westfield parsonage, as will appear. Abigail, the fourth child, born August 6, 1681, did not live to complete her fourth year, having died July 26, 1685.

Elizabeth, born February 5, 1685, died the 25th of the following December.

Mary, born July 3, 1686, died May 15, 1687.

Hezekiah, born February 18, 1688, died March 3, 1689.

Only a few months later, July 7, 1689, the Mother, who as a bride fifteen years earlier was reputed to have been a beautiful and accomplished lady, and whose character must have been matured and chastened by the varied experiences

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of home life as wife and mother, was taken from her sphere of useful and devoted service. At that time there were left to comfort the stricken husband and Father, only three children out of the eight who had been bestowed upon him, Samuel the firstborn, then fourteen years old, James, then nearly eleven years old, and one daughter, Bathshua, the fifth child, born January 17, 1684, hence then five years old. She was married, two years before her brother Samuel, in 1702, to Col. John Pynchon, son of John and Margaret (Hubbard) Pynchon, who entered Harvard and was there two years when his Grandfather took him away and procured for him the office of Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and Court of Sessions at Springfield. He was afterward made County Register. He lived for some years with his Grandfather, who was first Justice of the Court.

Children—Elizabeth, b. Dec. 27, 1702, d. Sept. 6, 1776, married Benjamin Colton.

William, b. Nov. 11, 1703, d. Jan. 11, 1783, m. Sarah Bliss.

John and Joseph, John d. Apr. 6, 1754.

Mary, b. Oct. 10, 1706, married Brig. Gen. Dwight.

Bathshua, b. Jan. 11, 1708, m. Robert Harris, Feb. 18, 1730, d. 1760.

Bathshua, the Mother, died in June, 1710.

By the marriage of Bathshua, in 1702, the Taylor family became allied with the most prominent and influential family of the upper Connecticut Valley. By the marriage of Samuel to Margaret Moseley, two years later, it became allied with one of the most prominent and influential families of Westfield, which was destined to maintain its leadership through many successive generations. In the case of Samuel and Margaret the pathetic experience of the Taylor family was still farther exemplified. Within five years of their marriage both died, she September 7, 1708, and he April 8, 1709; meanwhile three of their children had died within two weeks after their birth. Their first child, Elizabeth, born November 7, 1705, survived them and was received into the parsonage for shelter and nurture, though six children of her Grandfather's second marriage had already been gathered there.

Judge Henry Wyllys Taylor, late of Canandaigua, N. Y.,

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said in relation to her, "In my early youth the traditions of Elizabeth were clear and bright. According to tradition she was an extraordinarily gifted and lovely girl." She married Rev. Peter Reynolds of Enfield. In 1692, bereft of his wife and five of his eight children, the lonely and stricken minister in the Westfield parsonage, married Ruth Wyllys of Hartford. In a most curious and interesting way her life linked that Westfield home and the Taylor family, both through her ancestors and her descendants, with the adjoining Colony of Connecticut.

Her two Grandfathers were its Governors. Her Mother's Father was John Haynes, who in 1635 was Governor of Massachusetts, and who the following year, according to Bancroft, was the leader of the Rev. Thomas Hooker's party through the forests of Massachusetts to found what became the city of Hartford, the same year that William Pynchon led his party to found Springfield on the same noble river. Haynes was made the first Governor of Connecticut. This notable man came to the Bay in 1633 and married for his second wife Mabel Harlakenden, who had come from a luxurious home in England and who was descended from noble ancestors. Their daughter Ruth married Samuel, the son of Gov. George Wyllys. The Governor's daughter, Amy, in 1645, as already noted, became the wife of John Pynchon. Thus, John Pynchon was the husband of Mrs. Ruth Wyllys Taylor's aunt.

The home of Gov. Wyllys, famous for its situation and elegance, was known far and wide as the "Wyllys Place." It descended to his son, and there the daughter Ruth spent her early days until the time of her marriage to Mr. Taylor. An old oak in front of it, under which Ruth and the other children of the family played, was destined to become the most celebrated tree in America, the "Charter Oak." The thrilling incident of Connecticut history which was the occasion of its name and fame, is familiar.

In the autumn of 1687, five years before Ruth's marriage, Andros with a train of Massachusetts magnates and a company of soldiers, marched into Hartford and demanded the Charter of the Colony. The Council met in the church not far from the Wyllys home to debate the matter. Hour after hour passed and darkness began to settle down over the excited

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Assembly. Candles were brought in and placed on the table upon which lay the precious Charter. Suddenly they were extinguished and in the consequent confusion and gloom, some hand grasped the document and when the candles were relighted it could not be found. According to tradition fondly cherished, it was hidden in the old oak in front of Ruth's home, which for twenty months kept its secret inviolably until after the Revolution in England the following year, and the consequent downfall of the detested Andros had been consummated. In May, 1689, the charter was taken from its bosom, the government was restored and Ruth's Father, Hon. Samuel Wyllys, resumed his place in the Legislature, which he kept for six years longer, added to the thirty during which he had already served.

It may not be uninteresting to pause a moment longer to review the remarkable official history of this family.

In 1711, Hezekiah Wyllys, Ruth's only brother, was elected Secretary of State, and continued to hold the office until his death, twenty-three years later. His immediate successor in the office was his own son George, who was annually elected to the office until his death sixty-one years later, and, in turn, he was succeeded by his son, Gen. Samuel Wyllys, who retained the office for fifteen years, until 1809. Thus Ruth's brother, his son and grandson served respectively in that position of civic trust for ninety-six consecutive years. If to this there be added the thirty-six years that Ruth's Father served in the Legislature, and the years that her Grandfather, Gov. Wyllys, held office either as chief magistrate, or assistant in Connecticut, we have a record of one hundred and forty-one years during which the successive generations of Ruth's family held honorable official positions in that Colony.

Can a parallel case be found in our country's annals?

Ruth Wyllys, like her Grandmother Mabel Harlakenden, made willing sacrifice of luxury to love. The contrast between the "Wyllys Place" of Hartford and the parsonage on the frontier of the upper valley, must have been impressive to the young bride, though we have no evidence that she deplored her chosen lot or shrank from its hardships while performing the duties of wife and Mother.

If the story of Mrs. Ruth Taylor's ancestors and her early

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life is interesting, that of her descendants is no less so. She had five daughters, each of whom was wooed successfully by a minister from a Connecticut parish.

Ruth, the eldest, born April 16, 1693, married in 1713 the Rev. Benjamin Colton of West Hartford. Their son, George, became a minister and settled in Bolton, his work continuing until 1812. The two sisters, Naomi, born March 30, 1695, and Ann, born July 7, 1697, were married on the same day, June 14, 1720, by Capt. John Ashley, Justice of the Peace, the former the bride of Rev. Ebenezer Devotion of Suffield, the latter the bride of the Rev. Benjamin Lord of Norwich, the parish whence Mr. Taylor brought his first wife, Elizabeth Fitch.

Naomi's son became the Rev. John Devotion of Saybrook. Her eldest daughter married the Rev. Hezekiah Bissell, and another daughter was the wife of Rev. Joseph Huntington of Coventry. Descendants in later generations became missionaries in Asia Minor and the Sandwich Islands.

Ann Lord was in the Norwich parsonage during the years of the "great awakening" of the eighteenth century, when hundreds were added to the churches. One has said: "A mountain in the history of Norwich stands the work of the Rev. Benjamin Lord, and from the base to the summit may be traced the footsteps of his wife Ann." Yet, for sixteen years she was confined to her bed, and during half of that period she was incapable of feeding herself. Two of her four boys, Ebenezer and Joseph, twins, were graduated from Yale in 1758. Her daughter Ann married Capt. John Kellogg of Westfield in 1766. She died in 1781 and was buried near her Grandfather in the old cemetery.

Ruth's fourth daughter, Mehitable, born August 14, 1699, married Rev William Gager of Lebanon, Conn.

The fifth daughter, Keziah, or Kezzy as she was familiarly and fondly called, born April 4, 1702, when she was twenty-three years old, June 1, 1725, married the Rev. Isaac Stiles, who had been invited to become Mr. Taylor's assistant and successor, but for some reason, after having accepted conditionally, decided to go to North Haven. The sweet June bride of that year was spared only until December of the year following. She left one frail son, Ezra, who, however,

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grew up to become the famous President of Yale College. He was born December 15, and hence was left motherless from his earliest days.

He was graduated from Yale in 1746 and was a tutor there for some years. To him are credited the first electrical experiments ever made in New England, suggested by some apparatus sent to the college by Dr. Franklin. He must have inherited his Grandfather Taylor's love of the natural sciences. From 1778 until his death in 1795 he filled the presidential chair and acted as professor of divinity. Earlier in life he was Pastor of a church in Newport, and still earlier studied law and was admitted to the bar. He was one of the most broadly learned men of his time in New England, a worthy scion of the learned Pastor of the Westfield church. Ruth Stiles, one of his daughters, married John M. Gannett and became the Mother of the Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett of Boston.

Another daughter, Mary, was the first wife of Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., the Father of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Ruth Taylor's sixth and last child was a son, Eldad, born April 10, 1708. He was the Benjamin of the Taylor household, arriving when his father was sixty-six years old, and after he had been minister of the town for thirty-seven years. This fourteenth child married Nov. 1, 1732, Rhoda Dewey. Breaking from the earlier tradition, none of his five daughters married a minister, but his thirteenth child, John, became one.

These genealogical notes of the Rev. Edward Taylor's family having been given largely to show the specific illustrations of the ministerial tradition, a sketch of this grandson John is added because it falls into line with it and adds its evidence of the wide-reaching beneficence of the life of that Pilgrim Pastor in other communities of New England. Hence Eldad will be passed by at present, in order to tell of his son.

John Taylor was born December 23, 1762. He was graduated from Yale College in 1784, early in the presidency of his uncle Ezra Stiles. After having been licensed as a minister, he preached his first sermon, January 15, 1786, in the pulpit of his Grandfather, the Rev. Mr. Atwater, then the Pastor, having been absent, preaching in Southwick on that day.

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HON. ELDAD TAYLOR.

The youngest child of Rev. Edward Taylor. He was born April 10, 1708, and died in Boston, March 21, 1777, after a life of eminent usefulness in Town and Province.

THE JOSEPH MOSELEY HOUSE.

This house is now standing on the corner of Main and Meadow Streets on land where the first store of the Town was conducted by Mr. Joseph Whiting. Some of its timbers were in the house built here by Lieut. John Maudesley soon after 1676. The lot on the left was the site of the second meeting house, built in 1720.

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on account of the long illness of the minister of the church there, Rev. Mr. Forward, who, in fact, entered into rest late on the same day.

Of this grandson of Edward Taylor, Mr. Bartlett says: "In the early part of the year following, he received a call to become the Pastor of the church in Deerfield, and was ordained February 24, 1787. His settlement was £250, with £100 salary and what firewood he needed at 6/ per cord. At the time of his call Shays's rebellion was at its height and in his letter of acceptance he spoke discouragingly of the political situation, having great anxiety concerning the final result, his Father, Hon. Eldad Taylor, having been one of the leading patriots during that part of the Revolution prior to his decease in 1777. John seems to have imbibed the patriotism of his Father and was in accord with the people to whom he was called to preach, and very much unlike his predecessor, also a native of Westfield, the Rev. Jonathan Ashley, ordained in Springfield in 1732. He was during the Revolution a virulent Tory, and not content with praying for the King instead of the Commonwealth, he taught that a fearful doom awaited the rebels who fell at Bunker Hill."

Mr. Taylor enjoyed harmonious relations with his people during his ministry. He was one of the incorporators of Deerfield Academy, March 21, 1797. In 1793 he published an Appendix to "The Redeemed Captive," that famous account by Rev. John Williams of his experiences incident to his captivity in Canada. On February 29, 1804, Mr. Taylor preached a centennial sermon of the attack on the town by the French and Indians when so many of the inhabitants were taken prisoners and borne northward over the snow, some of them to perish by the way and others besides never to return.

His farewell sermon was preached August 6, 1806, his resignation having been due to ill-health. He removed to Enfield, Conn., engaged in farming, became an influential citizen, was elected many times its Representative, and was more than once Speaker of the House. In 1817 he did missionary work in New York State, and in 1832 was settled as a minister in Bruce, Michigan, where he died in 1840, aged 78.

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It is a remarkable fact as already noted, that three generations in that family covered almost two centuries, it having been one hundred and ninety-eight years from the birth of Rev. Edward Taylor in 1642 to the death of John, his grandson, in 1840.

The children in that first Westfield parsonage did not unite with the church of their Father in early youth. Samuel took the step when he was 32 years old, in 1707, two years before his death. Naomi and Ann united in 1718, the former 23, and the latter 24 years old. Keziah was 23 years old when she united in 1725, just before her marriage to Rev. Isaac Stiles. Mehitable united under Mr. Bull in 1727 just before her marriage to Rev. Mr. Gager, when she was 28 years old, a year before her Father's death.

Eldad united October 14, 1733, when he was 25 years old, a year after his marriage.

The following curious entry in Judge Sewall's Diary gives a proof of the familiar intimacy of the two Harvard classmates:

"July 15, 1698. Mr. Edward Taylor comes to our house from Westfield. Monday July 18 I walked with Mr. Edward Taylor upon Cotton Hill, thence to Beacon Hill, the Pasture along the Stone wall: As came back we sat down on the great Rock & Mr. Taylor told me his courting his first wife & Mr. Fitch his story of Mr. Dod's prayer to God to bring his Affection to close with a person pious but hard-favoured. Has God answered me in finding one Godly & fit for me and shall I part for fancy? When came home my wife gave me Mr. Tapan's Letter concerning Eliza which caused me to reflect on Mr. Taylor's Discourse. And his prayer was for pardon of error in our ways, which made me think whether it were not best to overlook all & go on."

Curiosity is piqued to resolve the obscure reference of the above, since they seem to suggest some deep secrets of the noted author's heart.

"Aug. 20, 1698. Went to Long Meadow to bring the Majr Generall going towards Hartford, meet with Jno Noble, with him went to Westfield & Kept Sabbath with Mr. Taylor Aug. 21."

In Judge Sewall's Letters there is the copy of one of Mr. Taylor's of six pages quarto, concerning the object of the

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vials, apocalyptic visions, etc., which is evidently one in a controversial series which passed between them discussing questions raised by the obscure book of Revelation.

In March, 1700, he writes Mr. Taylor concerning the death of his son to which reference will be made in a succeeding Chapter.

June 27, 1710, he gives the following note of a letter to Mr. Taylor: "Condole the death of his daughter Pynchon buried last Midweek. Inclosed Mr. Danforth's Sermon and the three last News Letters."

He makes frequent references to various sermons and other documents sent to his friend on the western frontier, as, for example:

"To Mr. Edward Taylor, inclosing Dr. C. Mather's Sermons of Novr 5 and Decr 31, 1719.

"Febr 16, 17, 1719-20

"Writ about his Meetinghouse, After two such Vows it may be dangerous to make Inquiry. It is impossible to be a loser by denying himself, taking up his Cross and following Christ. You will say of your little old wife the Congregation of Westfield—

"Conjux crede mihi, si te quoque collis habebit,

"Te sequar ascendens, et me quoque collis habebit.

"Sent an extract of Mr. Mitchel's Letter to his cousin Priestly Novr 19, 1646—Mr. Hobart's versus—*Nocte viator*—May God graciously govern and calm your Spirits! My dear Colleague, and Chamberfellow and Bedfellow! I have lost many of my Organs of Music: my Fore-Teeth, both uper and nether. May we industriously help one another along to the Regions of Light and Love, where there will be no Sleeping, no Sinning, no Sorrowing. So prays and desires to be prayed for, Sir, your ever loving friend and humble Servt

S. S."

"Dec. 29, Jan. 12, 1722/3 Writ to Mr. Edward Taylor; inclosed Six of Mr. Willard's Sermons. * * * Inclosed the Gazett of Jany 7th that had His Majs Speech to the Parliament, and the Lt Governour's Speech at his taking the Chair. Congratulated his comfortable entrance upon the 52nd year of his Ministry, Peace in his Church, his very roomthy and good new Meetinghouse."

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A letter bearing upon this entry in his Diary will be quoted in a subsequent Chapter, indicating Mr. Taylor's attitude toward the vexed question of the location of the second meeting house.

Under date of December 18, 1727, Judge Sewall speaks of having hired Blake's Coach with four horses to attend the funeral of Rev. Peter Thacher at Milton. He then refers to having been at the Interment of four of his classmates and adds the following pathetic reflection:

"Now I can go to no more funerals of my Classmates; nor none be at mine; for the survivors, the Revd. Mr. Samuel Mather at Windsor, and the Revd. Taylor at Westfield [are] One Hundred Miles off, and are entirely enfeebled. I humbly pray that Christ may be graciously present with us all Three both in Life and in Death, and then we shall safely and Comfortably walk through the shady valley that leads to Glory."

A year and a half later he notes:

"July 7, 1729. My old Friend and Colleague, Mr. Edward Taylor, is now dead, was buried the 25 of June last, having diligently and Faithfully served the people of Westfield in the work of the Ministry 58 years. May God be graciously pleased to prepare me to follow—".

In the extended sketch of Mr. Taylor published by Harvard College, as a member of the Class of 1671, it is stated that he "had through his life a passion for writing poetry. There are extant specimens covering a period of about sixty-seven years; not of a very high order, though some have considerable merit. He gave orders that his heirs should never publish any of his writings."

Two valuable original documents belonging to the Elwell Collection have been graciously placed at the disposal of the author by their present possessor, Mr. Ernest N. Bagg of West Springfield. One is a personal letter without date, thus addressed: "These For the Reverend Mr. Edward Taylor pastor of the church of Xt in Westfield."

"Beloved Sr I have yours, and by these I tell you, that I am grieved as well as you to see how things are amongst us: and as for the admitting members without dismissions, they have admitted one that belonged to this church, who neither had nor asked for any dismission from us: I am much

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dissatisfied but know not how to help it: as for Scantick there is less difficulty: but whether I shall bee there or no, I cannot tell, if I should be there I shall want your company: I pray god to guide us in all things, and to help us in this backsliding time, but I have this comfort, truth will live when I am dead

"I am yours syncerely, S. M.

"June 2"

The writer was Rev. Samuel Mather, pastor of the church in Windsor, Conn. Scantic was a part of the town lying on the east side of the Connecticut River, in what is now known as East Windsor. The letter was probably written during the last decade of the seventeenth century.

The sheet containing the note was folded twice and on the back of one of the folds in very fine writing is a business account, a series of charges, against some of Westfield's most prominent citizens, including Ensign Dewey, Saml Loomas, Danl. Dewey, Thomas Sheldon, Saml. Ashley, Stephen Kellogg, Ambrose Fowler, James Noble, Joseph Bodman, Mr. Marshall, John Maudsly, Thomas Hanchet, John Sacket Jr. Ensign Gun, Jos. Saxton and others. Most of the charges are for Rum, including a half pint to Sara Dewey. Saml. Bush's daughter is charged, "Silk 2 skeans." "Joseph Maudsley Galloon 5¼ yds." "Ensign Dewy great nutmegs."

Mr. Mather was in the same class at Harvard as Mr. Taylor and Judge Sewall as noted in the Judge's letter above.

The other document bearing date of "17th of January 1686-7 in ye 2d yeare of ye Reigne of his prsent Matie James ye 2d," is a deed given by Samuel Kent and Mary Kent to John Pynchon.

It confirms to him the possession of two parcels of Land in Westfield Meddow, one of two acres, and the other of four acres, for which he paid Hugh Dudley, Mary Kent's former husband, the sum of fifteen pounds, ten shillings.

The witnesses are James Dorchester and Jonathan Morgan, the latter of whom made his mark, as was done also by Mary Kent.

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The document is thus concluded;
"eodem die Sam Kent & Mary Kent his now wife (who was ye Relict of Hugh Dudley deceased) in prsence of ye witnesses heretoe, acknowledged this their free & voluntary act & Deed, Before ye subscriber one of his Maties Council for this his Maties Territory & Dominion of New england.

John Pynchon de Concil:"

The following list of the domestic furnishings of that ancient parsonage nearly two centuries ago must prove interesting:

INVENTORY OF REV. EDWARD TAYLOR.

IN RECORDS OF PROBATE OFFICE OF NORTHAMPTON, VOL. 5.—AN ANCIENT TOME BOUND IN HOG-SKIN PARCHMENT.

"Hampshire Westfield, Oct. 14th, 1729 Deacon David Ashley & James Dewey & Nehemiah Loomis were appointed & sworn to apprize the estate of the Revd Mr. Edward Taylor Lately Deceased in Westfield aforesd. John Ashley Just. Peace. An Inventory of the Estate of the Revnd. Mr. Edward Taylor Deceased this done Aug. 29th 1729.

Mr. Edwd Taylor.

"No. 1.—A Great coat 20s. A lined Jacket 20s. A shirt 6s, a shirt 3s, a pair of breeches 2s. Two pair of Breeches 1s. A Hat 13s. Gloves 1s. 2 Bands 1s. 6d. An old Gown 3s. A Jacket 3s. Two brown under Jackets 2s. A white woolen under Jacket 6d. To a Bed and Bolster in the Parlour Chamber £3.15:0. A set of brown stamped brown curtains & Valliants 15s. Bedsted Rope & Rods 20s. Hair Cloth 20s. An old flower'd Rug at 5s. A white Blanket at 8s. A Good Flower'd Rug at 25s. A white Rug 10s. A Flag Matt, 1s. 6d. A Streaked Pillow 5s. A Red Rug 5s. An old Feather Bed in the Parlour 40s. A Bolster 9s. A Pillow 6s. A Blanket with black streaks 6s. A Set of Red Curtains & Valliants 30s. An old under Bed 2s. Bedstead & Rop. 20s. A new Bed in the outward chamber £3. An underbed 2s. another old underbed 3s. Old streaked curtains Vallece & Bedstead 6s. An old Bolster some feathers in it 3s. A Bed in the outwd room Bolster & Pillows £4.15s. Two Rugs in the outward room 30s. the Bedstead Ropes & Matt, 5s. An

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old white Blanket 3s. An old piece of Green Broad Cloth 3s. A pair of sheets 18s. A good sheet 9s. 3 old sheets 11s. A sheet 8s. An old sheet 3s. Two sheets 20s. Two old sheets 3s. An old sheet 2s. 6d. An old Cotton sheet 4s. A good sheet 8s. Another good sheet 8s. A pair of Good sheets 25s. Six Cotten Napkins 18s. An old Holland Table cloth 3s. Another Table Cloth 2s. 5 Towells wove with a wale 7s. 6d. Two old Towells 1s. Two Towells 2s. A Holland Pillow Bier 3s. 2 Pillow biers 2s 6d. A Table Cloth 1s. 6d. A Napkin 1s. A strainer 1s. A Great Pie Plate 10s. A Great Platter 14s. A Platter 13s. Another Platter 13s. 3 Platters 36s. 3 more Platters 30s. One Platter 10s. one Platter 12s. two Platters 18s. A little Platter 3s. 5 plates 15s. Two old plates 4s. A Bason 4s. 6d. 2 basons 4s. 6d. 2 little basons 2s. 6d. A pint cup, 4s. 6d. Old Pewter 6s. A Tankard 6s. 6d. Part & wheels 10s. Cups & Tin 2s 6d. A Coller 6s.

"No. 2.—Traces 18s. A Slead 6s. Small Caps & pin 2s. 1 Hoe 5s. An ax 4s. 2 Wedges 4s. Beetle rings 2s. 6d. Yoak & Irons 5s. Several Old Rings & pieces of fetters 3s. An ax 6s. Another pail 2s. Another pail 1s. 2 pottles 2s. A churn 2s.6d. Dishes & Trenchers 3s. A Great wheel 5s. A little wheel 5s. A wreal 2s.6d. A cheese fat & straining dish 1s. 6d. An old Book 1s. Cards 2s.6d. Old Iron 2s. 2 old Barrels 3s. Scales & Waits 1s.6d. A Sow & two pigs 36s. Another sow 30s. 9 Swarms of bees £4.10s.0d. Two forks 3s. A Plow & Irons 20s. Plow chain 14s. A Rug in the Garret 15s. A hammer 1s.6d. A Heifer 3. 5s. 0d. A little heifer 17s. Another heifer £1.14s.0d. A Young horse £7.0s.0d. A Colt 50s. A Malt Trough 10s.

"No. 3.—A Great Kettle £5. 0s. 0d. A Midling Kettle £2. 15s. 0d. A Less Kettle, £1, 15s. 0d. A little Skillit 6s. A Three leged Brass pan 18s. A Brass Pan 20s. A Great Skillit 10s. A Pie pan 4s. A brass Scummer & Ladle 7s. 6d. A Brass Candlestick 4s. A flat candlestick 2s. Hand Irons Brass Plates 16s. Hand Iron Tops 8s. A warming Pan 25s. An Iron Dish Kettle 17s. An Iron Pot 20s. one Trammel 6s. Another Trammel 4s. Pothooks 3s. A pair of Tongs 6s. Another pair 4s. A slice 4s. Great Hand Irons 20s. Grid Irons 12s. Great Flat Hand Irons 6s. Little Slim Hand

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Irons, 4s. Grid Iron 5s. frying pan 9s. A spit 5s. A Brass Chopping Dish & little piece of Bass 4s. A Burning Iron 1s. A Fender 1s. A Branding Iron 2s. A turn Gouge 1s. A Swivle 1s. 6d. A Box Iron & Heaters 6s. An Iron Candlestock 1s Hetchels 5s. Musket 10s. A Pistol 4s. A Hewing Ax 2s. 6d. A Parcel of old Iron 2s. 6d. Collerhooke 1s. A Plain Iron 6s. hammer 1s. A chamber pot 1s. A Tunnel 10d. paper box 4d. A Paper Morter & Pestle 3s. 6d. Earthen Pans 1s. 4d. Great Table in ye Parlour 25s. A Great Table in the Outwd Room 20s. A Silver Tankard £15. 5s. 0d. A two ear'd cup, one Pottinger a salt seller & 4 spoons & a drain cup Total wt. 37 oz. £34: 0s. 0d. A Black Cow £5. 10s. 0d. The Gallows cow £5. 10. 0d. The Lined Cow £5. 5s. 0d. A little Table 8s. 5 chairs 15s. 3 chairs 7s. 6d. 2 Great chairs 6s. one 2. Two high chairs 7s.2 Old chairs 1s. A Chest of Drawers 30s. A Narrow chest 2s. 6d. A long form 7s. A Cupboard Cushion 10s. A LookingGlass 2s. A staff 1s. 6d. A chair table 11s. A Looking Glass 16s. A carved chest 16s. A new chest 6s. A Trunk 6s. An Indian bark 1s. A little square trunk 1s. A joint stool 3s. A compass 1s. A flaskit 5s. The Studdy Table 10s. The little old bellows 4s. An old hour glass 1s. A Box in the Studdy 4s. Wooden Steelyards 1s. 2 old chests 5s. A Half bushel 2s. 6d. A two pound weight 1s. 3 Sievs 1s. 6d. 2 old barrels 2s. a Pork barrel 2s. 6d. A Cider barrel 2s. A cider barrel 3s. A small Cask 1s. 6d. A Beer barrel 2s. A Powdering Tub 2s. 2 old Casks in the Celler 2 s. An old lye tub 1s. A Mashing Tub 2s. A half tub 1s. Funnel 2s."

The total valuation was £182. 0s. 6d.

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CHAPTER IX.

Matters of Dispute and Discipline

The Fathers were God-fearing, earnest, honest men, but they were passionately devoted to the defense and maintenance of their rights. It was inevitable that disputes should arise between individuals and, as well, between communities. The original charters and cessions of land, made oftentimes by those whose authority was not beyond question, and by those whose claims to authority were disputed by other claimants, these charters and cessions having been often very vague and broad, it would have been strange indeed had not heart-burnings, wranglings, and suits at law been of frequent occurrence. And when we consider the stern supervision of both church and state over the persons, opinions and conduct of all the colonists, the many recorded instances of discipline and correction by both ecclesiastical and civil authorities occasion no astonishment.

The dispute between Massachusetts and Connecticut relative to jurisdiction over Woronoco, was closely related to another relative to the boundary line on and near the river marking the limits of jurisdiction of the two Colonies respectively. A detailed and extended account of it is given by Hutchinson which here follows in abridged form.

From the time of its settlement Springfield claimed jurisdiction, under the Massachusetts authorities, as far south as to include the present towns of Enfield on one side of the river and Suffield on the other. As early as 1638, in response to a petition from Springfield to the General Court, they were formally included within its bounds. In 1642 two mathematicians, Nathan Woodward and Solomon Saffrey, were ordered by the Court to run a line west, as they supposed, from a point three miles north of the Charles River until they came to Windsor upon the Connecticut River. There they struck the house of a man named Bissell who kept the ferry. In point of fact the settlers in that region were merely squatters, having no right but that of possession.

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When Mr. Fenwick came over as the agent of Lord Say and others to take possession of the lands under their patent, the fort at the mouth of the river was a symbol of his authority. The fort was purchased in 1644 by the settlers who had formed themselves into a body politic. When in 1648 the dispute arose about paying duty on goods coming up the river to Springfield, Massachusetts offered to run a new boundary line to supersede that of Woodward and Saffrey if Connecticut would bear the expense. The condition was refused and the old line stood until 1662 when Mr. Winthrop secured from King Charles a charter for the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven united, the north line whereof was intended to be the south line of Massachusetts. In 1686 some people of Roxbury desired a tract of land for settlement which was bounded on the south by Woodward and Saffrey's line and it was granted to them, taking the name of Woodstock. Massachusetts also made other grants of land near to that line. In 1700 both Colonies appointed committees to investigate the matter, Connecticut claiming that a line from three miles north of Charles River running due west would pass several miles north of Bissell's house, the point reached by Woodward and Saffrey.

It was not until 1710 that the dispute was settled by arranging that the towns should be retained by the governments by whom they were settled, and thus Suffield, Enfield and Woodstock were included in Connecticut. It was farther agreed "that property of as many acres as should appear to have been gained by one government over the other should be equalized by grants of other unimproved lands."

The report of the Commissioners declared that 107,793 acres of land were due from the Upper Colony, and they were accordingly granted. Connecticut sold them and applied the funds thereby gained to the support of Yale College and other public uses, as quoted in an earlier Chapter. The official boundary line was not finally run until 1713.

Another matter in which Westfield was more particularly interested, related to the boundary line on its southern border.

Has any one ever looked at the boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut without wondering about

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the reason for the jog made by a strange protrusion of a bit of the former into the latter? There is no river, a sharp bend of which elbowing from a right line might have occasioned it. Green, in his Springfield, gives an explanation made by H. S. Sheldon of Suffield:

"Simsbury and Westfield retained their ancient boundaries, being first incorporated, leaving west of the mountain a strip of land about one mile in width between the two for Suffield. Our proprietors mourned the loss of that part of their grant secured by Simsbury, as it was supposed to be rich in mines of copper and iron. They were consoled by the Massachusetts Court, in 1732, granting them a township six miles square (now Blandford) as an equivalent. They sold it to Christopher J. Lawton of Suffield, receiving but little therefor. Our bounds, with Simsbury (now East Granby and Granby), settled in 1713, and perambulated in 1734, were re-established in 1883. That part of Westfield projecting into Connecticut between the top of the mountain and the ponds was annexed to Suffield and Connecticut in 1803. The remainder (now Southwick) containing the ponds, is in Massachusetts, causing the curious notch in the boundary line between the two states."

It was not until 1770 that the lands in Southwick were set apart from Westfield as a separate town.

There was a dispute in the earliest days of settlement at Westfield between Thomas Cooper and a Woronoco Indian named Amoacussen. In 1660 Cooper had taken a mortgage from him and in 1664 obtained the land by foreclosure. It was claimed by Alliquat, Neeup and Wallump, sachems of "Pochosick near to Westfield" that the land did not belong absolutely to Amoacussen, but that they had rights in it. They appealed to the General Court at Boston, by whom the Case was referred to the Hampshire County Court, with the result that Cooper had to pay one hundred and ten fathoms of wampum to satisfy the Indians.

This certainly is a case where the wards of the Colony were protected against injustice on the part of the English.

Another case in point occurred but a few years later, at the instigation of one of the three "Pochosick" sachems who was a principal in the foregoing suit. At a session of the

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County Court in March, 1668, "The Indian Wollump of Woronoco complaining agt the English there for damage done in his corn by their cattell & particularly agt. Capt. Cooke: This Corte ordered Samuel Marshfield & Jno. Dumbleton to repaire to Worronoco to make inquiry the best they can wt damage the Indians had in thier corne & by whom & by what meanes & occasion & to endeavor to gett ye neighbors there to make satisfaction & in case they can gett noe issue they are to prepare things for us yt the case may be presented to ye next Corte at Northampton."

As already quoted in a previous Chapter, in the following year the Court was appealed to for the exercise of authority in the matter of Sabbath observance, and its decision was a most equitable one:

"Certayne Indians being found at Worronoco travelling on ye Sabbath & carrying burdens, vizt. bringing apples wch they said they had from Windsor & own shooting a Gun when he came to the house there, the Constable there seized 4 guns & one of them called [ ] to appear at the Court to answer the offense.

"The wch being prooved & owned the Courte judges the Constable striking the Indian and the dog biting him he should be only admonished."

Who can criticize that verdict for lack of fine discrimination and considerateness?

One case decided against Walter Lee for Sabbath breaking and slander has been cited in an early Chapter.

In the same year, 1665, he was presented for neglect of church attendance and a more serious offense, as it would be considered at this day:

"Mar. 28, 1665.

"Walter Lee prsented by ye Constable of Springfield for that he very seldom comes to God's Ordinances on ye Lords day he having not been at ye meeting at Springfield from ffebr. 8th to this tyme & very seldome ye rest of this winter past.

"The sd Walter Lee also being bound over to this Corte by Springfield Commissionrs to answer Mr. Cornish upon suspicion of killing a steere of his ye sd Mr Cornishes; at Worronoco the summer last past;

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"The Corte findeth that the evidences in ye case are strong agt ye sd Walter to prove he hath made away Mr Cornishes steere; and that therefore he shall pay Mr Cornish for it 50s & the charges of ye Corte in ye case vizt. £3.04s.00d, whereof 10s is to be allowed towards expenses of ye Corte to be pd to ye County treasurer."

In spite of that and the previous conviction and fine, he still held his reputation high and resented aspersions upon his good name. At the same session of the Court he turned prosecutor:

"Walter Lee complayned agt Cornelius Merry for misdeameaning himself towards him calling him Rogue dog, & rogue & thief &c" Merry was bound over in the sum of £5 to answer at the next Court in Springfield.

The scrupulous care which the Puritan authorities, both civil and religious, exercised over the morals and the manners of the people is amply attested by the sumptuary laws early enacted and the stern attempts made to enforce them from time to time as shown by the Court records. In a letter to the Rev. Increase Mather of Boston, dated Sept. 15, 1675, the Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton closes with the following appeal:

"I desire that you would speak to the Governour that there may be some thorough care for a reformation. I am sensible there are many difficulties therein, many sins are grown so in fashion, that it becomes a question whether they be sins or not. I desire that you would especially mention oppression, that intolerable pride in clothes and hair; the toleration of so many taverns especially in Boston, and suffering home dwellers to lie tippling in them."

Two months later the General Court passed a law enumerating prevailing sins, including those to which Mr. Stoddard had urged attention.

A law enacted in 1657 declares:

"or utter detestation & dislike that men or weomen of meane condition, educations and callings, should take upon them the garbe of gentlemen by the wearinge of gold or silver lace, or buttons or poynte at their knees, to walke in greate bootes; or women of the same ranke to weare silke or tiffany

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hoodes or scarfes, which though allowable to persons of greater estates or more liberall education yet we cannot but judge it intollerable in prsons of such like condition."

A penalty of 10s. was to be imposed upon any person possessing an estate of less than £200 who should offend against that law. By a shrewd provision of the statute, the Selectmen of a town were authorized to assess at £200 any persons who "exceed theire rankes & abilitie in the costlyness or fashion of their apparraill in any respect, especially in the wearinge of ribbons & greate bootes."

In 1662 the law was amended so as to include children and servants, and "taylors" were forbidden to make or fashion rich garments for such as were not permitted by law to wear them. For a first offense an admonition was to be given, for a second a fine of 10s. was to be imposed, with fines increasing to 40s. for subsequent offenses.

At one meeting of the court, "Hannah Lyman of Northampton, was presented for wearing silk in a flaunting manner, in an offensive way and garbe, not only before, but when she stood presented, not only in ordinary times, but in extraordinary times when the people of God were falling before the Lord in public humiliation in respect of the heavy judgments and calamities that were threatening to come upon us."

Among those fined for breach of that law were four from Westfield, Hugh Dudley and wife, Elizabeth Cooke and Mary Fowler.

At a Court held at Northampton March 29, 1676, Josiah Dewey being a juryman, John Lee was condemned to be "whipt on the naked body with 15 strypes" for resisting a constable.

September 26, 1676, Goodwife Granger of Westfield having been warned to appear at Court for not attending church, her husband, Lancelot, "appeared to make excuse for her weakness and the coldness of the weather and by the loss sustained by the Heathen." The Court found that he (or they) had been at too great neglect and admonished him to be more careful. He promised reformation and paid clerk's fees 2s. 6d. January 10, 1677. In March, 1677, the town of Westfield was before the Court for not "providing a pair of stocks in ye town."

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County Court, September 30, 1673: "Edmund Hart of Westfield dying suddenly this summer past Inquiry was made by a Jury of 12 men who found it to be by the immediate hand of God in thunder and lightening as they conceive, their verdict is on file."

Contrasted with that is a later record of a self-inflicted stroke:

"Westfield 17 Aug. 1684. We whose Names are under written being desired by the Constable as a Jury according to Law, to give or Judgmt on the awful, amazing and untimely death of Eleezer Weller, after due notice taken, we al unanimously agree, that through the strength of temptation he became his own Executioner, by hanging himself, al signs and circumstances freely concurring therein, and nothing appearing to the contrary, to the best of or Judgmts, we suppose he might be dead twenty four hourse before it was known. John Maudesley John Root Samuel Root Samuel Loomis Sr. John Sacket Jacob Phelps Isaac Phelps John Ponder John Williams Thomas Noble Josiah Dewey Thomas Dewey."

Court at Northampton, March 26th, 1678.
"David Ashley being nominated for a Clerk of the Writs for the Town of Westfield was approved & allowed of by this Court for that worke."

"Lieut. John Maudesley of Westfield admitted to the freedom of this Colony as by certificate from ye Secretary, & tooke the freeman's oath in this Court, Springfield Sep. 24, 1678." "Action respecting way between Westfield and Winzor. Court, Sep. 30, 1679, Springfield. Thomas Dewey & David Ashley of Westfield, on Com. with Samuel Marshfield & Thomas Cooper of Springfield."

Further action, Northampton, March 30, 1680. Records, p. 35 Same Court. "Whereas there hath been to the great disturbance of the people here Reports scattered up & down of the Killing of two Indians neer about Westfeild, & it being affirmed that it was Thomas Bancroft Junr of Westfeild, that had wth some others Done it, & reported of ye Doing of it, upon wch Report aforesaid this Court forthwith sent for Tho: Bancroft Junr Luke Hill, & Tahan Hil, & the said Thomas

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Bancroft & Luke Hil appearing in Corte, upon examination the said Thomas Bancroft owned that he had reported such a thing to Isaac Morgan, Though he recalled what he had said & peremptorily said, There was no such thing, that any Indians were Killed, saying that he belyed himself, & Luke Hil in so saying, and the Court not finding any ground to Judge that any were really Killed, but that the said Bancroft had made & reported lyes onely as aforesaid, & considering how heinously wicked such pernicious lying is, & how of ill consequence such fals reports are to the whole, in one respect & another, & especially to the sd Bancroft as to himselfe, to be going on in such wickedness, & that the Country hath been much disturbed & put to charge about this busyness, Have adjudged the said Thomas Bancroft Junr—to be wel whipt on the naked body wth fifteen stripes wel Layd on, & pay for the charge of his apprehending securing &c: Fifty shillings & stand comitted til al be pformed, & not be discharged til al further charges in comitting & securing Him from this time also be fully discharged & paid.

"The said Tho: Bancrofts punishmt by whiping was executed on him."

Court held at Northampton, March 29th, 1681:

"Josiah Dewey of Westfeild plaintiffe P contra Griffith Jones defendt in an action of slander or defamation of the sd Josiah Dewey's Daughter, & al persons concerned agreed, that it should be tryed by the bench onely—& the corte likewise considering of how hainous a nature the matter of Defamation was, concluded it should be heard only by the bench, & the said Griffith Jones engaged to pay ten shillings for entry money & the bench find for the plaintiffe forty shillings, & other charges as bill allowed forty two shillings."

"Joseph Sextone of Westfeild haveing been apprhended & brought before this corte, being by some charged wth sevrll notorious & vitious speeches & Languages, upon wch account he was examined in Corte, & found guilty of many notorious villanaies infecting & unworthy speeches, to the defamation of Hepzibah Dewey, daughter of Josiah Dewey of Westfeild, this corte considering the case of how hainous & infecting & spreading a nature such things are, adjudged the said Joseph

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Sexton to be wel whipt on the naked body wth fifteen stripes wel laid on, which accordingly was executed."

March 28th, 1682.

"Graham Hawley being bound over to this corte for that he hath had lately a pack of cards in his hands, & for that such things are of evil consequence, & it being put to him whose they were, & if he would make discovery of it, but refusing, this corte adjudged him to pay as a fine to the County the sum of twenty shillings."

County Court, Springfield, September 26, 1682.

"Samuel Ely being complained of to this corte for that he contrary to the Law did smooke tobacco in the street before his house, this corte doth sentence him to pay a fine of two shillings and sixpence as a fine to the Countie Treasurer."

In his "Connecticut Historical Collections," Barber says:

"About this period (1644) tobacco was coming into use in the colony: the following curious law was made for its regulation or suppression—

" 'Tobacko

" 'Forasmuch as it is observed that many abuses are crept in & committed by frequent taking of tobacko:

" '*It is ordered by the authority of this Courte*, That no person under the age of twenty one years, nor any other that hath not accustomed himselfe to the use thereof, shall take any tobacko untill he hath brought a certificate under the hands of some who are approved for knowledge & skill in physick, that it is needful for him, and allso that hee hath received a lycense from the courte for the same.—And for the regulating of those, who either by their former taking it have to their own apprehensions made it necessary to them, or upon due advice are persuaded to the use thereof.

" '*It is ordered*, That no man within this colonye, after the publication hereof, shall take any tobacko publiquely in the strett, highways, or any barn yards or uppon training days in any open places, under the penalty of six pence for each offence against this order, in any of the particulars thereof, to bee paid without gainsaying, upon conviction by the testimony of one witness, that is without just exception

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before any one magistrate. And the constables in the severall towns are required to make presentment to each particular courte, of such as they doe understand, & can evict to bee transgressors of this order.' " (p. 17-18.)

"At a County Corte held at Northampton, March 27th, 1683, Thomas Noble of Westfield being prsented by the Grand Jury for Travelling in a day of Humiliation, publiquely appointed by the Genll Corte which he owned pleading his necessity for Comeing home, and yet this Corte Considering said offense being a growing evil amongst us many Persons too much disregarding such extraordinary Dutys & Seasons, have adjudged sd. Noble to pay a fine to the County treasurer five shillings."

The following instance of personal prejudice against a man who in the early days was prominent in the affairs of Westfield as well as in those of three other colonial towns, provokes curiosity relative to the ground of the action. Trumbull pays high tribute to Capt. Cook and says that "in all respects he was a worthy representative of the old time New England pioneer." Still, for some reason the Dewey brothers would have none of him in their mill concerns.

The statement in the book of Town Records is as follows:

"These may certify whome it may concern that wee whose names are here subscribed beeing the copartners with mr Joseph Whiting the owners of the grist mill and the saw mill in Westfield do declare that there is agreement made between the four partners that if any one desiring to sell his part the rest of the owners are to have the refusal of it but understanding that mr Whiting hath made sale of his part of the mills to Capt Aaron Cook as appears by his demands that he might injoy mr Whitings part with us wee declare to all that wee neither do nor shall att any time consent that the said Capt. Cooke shall have any copartner or have any share with us in the said mill.

Thomas Dewey
May:13:1676 Josiah Dewey
Jedediah Dewey."

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Several years later the two brothers, Thomas and Josiah Dewey, had a suit at law against John Sackett, Samuel Taylor, Joseph Pomeroy and Nathaniel Williams for infringing on their rights by setting another mill in their neighborhood, higher up on the brook. The matter was tried at Northampton, appealed to the General Court, and finally settled at the Court in Springfield in the autumn of 1685. The Deweys helped to move the rival mill to another location and were themselves renewedly established in their rights as sole proprietors of that portion of the stream. After much hard feeling the settlement finally reached seems to have been mutually amicable. There are many curious records kept by Eldad Taylor, the youngest child of Rev. Edward Taylor, when Justice of the Peace in 1759-60.

One was the conviction of Tom, negro slave of Samuel Kellogg, for threatening to set fire to the house of Rebekah Ashley. Tom was bound over under sureties given by his master and others to the Court of Sessions soon to be held in Springfield.

Warham Williams was bound over to a later session of the same court under sureties of £16 for non-attendance on public worship. July 2d, 1759, two enlisted men who had received bounties, taken the oath and then deserted his Majesty's service were arrested and delivered over to Lieut. Ebenezer Bardwell.

On complaint of Doctor Samuel Smith, Nero, negro servant to John Bancroft, for smiting him on the side of his face with an iron, was sentenced to be whipped seven stripes on his bare back.

The same medical practitioner instituted another action as follows:

"Sept 6th 1760—

"The King against John Neal Complaint of Samuel Smith vs. John Neal for stealing ½ oz. saffron 4/ Gum Camfire 1/6 Glass Bottle /8 rum 2/ having heavy ey witnesses. Convicted & ordered to pay ye damages 1 .4s.8d. Returned ye saffron 4/ Gum 1/6 ye bottle 8d. Remains to pay 18/4 if not paid to be sold one month & to ye King a fine of 20/ or 8 stripes which was laid on him & cost of prosecution 18/2 & stand committed untill satisfyed.

"Recd toward Charge 10/—"

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On the same day the same man was tried for profane swearing. He confessed and was fined, for the first oath 4/ and the second oath 1/; for the first curse 4/, and for the second, 1/: Three other cases are recorded of similar character, with penalties of fines to be used for the poor of Westfield, who probably did not refuse the several shillings because they were "tainted money."

Samuel Smith again appears with a grievance:
"June 20th 1760

"The King against William Goff.

"The Complaint of Samuel Smith against William Goff for stealing pair of garters, upon trial, found guilty. Ordered to return ye Garters with 3 fold damages and cost 13/8d & a fine to ye King 1/:

Eldad Taylor
Just Pacis"

At the Court of General Sessions held at Springfield, May 16, 1786, the following action was taken:

"Ezra Clap, Innkeeper, Abijah Gilbert, yeoman, Jacob Noble, Jr. yeoman, Solomon Lee, yeoman, & John Ballard, yeoman, all of Westfield, were presented by the oath of twelve jurors, together with divers other persons then unknown to the jurors, for 'being Riotous Routous & Disturbers of the Peace of the Commonwealth on the twenty-fourth day of February last past at Westfield aforesaid with Force and Arms, that is to say with Staves Pistols & Cutlasses unlawfully riotously & routously did assemble & gather together to disturb the Peace of the Commonwealth and being so assembled & gathered together, One Door of the Dwelling House of Lovewell Thomas in Westfield aforesaid Innholder then & there unlawfully riotously & routously did break & destroy, and eight rods of fence of the said Lovewell then & there standing did throw down & destroy and other Wrongs to the said Lovewell then & there unlawfully riotously and routously did to the great Damage of the said Lovewell to the Terror of divers of the leige Subjects of the said Commonwealth and against the Peace of the Commonwealth & the Dignity of the Same.' "

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The indictment continues repetitiously, adding the statement that the disturbance continued for the "Space of twelve Hours."

They were put under bonds to report at a subsequent session of the Court. Eventually they were fined various sums, thirty and twenty shillings and the cost of prosecution amounting to £14-9-8 with sureties "in twenty pounds for their Keeping the Peace & being of good Behaviour towards all the Commonwealth's leige Subjects for the Term of three months."

It was then, as it is now, contrary to law to kill a deer in Westfield since Joseph Mansell was convicted for so doing and placed under sureties in the sum of £20 for his appearance at the Court of Quarter Sessions to be holden at Springfield in August, 1760.

Turning now from civil to ecclesiastical cases we find abundant records of that character during the pastorate of Mr. Taylor which he spread upon the pages of the church book.

Preliminary thereto is a statement bearing upon the subject penned in 1681:

"The Wisdom, grace & faithfulness of Christs domain softly shine both in the particular Instituted Churches of ye saints—Wherein may be seen ye image of God in a new edition put forth its splendor again upon ye understanding in Knowledge, upon ye will in Righteousness, & upon ye life in Holiness, as also ye souls of ye N. E. W. Covenant & New Covenant Ordinances dispensed. But all ye Golden Keyes of that Covenant being fitted to ye Lockes of these Churches Matt. 16,18,19. 18: 17,18. 1st Cor. 5,12 rightly used for Christ, considering yt while this people are in this Militant State, they are not all spirit but part flesh & that satan by his poisoned darts doth oft make it rankle & grow proud flesh, which must be eaten out by Corrosives Hath ordained ye Censure of ye Church to take down thereby to recover ye poore souls from his wounds & take ye Captive out of ye hand of ye Adversary & also to keep ye Holy Place clean from being defiled by uncleanness & that ye necessity of things require ye same. We have our experience to lay down as one among other evidences. While being scarcely

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slipt into ye Temple door before ye Adversary had brought us to ye need of this Corrosive."

In the list of instances of discipline recorded by Mr. Taylor there is a very curious one relative to the prominent settler and foundation man, John Moseley. It was one of the perplexing results of obedience to the order of the General Court passed in October, 1677, providing for more compact dwelling, as voted in a succeeding chapter. At a town meeting in the following spring, March 19, 1678, it was "voted that the town will allow satisfaction to those men out of the common that have parted with their lands according to the Committees order." The practical outworkings of the plan involved, in some cases, disputes and bitterness.

Mr. Taylor's record of this particular case is characteristically amplified:

"Brother John Maudesley—

"The occasion of his temptation was ye land laid down for ye accommodating some of our neighbors who having just returned to their own houses after ye Indian War was over, before being terrified by ye unthought of Ruin & Captivity upon poore Hatfield by a running parcel of Indians, they were drove out from home again. Whereupon Authority taking it into consideration enacted a new moddling of ye town as ye only way appearing for its preservation, left ye matter into ye hands of a Committee, viz.—Maj. John Pynchon of Springfield, Brother John Maudsley, who then was not come from Windsor to us, but about to come, having bought Mr. Joseph Whitings living house, & Brother Saml Loomis. Which Committee laid out ye model of ye town as now it is out of ye home lots of those taking to supply their distressed neighbors, allowing them by way of satisfaction two (2) acres of *Common* land as convenient as they could take it up for one (1) laid down, & on this occasion almost four acres of Brother Maudsleys homelot was improved, he before his purchase of the same & also before Authority had inacted ye same, having a full account of this business given him as ye only way appearing for ye security & settlement of ye place, did fully as to appearance fully comply with ye same & yt also as to ye matter of satisfaction. But when ye Committee did their work the Lot being done

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& appearing so far equal in ye case to ye observation of all, none questioned his being satisfied.

"But as soon as we were slipt into a Church state the case began to sparkle being blowed upon by ye Old Adversary whereupon he was urged hard by one of us to know what would satisfy. At last he said if he could gain ye Next homelot to his West which was about 5 acres accounted of Thomas Huxley it would do, thereupon he was urged to buy it & Pay should be made for one yt would take it ye 8 acres of that land laid out for his satisfaction by ye town. The which was done & new deeds were given to those seated upon ye lands laid down by him, only his wife would not sign them without some consideration. Which refusal was upon advice to gain some small matter towards ye Purchase of Huckslies lot yet nothing was gained, before this also Authority of ye Genl Court approved & confirmed ye Act of ye Committee & Also Enacted ye Deeds should be given to those places in this new 'Moddle' by ye first Proprietors upon Satisfaction by this Committee of two Acres for one.

"Now all these things went well for a while, But Provocations came ahand & ye Adversary is not Idle.

"One was about a Lane laid out into ye South Field to make a more ready passage thither into ye woods for ye neighbors, which being debated it was thought most convenient to run along by Brother Maudsley remaining but none thought of runing it upon his land but *without* it.

"Another was in that Bro. John Hanchet who was seated on a small bit of what Brother Maudsley laid down, having received a Deed of him, after a while going to live at Stony Brook being forced to sell & Lt. Maudsley not consenting to buy it—had sold it to another, & other temptations coming upon him ye old Coler glowed: so he draws up this Petition following.

" 'To ye Honble & much Hond Genl Court
d m
Now assembled in Boston 27th 3 1682
" 'The humble Petition of John Maudsley
of Westfield Showeth
" 'That whereas shortly after ye fight with ye Indians

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at Hatfield ye Honorable Genl Court then made an Act for ye several towns in ye Coloniy that lived remote & scattered should gather in near together in a compact way, as judging it to be most for ye severall plantations & inhabitants thereof.

" 'Our humble petition in obedience to your Authority and in approbation of your Advice & Counsel & in ye Act did singly lay down 4 Acres of his homelot to accommodate 4 neighbors that your end promised might be maintained & that ye Plantations might be strengthened by living near together & whereas ye former Inhabitants, upon satisfaction to ye Petitioner tendered by ye demanded & procured Deeds for ye same but not on behalf or in ye name of ye Petitioner or his wife for her rights therein.

" 'The said Petitioner would be pleased that the Court would understand that only one of ye inhabitants, namely John Hanchet shortly after he had possest part of ye premises hath sold & alienated his part of ye land to another formerly settled on another Plantation and ye end advised is not attended.

" 'Now whereas ye Genl. Court did in their order Grant full satisfaction

" 'Now this Petitioner in this Plantation hath not received above halfe of his satisfaction in respect to his promises, neither according to ye same land sold by said John Hanchet nor according to ye land next adjoining which ye Petitioner hath purchased.

" 'Wherefore your humble Petitioner dost most humbly crave yt ye Hon. Genl. Court would grant ye said land again or ye money it was sold for in lieu of ye one halfe of ye £20 yet due for satisfaction although it be not a quarter part of ye land ye petitioner laid down for ye same mentioned end, there being a Highway laid out through ye same which ye Petitioner had nothing for.

" 'And yet ye Petitioner having ye remainder of his land lying at ye end near this Highway, ye inhabitants have agreed to and desire to run a further highway to his great damage through ye whole Lot. Also ye town may lay out a Highway in town lands as convenient or rather better.

" 'Wherefore your humble Petitioner doth humbly crave you will take into serious consideration ye Premises & afford

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such reliefe as in your Godly wisdom shall seem meet & he shall daily pray for your Peace & Prosperity & remain

" 'Yr Humble Servant

John Maudsley.'

m

" 'At a Genl. Court held at Boston ye 24. 3. 1682

" 'In answer to this Petition, ye Court judgeth it most meet to refer ye whole matter to ye County Court of Hampshire who are hereby empowered to act therein,—so be it in such a way as ye Law in this case doth direct & as may remove all just grounds of complaint

" 'A true Copy Edward Rawson

Scribe.' "

The following curious echo of that local controversy over the "bits of land" is found in the colonial records:

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"Westfield, 15th 3: 1679

"Honrble: Sr: together With ye Honr'd: Court.

"The Almighty having laid vs under Such an awfull Providence as Hatfields ruins by the Indians, did So amaze vs, yt it was a question whether we Should abide here, or no: ffor or: neighbours, many of them being forced during ye war, from, & now having but newly return'd to yeir: own habitations, were So far discouraged, as that they had no minde ever to return to them more but had working thoughts to leave ye town; ye wch if they had, the town would have certainly, in away of ordinary reason, been deserted. Wherefore nothing at present Seem'd more a duty, than their incouragmnt: by breaking or homelots to allow Some Small bits to them for houses, barns & Cowyards, & So, to come into a new farm that we might all on this Side ye river at least, be in a generall ffortification. The wch they not opposing came under debate, in a town meeting; & was effected; & considering how much vnder, the war had already laid them yt to put them to purchase could not be complied wth: neither could well be, as all ye land to be laid down lay wtout fence as ye Comon, it was complied with (one excepted) to receive homelot Land for what was laid down, & ye Satisfaction Should be two acres for one, but night coming on,

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nothing was perfected: & he yt before was excepted ye next time fell of, altho of all men he lay vnder ye Strongest duty, having no less than 4 of his own, & 3 or 4 of his wives children in ye town, all wch: (two excepted) were to be provided for in this new Moddle, but in ye interim yr ffatherly care over vs coming forth, did require or Coming together, & left ye Transactions about ye Same into ye hands of a Comittee wch: accordingly did recommend to the town what we had been about, & required it to be attended on forthwith, wch: after was further carried on by ye Worshipfull Majr: Pynchon who Set a Day appart to come himselfe to perfect ye Same, ye wch: he did, & So hath determined ye Same wth: Some of, ye Comittee, & ye Satisfaction wch: was to be made, requiring forthwith an attendance hereupon. The wch: as it did revive ye Spirits of or poore Distressed Neighbours, So it did, effect Some melancholy aspects in Some of ye Proprietors, whereupon all wheels moved heavily. But fear, & danger admitting no delays, & ye winter Season making of it their onely duty, in obedience to Authority, they bring their houses, & prepare fortifying matter: But having thro mercy gone thro those Shocking occasions that they found come Crushing on them, the following Sumr: began to consider where they were, & to looke after assurance of those little bit of land allotted; & to meet with little else but yt those that Set them there must give them assurance, & no other assurance is like to be had of Some, if of any.

"Wherefore though or: Neighbours chiefly concern'd herein, Stand in their discouragmnt: looking one on another, as unwilling to Stir in any thing for themselves, yt hath ye appearance of taking away an others intrest, yet we cannot but on their account intimate what is come to pass; & considering how deeply ye Authority of God, put forth by [blurred] is concern'd herein, as also how pleasant a work it will be unto yr: Selves to Serve ye will of God in, to Shut yt doore wch: if left ope will be Such a greate pleasure unto Satan; we force orSelves to manifest or. desires thus; That you would follow yr former proceeding with like Authority as Shall Confirm in Law those little bits of land unto those, who, in obedience unto yr. Authority have them in actuall possession for wch they have that, & only that to Show.

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"Thus Humbly begging The Almighty God to go along with you in all Concerns & also in this before you, wch: we, to prevent that burning wch: without doubt Satan harps upon to kindle in this rubbidge, have laid before you; yet being very fearfull of bringing Some of ye Sparks into or. own thatch, we presume upon yr. Candour to crave that it may be imputed to us as a pardonable errour in us in appearing herein onely in the Majusculas of or. names, Subscribing or.Selves as we are indeed.

"Your Humble & obedient Servants
to or Power
E: T:
T: N:"

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 223.)

Those initials stand respectively for Edward Taylor and Thomas Noble. How the use of the "Majusculas" of their names, the term smacking of a delicious bit of pedantry, could have been any safeguard to them personally against the sparks flying into their own thatch, is a perplexing question since there could have been no doubt as to their identity when thus indicated.

Several amusing incidents relating to church discipline are preserved in the ecclesiastical records by Mr. Taylor.

"Touching our Brethren Stephen Kellogg & Sergt. Joseph Maudsley who did somewhat buggle at our Church fasts which in ye winter time we had attended once a month since we were gathered in a Church state, except those four (4) years when we had a monthly Lectures up & at length they wholly desisted & Pleade against as unlawful being stated Fasts.

"Whereupon on ye 27 day of March 1710 ye last Fast that winter Brother Kellogg being there & Sergt. Maudsly, ye day before setting forth upon a journey to the B A Y, I enquired of Brother Stephan Kellogg ye reason why they withdrew from ye Duty of Fasting & Prayer with ye Church.

"His reply was in effect this. He was not doubtful touching ye Lawfulness of ye stating of them. For stated fasts were held unlawful by ye Consociation of Elders in ye Bay."

Two years later, this doughty independent was caught off from his guard by a temptation that has beguiled many

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persons through all human generations. As the record shows in this case he became humbly penitent.

"Brother Stephan Kellogg at a Barn raising—June 17 1712."

"Being at ye Barn raising when the whether was coming warm & much sider was brought and after it Joseph Pixlie drinking with others, it was reported that he was overtaken but it not being proved & he being sensible that many were offended, stood up according to advise. Upon our Conference day 17d.4mo.1712 & spoke to ye following effect. That he was sensible yt he was a very sinful creature and apt to offend in many things, to his great griefe & if any had observed any offence in him he earnestly desired yt they would pardon the same & help him with their prayers & he hoped yt God would enable him to walk with a greater watchfulness over himself for ye time to come or in words to this effect & so all things was an end."

A case of somewhat serious prevarication is thus recorded: "Brother Samuel Bush's acknowledgment of ye account of his telling Col. [John] Pynchon who on his wedden Contract asked him whether he had ye Clarks Certificate answered yt he had one but had lost it, made 22d. 3m. 1699.

"Whereas I understand yt my answer upon my wedden day to Colonall Pynchon, who asked me whether I had ye Clarks Certificate & I through ignorance and inconsiderateness, not thinking it to be any other than a Note that I was published according to Law & being hurried in the morning before I went to Springfield till I thought ye Clark was gone from home about his business it was mooved yt a Note from another person to intimate this matter of Publishment was attended according to Law might serve. I went with another to Certify ye thing not designing but to pay ye Clark what was his due & upon such a ballancing I answered to ye question that I had one, but had lost it.

"But ye matter since looked into, I am convinced yt I have sin'd and done evil in so saying & desire to have ye sense thereof upon my heart before God & desire also that the offence hereof may be passed over be ye church & by any other offender thereat & that they would help me by their prayers to be more watchful for ye time to come.

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"This confession being read in ye Assembly was accepted by ye Church & voted & so a briefe was given to watchfulness & chiefly to see that the beginnings of matters be laid right, for if not commonly temptations afterwards will be ready to rush into things not warrantable but evil, so he was dismist."

An exceedingly complicated and absurd case involved Thomas Dewey and his wife and John Ingerson and his wife, the occasion of the bitter quarrel having been the trespassing of some "120 or more hens young & old" belonging to the Deweys. They took possession of the Ingerson house whenever the door was left open & refused so obstinately to be driven off the premises that the Ingersons killed and devoured several of them. The Ingerson girls subjected the Dewey girls to scandalous treatment in public. Mrs. Abigail Dewey was very obstinate when reasoned with and appealed to by Mr. Taylor, but finally she consented to make a confession and plead for the charity and prayers of the church.

In 1656 the General Court took heroic measures in dealing with the "cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government and the order of God in church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignitaries, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways." (Massachusetts Records IV, 277.)

Massachusetts was the only one of the Colonies which put the stern decrees of the Court into practice. It carried out in this case its established policy of putting to death such as should return after having been banished for any cause, though hitherto the threatened death penalty had acted as an efficient deterrent, and none banished had returned. But its menace was only an incentive to many of the persecuted sect. The Court was determined to root out the heresy, and the authorities of Boston shared their purpose. Before the stern methods of procedure were relaxed or modified, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, William Leddra and Mary Dyer were hanged. Three other recalcitrants

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suffered the penalty of the loss of the right ear. It is a ground for restricted consolation that none suffered what was threatened for a second and third offense respectively, the loss of the other ear, and the boring of the tongue with a hot iron.

When the law inflicting capital punishment upon such as returned after banishment had been repealed in 1661, the following humane measures were substituted in its place by the Court:

"Being desirous to try all means with as much lenity as might consist with safety to prevent the intrusion of Quakers, who * * * had not been restrained by the laws already provided," it was ordered that such obstinate mischief-makers should be "tied to a cart's tail," and whipped from town to town "towards the borders of the jurisdiction." If three such treatments of their religious mania should not cure it, and they should return a fourth time, they were to "be branded with the letter R on their left shoulder, and be severely whipped and sent away in manner as before."

Again the small consolation is ours that the penalty of branding was never inflicted under this law. Its enforcement was more humane than its letter.

That some of the feared and detested Quakers were thorns in the sides of the pious people of the established faith is evidenced by some instances of extreme provocation. They disturbed congregations at worship; one deluded woman walked about in a gown made of sackcloth; and another smeared her face with grease and lampblack and thus disfigured, paraded the streets. Still another, "was constrained, being a young woman of very modest and retired life and of sober conversation, as were her parents, to go through the town of Salem naked, as a sign." "Lydia Wardell, being a young and tender, chaste woman, * * * as a sign unto them (the church at Newbury) went in (though it was exceeding hard to her modest and shamefaced disposition) naked amongst them." (Bishop, New England Judged, pp. 377, 383.)

Respecting these absurd and revolting instances of fanaticism, Arthur Gilman, as an extenuation of their outrageous conduct, cites a statement of Whittier to the effect that as a result of the habit of examining persons stripped of their

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clothing for "marks of the devil," they had lost some of their instinctive modesty and "had less compunction in thus presenting themselves in public than they otherwise would have had." Two women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, on arriving, had been thus stripped and examined by order of Deputy-Governor Bellingham. (History of the American People, p. 154. Note.)

The controversy between Puritan and Quaker in New England was embittered and intensified by the regnancy of conscience on both sides. Each was confident that he was doing God service by waging it to extreme issues, and therefore was burning with zeal in his antagonism against the other who did not share his point of view. They were both dominated by a holy passion, the Puritan by the passion for orthodoxy, and the Quaker by the passion for martyrdom, in those early days. Between these two millstones, upper and nether, the deluded Puritan fanatic ground the deluded Quaker fanatic. It was pitiful, horrible! Nevertheless, it was characteristic of the age and the stage of civilization then attained in Old England, as well as in her Colonies oversea. The better day of tolerance and charity was late in dawning and slow in reaching noontide. George Filer was dealt with while its foregleams brightened the eastern sky; and twenty years later, in 1706, the Quakers had a meeting house in Boston where their persecution had been hottest.

An interesting case of discipline is recorded in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The heretical opinions entertained by the offending member are remarkable for a man to hold at that time and place. Some of them seem to indicate that he had become tinctured with the rationalism so prevalent in France and in some parts of this country at that period.

January 2, 1798, complaint was presented to the church under the following heads:

"1. For absenting himself from the Lord's Table.

"2. For absenting himself from public worship.

"3. For rejecting a special Revelation & pretending that the Bible was written by men through their reason upon Creation & Providence without any supernatural influence upon their minds.

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"4. For embracing the sentiment that none of the human race will be miserable after death.

"5. For embracing the strange and singular notion that Christ is death, that persons by him, that is by death, will be saved."

The church heard and duly considered his defense, adjudged him guilty and voted to wait awhile for his repentance, and if it should not be declared he was to receive a public admonition at the close of service in the afternoon of the first Sabbath of February. A later vote deferred the public admonition for six weeks. The admonition was given March 18 and a copy of it was sent to him on the following day. After a second admonition had failed to bring him to repentance, he was excommunicated.

There are two instances of the assertion by negro slaves of their inherent right to liberty which were premonitions of the dawn of the better era when Massachusetts purged itself of the crime of holding men in bondage and treating them as chattels to be bought and sold. These two instances occurred during the early years of the pastorate of Rev. John Ballantine.

In addition to the cases of discipline, instances of which have been cited, the church record contains a long list of confessions, obtained evidently without due process of trial, covering a variety of heinous sins chiefly sexual, and minor offenses.

"Dec. 31 Daniel Gunn made public acknowledgement that he had treated his wife both with words & actions plainly contrary to ye rules of ye Gospel & promised to watch over his passions better & to resist temptation, & having profest at ye same time Repentance grief & shame for his sin, folly & imprudence in them."

One of the same family name made public acknowledgment of his "making too free with strong drink some time last winter at the Tavern."

A woman linked together things trivial and serious when she "confessed herself guilty of foolish jesting in years past & of breaking the 4th, 5th, 8th, Commandments in stealing a horse and riding away on the Sabbath without her husband's consent."

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It is easy to understand her breach of the 4th and 8th commandments, but what her failure to secure her husband's consent to her evil doings had to do with the 5th commandment does not appear.

"Handford Old confessed himself guilty of too much indulging his passions in throwing fire on his sister Deliverance Hanchet on ye sabbath."

"Pompey—negro servant of Lt. David Maudsley confessed himself guilty of holding a stick over his mistress head about 8 years ago & wrenching a stick out of her hands about 6 years ago, talking disrespectfully to her & disobeying her commands, & telling stories out of ye house."

If house servants in these days should be brought to formal and humble confession of the fault last named in the above list, how many confessions would be spread upon church records!

Several interesting cases came before David Ingersoll, who went with the earliest emigration from Westfield to the Housatonic region. He was one of the most prominent and influential citizens there for many years after 1739, erected a grist and saw mill, began the manufacture of iron from ore in a local mine, and was Justice of the Peace. He decided as follows:

"Aug. 14, 1754.

"The King against Eliner Ward } for stealing sundry goods from Mr. John Brewer. She confest she stole 3 caps and ½M. Pins. Ordered to pay 32/ and ye goods: being 3 fold damages & cost, & to be whipt 20 stripes. All were performed."

At a court before Justices Dwight & Ingersoll October 5, 1754.

"Samuel Taylor Jr. & Ebenr Crowfoot of Pontucusk complained of for making & spreading a false alarm, and digging up & scalping an Indian which was buried. They confessed themselves to be guilty. Taylor ordered to pay a fine of 20 shillings for making and spreading a false alarm and making a lie and spreading ye same; and for digging up said Indian a fine of 20/, or be whipped 30 stripes; Neglects pay sd fine and was whipped.

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"Crowfutt to pay 13/-4d for said alarm & for digging up sd Indian 13/-4d or be whipped 20 stripes; omitted paying & was whipped.

"Both to pay costs being £6.7.6. Committed untill performed. In addition they wer bound in the sum of £5. each.

"Elisha Rew & Samuel Dewey Jr. and Timothy Younglove, brought before me upon complaint of Ebenr Hamlin & Simon Cook, for firing or discharging Guns in the night following ye 3d of Oct current. Convicted and they sat in ye stocks one hour: paid cost. Bound to their good behavior untill next Court."

They richly deserved the penalty for startling the people when Indian alarms were frequent.

The dead Indian was mutilated in the hope of securing a bounty for his scalp, in accordance with a hideous statute then existing.

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CHAPTER X.

The Indian Menace, Philip's War

During the earliest years of the Colonies the relations between the English and the original inhabitants were generally peaceable and friendly. The red men were not always congenial neighbors on account of their different habits of thought and life, their roaming disposition, their barbarous manners, their sullen resentment of the encroachments of white men upon their lands and their game. So long as the newcomers were few, there was an abundant supply of land, food and pelts for both peoples, but as the ratio of whites to Indians increased, the supplies which they both coveted proved less ample for the common needs, though still sufficient. The Indians were not unmindful of great advantages accruing to them from the presence of the English. For the first time in their history they had a market near at hand where they could barter the fruits of the chase, and such portion of the fruits of their rude husbandry as they could spare, for the products of civilization, hatchets, knives, hoes, cloth, beads, and, what they coveted even more greedily, guns, powder and ball. For though stringent laws were early enacted in the Colonies forbidding the sale of these last commodities to the Indians, still they succeeded in procuring them in considerable quantity, though chiefly from the Dutch traders over the New York border.

Another embargo, which was laid upon the sale of spirituous liquor, they succeeded too frequently in evading. The possession by the white man of these various commodities made him a desirable neighbor so long as he could be induced to part with them by any lure, or deprived of them by any force, that the Indian could employ.

In the matter of land rights, he had for many years little to complain of, a fact already emphasized in an earlier Chapter. Such land as white men desired for settlement and husbandry, they were willing to pay for at a price which both Indian and Englishman considered fair. Both desired to consummate

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the transaction, and both were satisfied with the terms and the result. Having sold his lands, the Indian was still admitted to about the same privileges as had been his before the sale was made, except in comparatively restricted areas. He could still hunt and fish, cultivate fields of corn, beans, and pumpkins, he could still raise his wigwam where he chose, even in the bounds of the hamlets of the Englishmen, and close to their rude dwellings. The Rev. Solomon Stoddard says that the Indians during the first two decades of the life of Northampton, "in all times of danger and war had been wont to seek shelter by getting and crowding into our home lots, as near our houses as possible, and begging house-room for their stuff and themselves."

In a general way the Indians in the United Colonies recognized the political supremacy of the English. Their sachems did not wield uniform authority. The extent of it in an individual tribe seems to have depended to a great degree on the personal force and character of the sachem who happened to be in office. In 1643, when they apprehended danger from the Narragansetts, five separate sachems of Massachusetts entered into solemn compact to submit to the government of the Colony and to give notice of any intention of any enemy from without to begin hostilities against the English, if such intention should become known to them. The general policy of the colonial authorities was to punish the Indian inhabitants under English laws for any offense against the English and, in addition, for any capital or heinous offense among themselves. Hutchinson cites a case of a squaw convicted of adultery, which was referred to the elders for advice, whether or not she should be put to death. They were merciful and the criminal escaped with a smart whipping.

The Indians of the various parts of New England differed quite widely from one another in important characteristics, though possessing many in common, and being ready at times to bury their tribal animosities and unite in seeking to exterminate the whites. They all belonged to the great Algonquin-Lenape family, or, as commonly known, the Algonquins, who occupied Canada and what is now the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi River, north of Virginia and the Ohio River, except the region dominated by

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the Iroquois. That powerful confederacy, called by the English "The Five Nations," formed by the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, occupied the country around Lake Erie, south of Lake Ontario, west of the Hudson River and extending into northern Pennsylvania. Because of their valor and their successes in warfare they were known as the Romans of America.

Daniel Gookin, who wrote in 1674, divides the New England branch of the Algonquins into the Massachusetts dwelling about the Bay of that name and immediately adjacent parts; the Pawkenawkets or Wampanoags chiefly within the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony; the Pequots and Mohegans in the eastern part and along the coast of Connecticut; the Narragansetts in Rhode Island; the Pawtuckets, north and northeast of the Massachusetts including the Penacooks of New Hampshire and extending up to the Abenakis or Tarrateens of Maine; and the Nipmucks or "fresh water people," north of the Mohegans, and west of the Massachusetts, and extending somewhat west of the Connecticut River. The Nipmucks in this neighborhood were divided into the Agawams in the vicinity of Springfield, the Norwottucks or Nonotucks about Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton, the Pocumtucks of the Deerfield valley, and the Woronoakes in the region about Westfield, some of whom came from the Hudson valley and returned thither after Philip's War. The Quaboags, still another branch, occupied the region about Brookfield.

The Pequots were active and warlike, and called the Narragansetts, who were the most commercial of the tribes, a nation of women, though upon occasion they proved fierce warriors. Each tribe had its own sachem. The Pequots and Mohegans claimed some kind of authority over the Nipmucks, while all the New England tribes were overawed by the terrible Iroquois, called also Maquas and Mohawks. Gookin, quoted by Trumbull, says that in time of war so great was the terror of these eastern tribes that the appearance of four or five Maquas in the woods drove them from their habitations and prompted many of them to take refuge in forts. This statement may explain the existence of the ancient Indian fort near where the first meeting house in Westfield was erected. The territory of the Woronoakes was on the frontier open to the in-

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cursions of those dreaded Indians from the west, rendering necessary such a place of shelter.

The New England Indians however were never completely subjugated by the Five Nations. One heroic effort was made in 1669, the year of the organization of the town of Westfield, to relieve the tension of existing conditions. Six hundred braves from Massachusetts marched into the territory of the Mohawks and attacked one of their forts, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Two years later peace between them was established through the efforts of the English and Dutch at Albany, and the subsequent alliance of the English and the Five Nations preserved the New England Indians from farther attack.

The number of Nipmucks at the period of the beginnings of English settlements has been estimated at about 800, though Judd in his History of Hadley, thinks that it was from 1000 to 1100. In an account laid before the Assembly of Connecticut in 1680, the number of warriors of the several tribes in the state was estimated at 500. At the end of that century the converted, or "praying" Indians as they were called, in Massachusetts were reckoned at 3000 souls.

In an exhaustive "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes" by Hon. Albert Gallatin, laid before the American Antiquarian Society in 1836, he makes the following statement:

"I think that the Indian population within the present boundaries of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, must have been from thirty to forty thousand souls before the epidemic disease which preceded the landing of the Pilgrims." (Transactions and Collections, Vol. II, p. 37.)

That epidemic made immense inroads upon the native population from which it never fully recovered.

The Indians were all savages marked by repulsive characteristics, while some tribes were lower than others in their personal qualities. Those about the Bay seem to have been of an extremely low type, probably the most degraded in all New England. Two of the ministers characterized them in a way far from complimentary. Mr Wilson, though compassionating them, called them "the most sordid and contemptible part of the human species." Mr. Hooker said that

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they were "the veriest ruins of mankind upon the face of the earth." In Hutchinson's History they are portrayed as "more dirty, foul and sordid than swine, being never so clean and sweet as when they were well greased."

In a scholarly and instructive address before the Connecticut Valley Historical Society delivered a few years since, Prof. J. T. Bowne, of the Young Men's Christian Association College of Springfield, a painstaking student of Indian affairs, and collector of Indian remains, said:

"Our ideas of Indian life are shaped largely by pictures of the modern Indian from the western plains. As I use the term with you to-night you call to mind one mounted upon a pony, covered with a blanket of many colors, carrying his saber or rifle; or, it may be seated in front of his tepee wigwam. Not one of those things was known to the Indian on the Atlantic coast at its settlement by Europeans. He had never seen a pony, a blanket, a rifle, or indeed any instrument of iron; nor is it probable that he had ever seen a tepee wigwam."

Gookin says: "Their houses or wigwams are built with small poles fixed in the ground, bent or fastened together with barks of trees oval or arbour-wise on the top. The best sort of them are covered very neatly, tight and warm, with barks of trees, slipped from their bodies at such seasons when the sap is up; and made into great flakes with pressure of weighty timber, when they are green; and so becoming dry they will retain a form suitable for the use they prepare them for. The meaner sort of wigwams are covered with mats they make of a kind of bulrush, which are also indifferent tight and warm, but not so good as the former." ("Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," Mass. Historical Soc. Collections, First Series, 1792, pp. 149–50.)

Gookin is one of the best authorities on the subject. He came from Virginia to Boston in 1644 and for the thirty years following had been giving careful study to the Indians before the publication of this pamphlet in 1670. The information which he supplies, is, therefore, first-hand and reliable. Some interesting details are worthy of consideration by those who would have a just conception of the aborigines with whom our forefathers came into contact and conflict.

Some of the wigwams which Gookin describes were in-

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tended for several families. They ranged in length from twenty to a hundred feet, and were thirty feet broad. The small wigwams had a fireplace in the center, with an opening above it, and another lower down for the escape of smoke. The openings had mats to cover them which were adjusted to conditions of wind and storm. In the larger wigwams the openings were in the ratio of their size. The openings for ingress and egress were closed by mats. Gookin says that he had found these rude structures as tight and warm as English houses.

The food of the Indians was largely corn boiled with beans, fish or the meat of deer, bear, moose, beaver, otter or any game which they could capture.

They used also roots, nuts and pumpkins in their pottage. "Also sometimes they beat their maize into meal, and sift it through a basket made for that purpose. With this meal they make bread, baking it in the ashes, covering the dough with leaves. Sometimes they make of their meal a small sort of cake and boil them. They make also a certain sort of meal of parched maize. This meal they call hocake. It is so sweet, toothsome and hearty that an Indian will travel many days with no other food but this meal, which he eateth as he needs, and after it drinketh water. And for this end, when they travel a journey, or go a hunting, they carry the hocake in a basket or bag for their use."

Their beds were made of poles lifted a foot above the floor of the wigwams, covered with boughs and skins.

Their household utensils consisted of pots made of clay, egg-shaped with the top cut off, spoons and ladles of wood, pails of birch bark, baskets made of bark, rushes, corn husks, grass and other pliable materials, sometimes elaborately decorated. Their clothing was made of skins, tanned, with or without the fur. They also made mantles of quilted feathers.

Their only farming implements were rude hoes made of trap rock, many specimens of which have been found in this region, and a substitute for a spade made of wood.

Their weapons were bows and arrows, clubs and tomahawks, the last named, like the arrows, having had stone attachments sharpened by chipping and rubbing.

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After trade with Europeans had been established the Indians began to change their primitive possessions for the products of civilization. They bartered the fruits of hunting and trapping for utensils of iron and copper, pots and pans, knives, hatchets, guns, pistols, and for cloth, beads, mirrors and many other things which were novelties to their wondering and covetous eyes.

Hence it came about that the Indians as the early settlers of Westfield knew them had among their belongings a combination of things primitive and the products of the civilization of the period.

A quaint statement of Roger Williams is very suggestive of the limitations of primitive man. He says, "I have seen a native go into the woods with his hatchet, carrying only a basket of corn with him and stones to strike fire. When he had felled his tree (being a chestnut) he made him a little house or shed of the bark of it; he puts fire and follows the burning it with fire in many places; his corn he boils, and hath the brook by him and sometimes angles for a little fish; but so he continues burning and hewing until he hath, within ten or twelve days (lying there at his work alone) finished his boat." That was one kind of boat or canoe, two feet wide and twenty feet long, hewed out after the repeated burnings with a stone hatchet and clam shells. Surely the time suggested by Williams was none too great.

A fine sample of such Indian workmanship was preserved for several years by the St. Bernard Fish and Game Club at Camp Henry, St. Alexis, Des Monts, P. Q. The Camp is situated on the south shore of beautiful Lake Sassacoma, about 80 miles northeast of Montreal.

The dugout, bearing marks of great antiquity, was discovered several miles away in the forest and was brought to the Camp where it was an object of great interest until destroyed by fire with the building in September, 1917. The dugout was of pine, 18 feet long, 18 inches wide in the middle, 8 inches wide at either end, and 12 inches deep. It ought to have been preserved in some museum, thus avoiding its irreparable loss.

No lover of native skill in meeting the hardships, the perplexities, the difficulties of wilderness life, no lover of hardi-

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hood and endurance, can fail to find much to admire in the original claimants of the territory that is now so thickly studded with cities and towns, which rejoice in the triumphs and depend upon the conveniences of modern civilization.

In the conditions that prevailed in this valley, as in other regions of New England, during the colonial period, it was inevitable that jars and discords, antagonisms and open hostilities should occur between the two races. The Indians were by inheritance savages, though less fierce and bloodthirsty than the Iroquois on the next great river to the westward that ran parallel to their own toward the sea. Much that the white man esteemed highly they despised, and much besides that the white man had in abundance they coveted but were averse to seeking it by his methods of thrift, prudence and industry.

William Pynchon showed fine sagacity in dealing with the Indians, who so often proved treacherous and even dangerous from the earliest days, even though they were allowed very large freedom in the infant hamlet and its homes. He was a wise diplomat who knew the value of a habit of opportunism, forbearance and patience. In an early letter to Gov. Winthrop he wrote: "My advise is that neather you nor the river [Connecticut] should do anything else but use dilatory means, for I percieve the nature of the Indians is uppon every like occasion to be much provoked with the desyer of revenge, but if meanes of delay be used but a while, the edge of their revengeful desyer will soon be cooled. I percieve they are carefull of this, not to begin first with the English, but they make account, if the English begin first with them, to doe great matters."

Not long before that letter was written, the General Court of Connecticut, September, 1642, began an enactment as follows, "Forasmuch as the Indians growe insolent and combyne themselves together."

In the summer of 1667 some cattle and hogs which belonged to people of Springfield, Northampton and Hadley were killed in the woods and there was good reason to attribute the loss to Mohawks. It was known that they shot and scalped an Indian servant of Nathaniel Clark of Northampton, late in August of that year. The deputies of Hampshire

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made complaint to the General Court in October following, of these Mohawk outrages. In response to the complaint a committee appointed to consider it urged that a letter be sent to the chief sachem of the Mohawks, setting forth their grievance and demanding damages. The letter, sent Oct. 31, is very diffuse and some of its realistic details are very amusing, including the finding of "shoes made of green hogskins which were left at the places where the Mohawks made their stands and from whence they were seen to go." The Mohawks were sufficiently impressed by the letter to make tardy reparation as shown in the records of March, 1669, to the extent of £20. It was paid in leather, perhaps in poetic justice for the injustice of the "shoes of green hogskins" and was in the hands of Simon Lobdell of Springfield. He was ordered to pay certain specified shares of it respectively to the three towns, in shoes at a fair price. The peaceful relations indicated by Mr. Stoddard in terms already quoted from his letter to the Council, was rudely broken in 1671. He says farther of the Indians who had been on such intimate terms with the Northampton townspeople, "A little before the tidings of war with Plymouth brake out * * * they on a sudden, without any cause given, plucked up their wigwams, took away their goods which they had laid up in our houses, and this they did at once."

These formerly friendly Nonotucks became at once uneasy and suspicious and soon made open alliance with the eastern Indians against their former neighbors.

The modern student of King Philip's War can find ample materials and diversified estimates of that famous son of Massasoit. Whether or not he was the forceful statesman, the skilled diplomat, the shrewd and successful schemer, the mighty savage general, that he has been held to be by many students, in some way his name became associated with a movement of several Indian tribes which wrought frightful havoc in the four Colonies and seemed for a brief critical period of the war to menace the very life of the English occupancy.

The treachery, duplicity and obstinate antagonism of Philip, which he exhibited from time to time during a series of years, and which became more pronounced and aggravat-

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ing in the spring of 1675, linked his personality with the early stages of the war that is known historically by his name.

By a formal instrument executed "in the presence of the Court [of Plymouth] and divers of the Magistrates and other gentlemen of Massachusetts and Connecticut," Sept. 29, 1671, he solemnly declared that he, his council and his subjects, the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, recognized the authority of the King of England and the government of New Plymouth, that they would obey their laws and render them fealty. Three years later, Sausaman, a faithful Indian, informed the Governor of Plymouth that Philip was stirring up discord among various sachems and inciting them to war. This statement was corroborated by concurrent testimonies of others. In June of the following year Sausaman was murdered and the latter part of the same month the town of Swanzey was attacked, houses were burned and citizens were butchered. Soon afterward several towns of Plymouth Colony were attacked. The following month, the second stage of the war was reached, the Nipmucks began depradations, and a skirmish near Quaboag, now Brookfield, proved disastrous to a party of English troopers sent as an escort of three citizens who were appointed commissioners to attempt the pacification of the Nipmucks, whom Philip had joined on the day before the fight. By the end of August hostilities opened in the Connecticut Valley, and troops had reached that region from the eastern part of the State and from Hartford. This was the frontier indeed, the towns here were the very outposts of civilization, there having been no settlement for a hundred miles to the westward and no European settlement to the northward for twice that distance. The peril of these feeble hamlets was appalling. All the way up the river from Springfield to the northernmost town of Northfield (Squaukheag), hostile savages were prowling. There ten men who had ventured too far from a blockhouse were killed Sept. 2. Captain Beers was sent with thirty-six men as a rescuing party, but before reaching Northfield they were waylaid and more than half of them, including their commander, were killed. Major Treat with a hundred men was then sent and fighting their way through they brought the terrified people safely from Northfield and for a time that settlement was abandoned.

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On Sept. 9 at that critical epoch of 1675, the Commissioners of the three Colonies gathered at Boston for their first meeting after the new confederacy had been established.

They considered recent events, declared that the war, as a defensive one, was both just and necessary, and should be vigorously prosecuted by all the United Colonies, decided to raise a force of 1000 men and determined the quota to be furnished by each Colony, from Massachusetts, 527, from Connecticut, 315, and from Plymouth, 158. In reviewing the relative power of the Indians and the English, Palfrey estimates them about equal in number, though the Indians having become well supplied with firearms and expert marksmen, were, for various reasons, the more formidable. He says of them, "They knew the country perfectly; the paths and defiles by which they might reach an undefended hamlet; the thickets in which they might wait for a company of travelers; the hollows where they might lie hidden and baffle pursuit. They knew the haunts and the habits of their exposed white neighbors; the day of the week when dwellings might be ransacked and burned more safely than on the other six; the hours of the night when conflagration and carnage were easiest. On the other hand, though the English were well armed, they had no military experience. Not a man of them, if his life had been passed on this side of the water, had ever been in battle, unless he was old enough to have faced the Pequots, forty years before. In open fight the manliness of his race would have availed, and the slight savage could not have prevailed against him. But it was not the habit of the red man to try the hazards of the open field and in the arts of Indian warfare the existing generation of Englishmen was untaught." (History of New England, Vol. III, pp. 167–8.)

As an evidence of the ignorance of the authorities at Boston as well as the field officers, respecting the vital matter of adopting the Indian method of fighting from shelter instead of maintaining close order in wilderness warfare, it is recorded that Captain Lathrop was criticized because, after his surprise and loss of a large portion of his command at Bloody Brook, in Deerfield, he allowed his men to scatter and seek cover. Hubbard attributes his misfortune to "fighting the Indians in their own way" and contends that if they had fought in a

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body, the result would have been different. The fatal fault was, not in the method of fighting, but in the method of marching. Hoyt's sensible comment is, "In cases of ambuscade no commander of a considerable force can shelter himself under the plea that the enemy were not expected at the place. For by due caution, a body of such strength may always discover them in season, and avoid an attack on the main body. But circumspection seems to have been a military virtue with which the officers in our early wars were little acquainted. Personally brave, they held the Indians in low estimation; more discipline and knowledge of systematic war, would have taught them more prudence; and had they adhered to the maxim, so important in military operations,—that 'distrust is the mother of security,' they would have baffled the enemy with less expense of lives." (Indian Wars, p. 109.)

From the repeated disasters of those early days of conflict, again and again the English suffered appalling losses through the ambuscades of their wily foe. The Bloody Pond massacre below Lake George in September, 1755, was a signal instance. The awful slaughter of Braddock's command, two months earlier in the same year, at Fort Duquesne, was another, when America came so near to losing the man who proved its savior twenty-five years later. Washington was the only one of Braddock's aids who escaped alive from the ambushed French and Indian marksmen. The stubborn English commander, taught only in the martial schools across the sea, refused to protect his flanks by proper scouting parties and paid the penalty of death and lasting disgrace.

Commission & Instructions to Maj. R. Treat, Aug. 30, 1675. Monday:—

He was to command the Connecticut forces sent into Massachusetts, to be aided by a Council of War, to go first to Westfield, and next to Northampton, to succor our neighbors in danger, to go to other towns and places as need may be, and meeting with the Bay forces to consult them for light & information—"to see to the carriage & behavior of all under your command, that it be sober, christian and comely both in words & deeds, according to gospel profession,"—to advise with the Bay commanders "but not bound by their councils unless you accord with them; to preserve the lives & limbs

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of your soldiers with your best skill; to see that Rev. Mr. Whiting who goes out as minister is well provided for."

"Sep. 9. Major Treat has returned from the army, says that the gentlemen from the Bay have ordered all their forces out of the field up the river, & their towns to be garrisoned as they may, that the army from this colony [Connecticut] is about 40 at Hatfield, some at Northampton, and some at Westfield which are desired to be continued. Council grant 26 at Westfield under Ensign John Miles, 16 at Springfield under Lt. John Standly, & the rest both under Sergt. Joseph Wadsworth & John Grant to return.

"11. Major Pynchon requests some forces against Indians. Major Treat to meet with those 'gentlemen dragoons' formerly placed under him, up to Hadley or Northampton, then to consult with Major Pynchon and the commanders to form a design against the Indians, to command also those in garrison at Springfield, Westfield, Northampton & Hatfield, as well as those that now go up with him or follow after him, English & Indians." (Judd Ms. Forbes Library, Northampton.)

The first day of September was one of deep anxiety to two of the river towns, Deerfield was attacked by local Indians, who shot James Eggleston while searching for his horse. The terrified inhabitants sought refuge in their blockhouses. The sixty redskins were disheartened after two of their number had fallen, and turned from fruitless efforts to drive the people from their refuge, to the easier and more congenial task of pillaging and burning houses and barns.

On the same day a joint force of Nipmucks and Wampanoags made their first attempt upon another town in the valley. The people of Hadley were assembled in their meeting house "seeking the Lord by fasting and prayer" as Mather says. Suddenly the enemy appeared and threw them into confusion. Some, if not all, of the men were armed, according to custom in those perilous times, but they had no leader. The story of the sensational appearance and the prowess of a mysterious leader is familiar and interesting, dear alike to adult and schoolboy, though discredited by some historical experts. Hutchinson, whose history appeared in 1760, gives the first printed account of it. He says, "The town of Hadley was alarmed by the Indians in 1675, in the time of public worship, and the

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people were in the utmost confusion. Suddenly a grave, elderly person appeared in the midst of them. In his mien and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but put himself at their head, rallied, instructed and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. The people were left in consternation, utterly unable to account for this strange phenomenon. It is not probable that they were ever able to explain it. If Goffe had been then discovered, it must have come to the knowledge of those persons, who declare by their letters that they never knew what became of him."

President Stiles published in 1794 a History of the three Judges of Charles I, in which he amplifies this story of "The Angel of Hadley" and argues earnestly for its authority. We want to cherish his conclusions and cling to the romantic and fascinating legend. However, it is hardly possible to study carefully the Introduction to Judd's "Hadley" by George Sheldon, the veteran historian and antiquarian of the upper Connecticut Valley in this Commonwealth without feeling that the charming story is without adequate historical basis. His analysis of the data is acute and scholarly, leaving the ancient tradition a mass of tatters.

Fiske, however, favors the credibility of the tradition, saying with respect to it:

"Sir Walter Scott has put this pretty story into the mouth of Major Bridgeworth in 'Peveril of the Peak,' and Cooper has made use of it in 'The Wept of Wish-ton-wish.' Like many other romantic stories, it rests upon insufficient authority and its truth has been called in question. But there seems to be nothing intrinsically improbable in the tradition; and a paramount regard for Goffe's personal safety would quite account for the studied silence of contemporary writers like Hubbard and Increase Mather." (Beginnings of New England, pp. 218–19.)

In a footnote still farther supporting the claim, Fiske lays stress on the fact that Hutchinson had in his possession Goffe's personal diary.

Though the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston were so ready to assume offensive operations and voted to raise 1000 men for that purpose, Sept. 19, the com-

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manders of the small body of troops that had gathered in the Connecticut Valley, after a council of war held Sept. 8, decided, and probably wisely in existing circumstances, to act on the defensive. After the disaster to Capt. Beers and his command at Northfield, Major Treat had sent twenty dragoons under Sergt. Wadsworth to garrison Westfield, and twenty more under John Grant to Springfield. Later the Connecticut troops under Major Treat were recalled except a garrison of sixteen men at Westfield and another of fifteen at Springfield. Northfield having been deserted by its dozen or more families and its buildings having been burned by the Indians, Deerfield was left as the northern outpost. Thither marched Capt. Samuel Moseley with sixty soldiers from the Bay, Sept. 14, from Hadley, which was a kind of military center. Capt. John Mason with a company of Mohegans and Pequots, allies of the English, arrived there a few days later. These additions to the town's population rendered it necessary to replenish the commissary supplies. A harvest estimated at three thousand bushels of wheat was stacked unthreshed in the Deerfield meadows. Major Pynchon, who owned the greater part of it, ordered it threshed and brought down to Hadley. Capt. Lothrop with ninety sturdy troopers was sent as an escort with the teamsters and eighteen carts that went on this important errand. They finished threshing the grain, loaded it with some furniture of the people, and started for Hadley on Sept. 18. Captain Moseley still remained at Deerfield with his command. The teams and their escort traveled without molestation for a few miles, until, about seven o'clock in the morning, they reached a stream which had to be forded, since called Bloody Brook, but till then known as Muddy Brook. Many of the soldiers, with most unsoldierly imprudence, put their guns on the carts and hastened to regale themselves on tempting wild grapes that grew there in abundance. Suddenly, from the woods that bordered the stream, hundreds of muskets poured forth a storm of leaden hail upon the startled soldiers. Immediately, hosts of skulking savages sprang upon the panic-stricken escort with hatchet and tomahawk. Lothrop, "a godly and courageous commander," was killed with the great bulk of his men, only about a half-dozen managing to escape alive, one of whom forced his way through the assailants by

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wielding his clubbed musket with one arm, the other having been broken. The account of the number slain given by the Rev. John Russell of Hadley seems to be the most reliable one. He makes the aggregate seventy-one, including seventeen teamsters, and gives the names of all of them, which may be found in Judd's "Hadley," p. 141, note. As soon as Capt. Moseley, scouting with his men in the woods about Deerfield, heard the musketry he hastened to the relief of the beleaguered party, but arrived too late to be of much service. He found the Indians reaping the fruits of their horrid victory, stripping the dead and ripping open the bags of grain. Though outnumbered many times, he fought the savages for several hours, until Major Treat with a hundred white men and sixty Mohegans arrived, on the way from Northampton to establish a military outpost at Northfield. The Indians then withdrew, and the weary troops, with the wounded men, moved to Deerfield for the night, returning next morning to bury the dead.

This massacre filled New England with horror and terror. Hubbard bewails the loss of Lothrop's company, "the very flower of the County of Essex, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate."

Within two months Northfield and Deerfield had been deserted, the latter soon after the Bloody Brook disaster and one hundred and twenty-eight lives had been sacrificed. Major Pynchon alarmed at the state of affairs, and distrusting the friendly Indians with too good reason, had written to the Governor September 8, "Is the Lord about to ruin us? And to leave us to be destroyed? It is a matter of lamentation; some of our people speak of breaking up, and will be gone, and discouragements enough are on all."

This may sound unmanly, coming from the lips of the commander of all the forces in this region, in the full vigor of maturity, then about fifty years old, and the dominating genius of the valley settlements. But the very fact that he held so many positions of responsibility, the fact that so many people and such vital interests depended upon him, made him solicitous as a statesman and administrator, though he did not lack courage as a military leader. He felt that the military command should pass to other hands and made a formal request for relief to the Council at Boston. In a

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private letter sent from Hadley to a friend in Boston, September 30, 1675, he says, "It is to much yt I should still troble you wth my Continued desires for a rebate for ye charge you have laid on me wch I am necessitated to doe yt ye worke may not miscary by so much & unable a manager. It were far better some more thorough & meete Instrument were imployed in ye service & I discharge upon yt very acct; But besides (not to mention some scruples upon my spirit) The distressed state of my affaires at Hom, ye sorrows & afflictions my Deare wife undergoes, & her continual calls to me for reliefe & succor, she being almost overwhelmed with griefe & Troble, & in many straites & pplexitys, wch would be somewhat holpen & alleviated by my presence there."

He was relieved of his military command on October 4 and Captain Samuel Appleton was commissioned in his place.

Major Pynchon had been deeply concerned about the local Indians with whom the people had been so friendly and who had found their dusky neighbors generally peaceable and well-behaved. He complained of the indifference of the English to the need of "scouting and spying." When panic seized the valley, hostages were exacted of the Agawams and sent for security to Hartford, but they soon escaped.

Early on Monday October 4, 1675, Major Pynchon under orders from the commissioners, led a company of troopers to Hadley, preliminary to offensive operations such as the authorities at the Bay recommended, it having been rumored that large bodies of Indians were gathering in the neighborhood of that town. He little dreamed of the awful disaster that was to result from its undefended condition to the settlement into which he had put the best of his life.

During the night of that day, Indians gathered in great numbers in their fort on Long Hill, on the height along which the street of that name now runs. It was capable of holding the wigwams of four hundred warriors. About forty Agawams and several hundred others from up the river, sought its shelter under cover of the darkness of that night, intent on wiping out the settlement and exterminating its inhabitants. In all likelihood that fiendish purpose would have been completely executed and all the men, women and children of the region would have been mercilessly butchered, had not

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a friendly Indian in Windsor divulged the plot. Green's account of the incident is vivid. He says, "Toto, an Indian living with a Windsor family, became agitated on the night of the 4th, and the family succeeded in extracting from him the terrible secret. It was long after dark when Toto made the confession, and in post-haste a man was sent to carry the news to Springfield. He rode into town at the dead of night, and roused the inhabitants, who were doubly terrified, the soldiers having gone off on the Hadley campaign. The alarm was sounded at every door in the village. What few men there were seized their guns and ammunition, and with all haste escorted the women and children to the three garrison houses of the place which had been recently repaired and fortified. It was a night of dramatic consternation." (History of Springfield, p. 162.)

Word sent to Westfield and Hadley could not have been delivered before morning. Major Pynchon, with Captains Appleton and Sill, hastened down from the north. Major Treat hurried with his command from Westfield and reached the river bank opposite the town about 11 o'clock, but having no boats could not cross. Pynchon and his troops arrived late in the day after all possible damage had been accomplished.

Instead of attacking at early morn, for some reason the Indians delayed till the panic-stricken inhabitants began to discredit the warning of Toto. Rev. Mr. Glover, who had hurried his "brave library" to Mr. Pynchon's forted house in the night, carried it back to his own house. Others probably returned in straggling groups to their homes, hoping that the alarm had been groundless.

Lieut. Cooper and John Miller rode out to reconnoitre, but they were fired upon soon after leaving the shelter of the fort. The latter was killed instantly. Lieut. Cooper turned to ride back but fell from his horse dead just before reaching the fort. Two other men were killed and one woman who had probably gone to her home in the lower part of the hamlet. The destruction of property was appalling to the feeble community with winter not far distant. The savages looted and burned with devilish malignity. They could not reach the people in the forted houses, but they burned thirty-

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three dwellings and twenty-six barns besides a building of highest importance to the settlers, Major Pynchon's mill where all their grain had been ground.

The outlook was certainly discouraging. Major Pynchon's loss was almost complete, the fruits of the patient and careful accumulation of nearly forty years. He had lost a farm house and barns on the west side of the river late in September, now he had left only his brick forted house and his lands. About half of the inhabitants were even worse off as regards property, having lost their homes also. Only fifteen houses were left in the town plot. On the other side of the river and on the outskirts of the east side about sixty houses remained standing with considerable stores of corn.

Three days after the disaster, Major Pynchon, in a letter to Governor Leverett, said:

"Our people are under great discouragement talk of leaving the place. We need your orders and directions about it. If it be deserted, how wofully do we yield to, and encourage, our insolent enemy, and how doth it make way for the giving up of all the towns above. If it be held, it must be by strength and many soldiers, and how to have provision, I mean bread, for want of a mill is difficult. The soldiers here already complain on that account, although we have flesh enough, and this very strait, I mean no meal, will drive many of our inhabitants away, especially those that have no corn and many of them no houses, which fills and throngs up every room of those that have, together with the soldiers now (which yet we cannot be without) increasing our numbers so that indeed it is very uncomfortable living here, and for my own particular, it would be far better for me to go away, because here I have not anything left,—I mean no corn, neither Indian nor English, and no means to keep one beast here; nor can I have release in this town because so many are destitute. But I resolve to attend what God calls me to, and to stick to it as long as I can, and though I have such great loss of my comforts, yet to do what I can for defending the place. I hope God will make up in himself what is wanting in the creature to me and to us all." How noble the spirit thus revealed!

The people of Springfield had to depend upon the mills

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at Westfield for the grinding of their corn though the way thither was long, rough, and precarious owing to the menace of skulking enemies. Rev. Mr. Taylor, writing of conditions during that frightful period, says, "but summer coming opened a door unto that desolating war began by Philip, Sachem of the Pakonoket Indians, by which this handful was sorely pressed, yet sovereignly preserved, but yet not so as that we should be wholly exempted from the fury of war, for our soil was moistened by the blood of three Springfield men, young Goodman Dumbleton, who came to our mill, and two sons of Goodman Brooks, who came here to look after the iron ore on the land he had lately bought of Mr. John Pynchon, Esq. who being persuaded by Springfield folk, went to accompany them, but fell in the way by the first assault of the enemy upon us, at which time they burnt Mr. Cornish's house to ashes and also John Sacket's with his barn and what was in it, being the first snowy day of winter; they also at this time lodged a bullet in George Granger's leg, which was, the next morning taken out by Mr. Bulkley, and the wound soon healed. It was judged that the enemy did receive some loss at this time, because in the ashes of Mr. Cornish's house were found pieces of the bones of a man lying about the length of a man in the ashes."

That is about all that we know of martial incidents in Westfield during that terrible autumn of 1675. But that the settlement was keenly alive to threatening dangers we need no specific records to prove. The fact that it was the extreme western outpost, just beyond the line of the river settlements, though still in vital relation to, and close fellowship with them, actually lessened the danger of hostile operations against it. It did not seem so at the time, but events, as the war progressed, proved it. The people in that exposed hamlet were under constant apprehension, and took wise precautions against possible hazards, as will appear later.

In the security of these modern days it is difficult to imagine the condition of panic, in which the people of the whole Colony spent that year of Philip's War. They realized vividly that their whole enterprise was in danger. After the burning of Springfield, while town after town in different parts of the

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Colony, east, west and what little there was in the central region, were attacked with results fatal to life directly, and indirectly through the destruction of the property upon which life was dependent, the authorities were at their wits' end, counsels and orders were confused and conflicting, the requirements of the exigency demanded more men and resources than were available. The people were not numerous enough, not far enough removed from the infancy of their several settlements and the limitations necessarily involved, to support even the nucleus of a standing army. What men there were in the Colony were imperatively needed in their respective settlements to care for their families and attend to the practical affairs of the daily routine of life in the slowly growing communities. When the officers and the rank and file of the rude militia were summoned from the places of their abode to protect places where the inhabitants were fewer or more exposed, their departure not only left their several homes unmanned for labor on the farm and in the simple industries of those primitive times, but it also decreased to the same extent the defensive force there. Hence, when the savages in many regions committed depredations, and slaughtered men, women and children as they could get opportunity, it is not strange that panic became well-nigh universal.

The authorities at the Bay sent orders to Major Appleton who succeeded Major Pynchon as Commander-in-chief of the forces in the valley, to concentrate his troops and make a combined attack upon the enemy. But how could that policy be executed when the enemy, instead of being massed, was scattered up and down the valley and well over the Colony, and when, besides, those scattered bands were perpetually on the move, stealthily treading the forest trails from point to point, and only revealing their whereabouts by some sudden musket shot that meant the wounding or killing of an unsuspecting inhabitant? Each town, in very desperation, clamored for a garrison adequate to its protection. Capt. Appleton recognized the justice and wisdom of such a defensive policy, and events proved how sound it was, for in no instance where it was followed, supplemented by such rude means of defense as a stockade of logs, did any signal

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victory reward the attacking party. The Indians were competent, neither to fight in the open field, nor to carry by assault a fortified position. They could only sneak stealthily upon a house or a hamlet under cover of darkness, or post an ambuscade on a path along which bodies of troops were to pass, and from their hiding places stampede and massacre their surprised victims.

An Indian taken at Springfield revealed to Capt. Moseley a plan to attack simultaneously the three towns of Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton. Had they fallen, how long could Westfield and crippled Springfield have held out against the enemy? Whether or not the report was true, an attack on Hatfield occurred October 19. The garrison consisted of the companies of Moseley and Poole. When the alarm was given by the entrapping of the men, sent out on a scout, a couple of miles from town, one only of whom escaped and returned to report the disaster, Major Appleton hurried over from Hadley to support the defense against several hundred Indians. With his help, after a furious fight of two hours, at the end of which Major Treat arrived to put on the finishing touches, the Indians retreated to the western woods with a few prisoners whom they captured from the scouting party. A few days later one of the captives was subjected to the most horrible torture. "They burnt his nails & put his feet to scald against the fire & drove a stake through one of his feet to pin him to the ground." That was a mild proceeding compared with many other barbarities practiced at various times and places. Theirs was human nature at its first remove from the brute inheritance and in instances not rare, the remove was but an attenuated shadow.

Shortly after the attack on Hatfield there was a less formidable movement against Northampton probably made by stragglers from the former settlement. They burned a few houses and barns before being repulsed by the ubiquitous Major Treat. The danger of leaving the thickly settled places proved to be so great that on November 12 Major Appleton issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the five towns in his military department, Springfield, Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Westfield, which was practically a declaration of martial law. He ordered "that no person

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shall remove from or desert any of these towns so long as forces are continued here for their defense, without liberty under hand of the commander-in-chief, in each town, nor shall any go out of the towns without a pass under the hand of the commander-in-chief. * * * And if any be attempting or preparing to depart otherwise, all officers civil and military are hereby impowered & required to prohibit their departure & also to secure them & their estates & bring them to the chief officers."

Nov. 6, 1675. Major Treat asked permission to remove his troops from Westfield to seek the enemy down the river and a council of war was called for the 8th. Capt. Appleton said he had not authority from the commissioners to allow them to withdraw. The trouble seems to have been the unwillingness of the Connecticut soldiers to remain in garrison in Westfield. They preferred to go out and search for the enemy.

"Capt. Appleton suggests that if the army be drawn off for the Winter and the Towns garrisoned, Connecticut troops might more conveniently be placed and supplied at Westfield and Northampton and the other three towns garrisoned with Massachusetts men." (Soldiers in King Philip's War, Bodge, p. 103.)

Not getting orders from Council as expected he finally "reluctantly yielded to the importunity of Connecticut, and on Nov. 19th dismissed Major Treat and his forces at Westfield to march downwards to the Connecticut towns, accompanying the order of permission with an urgent request to the Council that Westfield and Springfield may be garrisoned by their forces. * * *

"Twenty-nine soldiers taken out of the companies of Capts. Moseley and Poole, and Lieut. Upham are left at Westfield in charge of Serg. Lamb, and all under the command of Capt. Aaron Cooke. John Roote is appointed commissary of the garrison." (Idem, p. 104.)

Thus late in November the Connecticut troops under the sturdy Major Treat left for home, all signs having indicated that the Indians had retired to winter quarters. Thirty-nine men under Major Pynchon were left as a garrison at Springfield, twenty-nine at Westfield under Major Aaron Cook, twenty-six at Northampton under Lieut. William

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Clarke, thirty at Hadley under Capt. Jonathan Poole, and thirty-six at Hatfield under Lieut. William Allis.

"To Capt. Aaron Cooke at Westfield you are hereby required to take care that ye soldiers that are left in Garrison with you shall be well provided for with food & raiment and you are to chuse a Commission who shall take an account of ye provisions that are expended on them; and you shall be allowed for it according as the Generall Court or Councill shall so meet. And if any of the soldiers shall want cloathing you are to repair to Mr. James Richards of Hartford or to Mr. Blackleach; where you shall be furnished, the Commissary is to take an account of ye cloathings with ye names of ye persons that have it. And also you are to take care that all fortifications in your Town (already begun) be speedily finished with ye help of ye Inhabitants together with ye assistance of ye soldiers.

P Samuel Appleton
Comd in chiefe

"Dated at Westfield Nov. 19, 1675."

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 68, p. 66.)

With such forces as were available outside the garrisons, Appleton and Moseley moved through the Nipmuck country looking for the enemy, but accomplished nothing save the destruction of a large quantity of corn, and finally reached Boston.

Trumbull sums up the English losses thus far in the campaign: "Most of the devastation and destruction already suffered by the river towns had been caused by the local tribes of Indians. They were aided by the Nipmucks who were able to furnish much the largest number of warriors. During the few months in which the war raged in the year 1675, about one hundred and forty-five persons were killed in Hampshire County; forty-three or forty-four were residents of the county, and more than one hundred were residents of the eastern part of the Commonwealth. Every town in the county, with the exception of Hadley and Westfield, had been partially destroyed; Brookfield, Northfield and Deerfield had been deserted, though Brookfield was still to some extent used as a military post." (History of Northampton, Vol. I, p. 274.)

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It had become evident that the plan of forting houses, that is, providing them with loopholes and some kind of a barrieade, or erecting blockhouses at commanding points, was an insufficient safeguard against the depredations of the Indians. Not only did the inhabitants need the personal protection thus afforded at great discomfort on account of the crowded condition of such places of shelter in times of alarm; their barns, their stores of grain and their livestock needed protection as well. To provide more comprehensive safeguards, the northern towns erected palisades, inclosing their more thickly settled portions, in the latter part of 1675. The idea of such a method of defense was probably derived from the Indians and was conveniently accomplished because the environing forests furnished abundant material which needed only the axe with which each man's hand was familiar to put it into proper shape, and time, which was the most commonly diffused item of wealth in those days, to put it in place. The plan pursued in constructing such palisaded fortifications was to drive heavy stakes of cleft wood firmly into the ground so closely together as to form a continuous wall about eight feet high. The edges of these small logs were trimmed off so as to make the thinnest portions of the wall at least two inches thick and the middle portion of each stake much thicker, according to its individual size before being cleft. They were bound together at the top by strips of wood held in place by wooden pinions. The method of constructing the more elaborate and pretentious forts of the frontier will be more carefully detailed in a succeeding chapter. These rude palisades, when defended with any degree of fortitude and skill, proved adequate shelters against enemies that had no heavier missiles than musket balls and arrows.

It cannot prove uninteresting to trace the movements of the arch-instigator of these barbarities, during the months that ensued after the attack on Springfield October 5. With patience, skill and rare acumen, Mr. Sheldon in his exhaustive "History of Deerfield and the Indian Wars of the Connecticut Valley" has traced carefully the movements of the wily chieftain who succeeded so well in keeping himself mysteriously hidden from the English of that period.

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After the burning of Springfield, Philip started for the Narragansett country, carrying much spoil collected during that eventful October 5. When hostilities first broke out he sent the women and children of his tribe to seek hospitality and shelter among the Narragansetts who felt bound to receive them. By so doing they broke the solemn obligation they had been forced by Moseley to pledge, whereby they were to deliver to the English any hostile Indians that came into their hands. But when Moseley withdrew the pressure of his forces, Canonchet, the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, asserted that he "would not give up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail."

Confident that the Narragansetts intended to begin hostilities, on November 2 the Commissioners formally declared war against them, and raised a thousand troops to carry it on. The stronghold of the tribe was stormed December 19, and hundreds of the Indians were slain, others were captured, and others still perished from cold and starvation, their winter stores having been destroyed by the English. Such warriors as escaped these perils fled to the Nipmuck country. Before this crushing blow fell, Philip started to join the Pocumtucks on the Hoosick River in the Hudson valley. His object was to induce the Hudson River Indians to renew an alliance with the Pocumtucks which had formerly existed, in hostility to the Mohegans in the lower Connecticut Valley. He succeeded in drawing the Mohawks into an alliance against their old common enemy Uncas and his Mohegans, but not against the English. It is supposed that Philip made a stealthy trip to Canada, though it was rumored that he was sick.

By the middle of January, 1676, an imposing force of several tribes, many of the warriors being young and ambitious bucks, who had joined the four hundred Pocumtucks and Wampanoags, recruits from the Mohawks, Mohegans, Scatacooks and other clans, some fifteen hundred in all, camped together eastward of the headwaters of the Pocumtuck in what is now Vermont. Soon afterward they were joined by six hundred French Indians from Canada, probably induced to come down by the artful Philip. Two English scouts captured at Hatfield in the attack of October 19, were still held. To impress them with the Indian strength a grand

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review was arranged, when the host paraded before them "in two ranks."

"Here is related a story of 2 captives released by the Indians and sent down to New York. They reported that King Philip had a place 30 or 40 miles from Albany, that they being carried 3 days journey from this place towards N. E. came to an Indian place of rendezvous & a mighty Sachem near *Hossike* river towards Canada, where one of them counted 2100 men well armed & most of them young men, among them were 500 French Indians. King Philip and the party with him about 400 were not then there; his own party was only 100. These North Indians boasted that they would do great things this spring & summer. One of the released captives says he returned with the rest towards Albany & was given by the North Indians to the Mohicanders or River Indians suspected of favoring Philip &c.

"Much discourse & consultation about this time, in regard to engaging the Mohawks against these Northern Indians. Uncas wondered we did not do it, said the Mohawks were the only ones likely to put an end to the war, but this counsel was not so vigorously persuaded as some expected."

"In July (1676) we killed or took 200 Indians. King Philip & others having wandered towards Albany the Mohawks went against them, & pursued them as far as Hossick River, about 2 days march E. of Hudson's river, killing some & taking some. This discouraged our Indians & many came in & submitted. It is computed that the Indians killed, taken, sent away and now come in by way of submission are 6000.

"It is thought the English have lost in men, women & children above 800, of whom many were destroyed with exquisite torments. They killed & wounded & maimed many of our cattle." (Judd Ms. Forbes Library, Mass. Vol. II, p. 32.)

The plan of campaign for the coming spring, as there agreed upon, seems to have involved a massed movement on the valley towns, from a rendezvous at Northfield, while the Narragansetts and Nipmucks ravaged the eastern frontiers. Having cleared the valley of the English and annihilated the hated Mohegans, headquarters were to be established

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in the valley where the women and children should be quartered, where fields could be planted and fishing attended to, in order to gather abundant supplies of food for the future winter. The French of Canada were to protect them and send settlers to share their lands. Such was the diabolical plan that threatened so seriously the whole English occupancy of at least the western part of Massachusetts and Connecticut. It was surely "full sea with Philip his affairs" as quaintly expressed by a writer of the time. The released scouts stated that the Indians at their winter camp "in a vapouring manner, declared that their intent was first, to destroy Connecticut in the spring, then Boston in the harvest and afterwards the Dutch (meaning what the Dutch had here)." (Present State of New England, Merchant of Boston, p. 227.)

The grandiloquent but not absurd plan was rendered abortive by the miscarriage of a foul plot of Philip. In order to insure the alliance of the Mohawks against the English as well as against the Mohegans, he caused the death of some Mohawks and attributed their fate to the English. One of the Mohawks, supposed to have been killed, revived and reported Philip's treachery to his tribe. The outraged Mohawks swooped down upon the eastern Indians, killed and captured many of them and sent Philip with his few Pocumtuck followers scurrying over the Green Mountains to Northfield, where they arrived, foiled and crestfallen, the latter part of February.

The following pathetic and reasonable plea must have been granted:

"Worshiful Sir—together with the Hond Council.

"The allwise Providence of God having brought these desolating wars into our parts the summer past, & thereby calling us not only to the expense of a great part of our estate on public occasions; but also threatening ruin both unto the rest & to ourselves, it was a question with some of us whether we were in our way or not to abide the event. The which seems the harder to resolve when there came (from whence we well know not) a report that there would be no allowance for such charges as should be expended in quartering soldiers (the which should be a truth would most certainly break up our plantation & now undo the most here) but seeing neither

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equity in any such report or thing, and considering what as our judgment it is for towns to be laid desolate and made ruinous heaps, as also that our calling & livelihood lay in this place, the hand of God seemed to point out unto us some special duty of self denial, wherein we stood bound with respect to the public benefit and hereupon we adventured (not troubling you for advice) in keeping our station to draw out our estates in public uses & in the service of God & this people, in quartering of soldiers in maintaining of a garrison here, sometimes consisting of about 20, sometimes above 40 & near about 30 soldiers as also in quartering Hartford soldiers in their passing to & from, sometimes being more & sometimes less, sometimes leaving 40 or 50 or 60 Indian soldiers with them as also in sending posts &c from the latter end of August until this instant.

"Therefore having now expended a great part of our estate thus in obedience to the call of Providence we proceed to leave unto your consideration an account thereof & proceeding upon the common say, that things are with us, as for a man 4/ per week, for a horse 1/ at grass and 1/6 at hay, as for corn, wheat being at 3/6, Indian & oats 2/ per bushel, as for flesh meat, pork being at 3d and beef at 2d½ per pound. Also allowing a post 3d per mile he bearing all the charges (we say proceeding according to these rates of things) our public expenses on Hartford soldiers amounts to £124.16.7 from the latter end of August to the 19th of November and our public expenses from the 19th of Nov. to March 3d 1675–6 (being just 15 weeks) the which have been disbursed on the garrison soldiers left here by the Com. in Chief. Capt. Ap. amounts to 87£13.0. To which we add troopers arrearages 25/ and for killing 2 wolves 20/ which being added to the summers charges is £127.1.7. out of which subtracting the County rates last summer demanded which come to 36.0.8½ the remainder 90.13.6½ being that which we are still out on public credit, the which 90.13.6½ of our charges on Hartford soldiers being added to the 87.13.0 the total is 178.6.6½ that we have still expended on public account which is believed to be a faithful account as we are able with the best diligence we could use to gather up. Only the last of the 3 county rates would not we judge have come to so much as is set down,

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being that the list of our estates did not arise to so much, as you may see; but not having at present to correct aright we let it go at present. Thus having faithfully laid down our expenses before you to your consideration & desiring the Almighty to give you in all your consultations unto such events as he of his grace shall bless to your good, & peace of his poor wilderness people, we remain your humble servts.

"John Sacket, Constable
John Root, Commissary

"Westfield, 15.1.1675-6
"[Mar. 15, 1676. Handwriting of Rev. E. Taylor]"

(Judd Ms. Forbes Library.)

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CHAPTER XI.

Philip's War (*Concluded*)

The general rendezvous of the Nipmucks and the survivors of the Narragansetts after the "Great Swamp Fight" was at Wenimissett, north of Quaboag (Brookfield). Thence they ravaged the frontiers of the Bay towns. Lancaster was attacked on Feb. 10, 1676, where some fifty people were killed or captured. Among the latter was Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, wife of the resident minister. Her journal is of great value for its account of the movements and methods of the Indians during that critical winter. The horrible hardships which she endured are heartrending. That she could have lived through them almost exceeds belief.

When the English learned of this great body of the enemy in that locality they gathered a large force under Major Savage to attack them, but the Indians discovering the movement through their scouts, beat a hasty retreat to Squawkeag (Northfield), some two thousand in all, men, women and children, where they joined Philip and the small band that had come with him across the Green Mountains a few weeks earlier.

This manifest menace to the valley towns determined Major Savage to hurry to their defense and he arrived none too soon. It was just at this period that Westfield had its second visitation from some wandering scouts probably. "Five bushels of meal were stolen" from some place unspecified and more serious damage was done as described by Mr. Taylor in the church record from which a quotation has been made already. He says, "Also in winter some sculking Rascals upon a Lord's day in ye time of our afternoon worship fired Ambrose Fowler's house and in ye week after Walter Lee's barn, but in ye latter end & giving up of Winter on ye last snowy day thereof, discovering an end of Indians, did send out to make a full discovery of the same designing only three or four to go out with orders that they should not assault them, but to our woe and smart, there going 10 or 12 not as scouts but as assalants, rid furiously upon ye Enemie from whom

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they received a furious charge whereby Moses Cook an inhabitant & Clemence Bates a soldier lost their lives, Clemence in ye place & Moses at night; besides which, we lost no other of the town, only at ye Falls fight at Deerfield, there going from our town 9 men, three garrison soldiers fell, thus though we lay in ye very rode of the Enemie were wee preserved, only the war had so impoverished as that many times some were ready to leave the place & many did, yea many of those that were in full Communion went to other places."

The skirmish at Westfield was on March 9. During the following week, on March 14, 1676, "there occurred the most serious and apparently the only organized attack upon Northampton during the war," something which Westfield was graciously spared, though, had it been successful, and had the general campaign as arranged previously at the northern rendezvous been a series of victories, Westfield would inevitably have taken its turn in making a desperate defense. The feeble garrison would then have proved inadequate to cope with a host of assailants, as would have been the case in Northampton had it been defended only by the garrison left there through the winter by Major Treat. Most fortunately, Major Treat returned March 13 and found Capt. Turner, who had arrived there with eighty-nine foot soldiers a fortnight earlier. The presence of this considerable addition to the garrison of Northampton was evidently unknown to the Indians. They attacked the town in three places at once. The assault from the south was alone successful in breaking through the palisades and there the savages swarmed in upon the sleeping village. The defense, as soon as the ample garrison could seize its arms and rush into action, was no less impetuous than the assault, and proved far more successful. The Indians, being overpowered, attempted to retreat through the breach which had admitted them, but to find themselves hopelessly entrapped, and to suffer serious loss of numbers and ignominious defeat. Considerable forces of the redskins appeared on two sides of the town a couple of days later in the early morning, but the inhabitants were found prepared and no assault was made then, or ever afterward. Retreating from Northampton on that eventful 14th they appeared about Hatfield but did not hazard another attack.

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These operations must have disturbed greatly the people of Westfield, and kept them in a state of perpetual alarm. This is pathetically evidenced by the following record in the town's archives:

"March 26, 1676.

"The town considering that the hand of God is upon us in having or letting loose the heathen upon us so that now wee cannot carry on our occasion for lively hood as formerly & considering that it is not a time now to advans our estates but to deny ourselves of our former advantages that so wee may carry on something together for the good of the whole, that so by God's blessing on our labours we may be in a way of getting food for our familyes, therefore in case the honored counsel did not cost * * * we agree to carry on as followeth— We agree to fence only the northeast field and

* * * * * *

and we agree to plow and sow and carry on the improvement of this land in general, that is such as shall agree thereunto as it shall be ordered by some men we shall appoint, who shall go out to work and who shall tarry at home from day to day, and if it shall please God to give opertunity to rattfy the long fit of our labors each man shall receive an equal proporson according to his family; necessary publick charges being first cleared and the rest if any man sowes more seed than his proporson he shall receive that again in the first place.

"The men chosen to order the whole matter for service and fencing are goodman Ashly Senr & goodman Gun. We who agree here unto do promise & engage to submit ourselves to the said propositions thereof as

"Witness our hands

"George Phelps	Josiah Dewey
Thomas Gun	Nathaniel Weller
Samuel Loomis	Thomas Dewey
Isaac Phelps	John Sacket
David Ashley	Edward Neal"

In letters from a merchant in Boston published in London in 1676, the following accounts relative to Philip's War appear: "March 1676, Some christians going to meeting at Spring-

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field with a small guard were ambuscaded by 8 Indians and a man & woman slain: and the rest (supposing the enemies number greater than it was, for in truth our men were twice as many as they) fled & left 2 women & 2 children to the enemies' mercy, whom they carried away, greatly exulting that so few of them should make so many English fly. Maj. Savage at Hadley being informed by a post, dispatched a party of horse to pursue the enemy; the next morning they discovered them, who seeing our men approach, tossed the infants up in the air & dashed out their brains against the rocks, & with their hatchets knocked down the women & fled & the place being rocky & a swamp close by, our horsemen could not follow them. Both the women revived and one of them said she knew every one of those eight Indians." (Judd Ms. in Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass., No. 2, p. 32.)

Indian depredations in Connecticut stirred the Council of War to extraordinary measures against surprise. The night watch of every town was ordered to call up the inhabitants "an hower at least before day" to arm themselves and stand upon guard at specified posts "until sunne be half an hower high" when "the warders are to take their places * * * Two scouts from every town" are to spend each day on horseback scouting through the woods.

Affairs having been so desperate in the two Colonies, so many settlements, so widely separated, having been in a state of constant alarm, and watchfulness against a secret and everywhere alert and wily foe, it is not strange that the authorities at the Bay should have devised some method of contracting the frontier by concentrating the inhabitants, at least temporarily until the war could be brought to an end. The Council therefore decided that the settlements in the valley should be reduced from five to two.

Secretary Rawson wrote to Major Savage on March 26, 1676, making the following recommendation:

"That those our towns on Connecticut River do immediately consult and determine the putting themselves into such a position as may best accommodate their security and provision, which we judge must be by their gathering together in such places and numbers that they may be able to defend

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themselves and some considerable part of each company be improved in planting * * * and in case this cannot be in each town, then the lesser towns must gather to the greater. To remain in such a scattered state is to expose lives and estates to the merciless cruelty of the enemy, and is no less than tempting Divine Providence, and to quit our plantations one after another refusing to comply to the present humbling and dreadful hand of the Lord against us, is to be our own executioners and we fear we will be * * * to our ruin more than the sword of the enemy when too Late. Some that know these places best do apprehend that Springfield and Hadley are the fittest places for their fortifying and planting."

An earlier letter, dated Mar. 20th 1676 had been sent by Secretary Rawson to Major Pynchon at Springfield, urging the same plan. He can see no other way:

"But to come all together in some convenient place in the town and take in so large a fort that the proprietors may live in distinct houses or shelters * * * and Westfield must join with you and totally move to you, for 'tis impossible to hold both towns the enemy being so many in those parts and the army must remove from them, we are assaulted on every side * * * most of our frontiers are away off; our present work is to secure the principal towns upon the seacoast; we cannot see how you people can remove at present, but must ride it out as best you can; we speak not of particular persons but of the body of the people for whither will you go or how will you remove your corn and goods? The like advice we have given for the other towns upon the River, to come in all to Hadley and fortify it well and there by united strength it may be kept but otherwise all will be lost according to reason. Suppose the enemy should plant upon your desired towns; it is hoped when the corn is grown we may have ability to destroy it. We must strengthen the heart. Ammunition is scarce here. If your people be averse to our advice we must be necessitated to draw off our forces from them, for we cannot spare them nor supply them with ammunition. We have ordered the Major to leave some of the garrison soldiers to strengthen you if you are able to provide food for them."

If the Bay authorities supposed that the sturdy yeomen

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of the western frontier towns were going to submit meekly to that advice, which was an implied command, they counted without their host. Those men had spent too much hard toil in building their homes, rude as they doubtless were, in breaking up and cultivating their farms, in organizing social and ecclesiastical institutions, to desert them even in extremity except under the direst necessity. Whatever danger might yet materialize, since during the months of the war already past the people of Westfield had lost but two houses and one citizen from the ravages of the enemy, they realized that it would be absurd cowardice to desert the plantation just because an army could not be spared for its defense.

The people of Northampton had sent on March 28th to the Council at Boston, a noble protest against the proposed plan of desertion written by their minister, Mr. Solomon Stoddard. They plead for fifty soldiers in addition to the garrison of the preceding winter and pledged themselves to feed them and pay their wages. During the following month at a town meeting in Westfield a committee was chosen to draw up a statement of their objections to removal to Springfield. It was prepared likewise by their minister, Rev. Edward Taylor, and with all its deference to authority it is certainly instinct with valor and heroism. Though it bears date of April 3 it seems not to have been received until nearly the end of the month. It may have been held for amendment after the Committee had made report to the town, and then have been still farther delayed until a proper messenger could be found to convey it to the Bay, the Boston & Albany postal train service not having been then established. The State Archives have thus preserved it:

"Westfield Letter
3 Aprill Rec'd
28 Aprill '76"
"Honrd Councill: We Presume a Second time to trouble yr Worships with a few lines ffor having cast orselves upon yr Honored Counsells concerning or abiding here, or removing hence & for that end having faithfully represented our State unto you we were in expectation of hearing yr advice. But at last perceiving yr thoughts by ye order you gave unto Maj.

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Generall Savage the which in pt we have attended upon, viz. to gather op ye mindes of or town respecting or remoove where we made such an offer as this to any that should come to us, that we would deny orselves to accommodate between twenty and thirty families of or Present tillage land if so many would come to us & that during ye continuance of ye troubles; ye which in a town meeting was judged by all that we could do: But when or Committee came to consult with or Neighbour towns although singly & apart it was generally thought strange that Springfield should be judged a better & more convenient place for ffortification than Westfield, they rather was silent or moving for or remove to Springfield, the wch was & is altogether against or inhabitants, insomuch that there is not a man among vs hath any ye least inclination to remove that way, & in that there is an intimation of such a thing in yr Honord Order to ye Generall, as if Springfield &c: was fittest for ffortification, with great respect unto ye Information we cannot but take ye boldness as to intimate ye grounds of or thoughts to ye Contrary as 1. Its Situation lying on both sides of ye great River Connecticut, whose East Side is voyd of habitations being but a very few left & those a great distance as under those on ye West side being scattered above ꝺ mile up & down some of which are hid with brambles, & as for its tillidge ground ye most being a great distance from ye town & not cleare from brush in some places of it & to it, in so much as an indifferent person cannot but judge (as we suppose) yt ye Danger is double in managing ffield imploym'nt; to what ours is. 2. Its Preparation, It is a Place (with griefe of heart be it spoken) most of ye East side in ashes, unbuilt & unfortified unless some few houses. 3. Its Providentiall Dispensation. It hath been sorely under ye blasting hand of God, So that it hath but in a lower degree than ordinary answered ye labour of ye Husbandman, & sometimes his labour on it is wholly cast away, now these thoughts are very discouraging unto all thoughts of removall thither, for to remove from Habitations to none, from ffortifications to none, from a Compact and plain place to scatter'd, from a place of less danger in ye ffield to ye more, from a place under ye ordinary Blessing upon ovr labours to one usually blasted, seems to vs such a strange thing that we finde not a

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man amongst us inclining thereto, wherefore being by ye Honord Councill at Hartford vpon address for strength from them yt with their own necessities could not dispence with, adviced not to desert ye place as yet, we are determined to draw in or out Garrison houses & to Contract or ffortification into ye Compass of about 70 rods long ye wich or thoughts are to ffortify strongly and to keep with five flankers and for this end or earnest suit is that you would allow vs, if it may bee a garrison of thirty souldiers, we are not without hope of gaining some Corn for our families as yet. But if you cannot allow any, then or present thoughts are that if we cannot have a safe Convoy from ye town to some other place downward, it is judged that we had better abide here in or ffortification thus strengthened, and that although we have no help from abroad with respect to or own safety than to go to Springfield. It grieves us that we should object so much against Springfield for ye Worshipfull Maj'r Pynchon's sake, But we judge there is a better way for his safety than this, and although we would do much for his sake, yet we cannot adventure on this ground into such great hazzard as appears. Here are some young men with vs its said would inlist themselves in Country service to garrison if they could be admitted, whom necessity will force from vs if it cannot be.

"Ffurthermore we are at ye Present altogether incapacitated for any removall, by reason of ye awfull hand of God upon us in Personall visitations, for here came a souldier sick of ye Bloody fflux and dying amongst us in Capt. Cook's family hath infected ye ffamily therewith in so much that he hath lost a son of it, his Wife lies at ye point of Death his youngest son is very weak of it, and he him selfe is almost brought to his bed by it & there is another ffamily in his house hath it. We hope yr Worships will Pardon or tediousness & give or arguments a Patient hearing for surely it is against vs to say as we do, if great danger did not stare us in ye fface. The Good Lord Sanctifie, and deliver vs. We remain

Yr Servants & Suppliants
in the name of the Towne,

Isaac Phelps,
David Ashley,
Josiah Dewey."

"Westfield, 3, 2m, 1676.

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A few days after the above letter was written, Mr. Taylor prepared another to send to the Council at Hartford, which was intensely interested in the maintenance of the towns of the upper valley. Rev. Mr. Russell of Hadley corresponded with the Hartford authorities respecting the proposed plan of removal and concentration. They gave several reasons why it should not be put into execution and wrote to the Governor and Council of Massachusetts at the same time urging the same objections. The Hartford authorities realized the value to themselves of these towns as outposts of defence from the Indians and also prized these towns up the river as "the principal granary of Massachusetts" and, hardly less, of their part of Connecticut.

Mr. Taylor's letter to the Hartford officials refers to the order for removal to Springfield and the objections thereto, and the measures taken to place the town of Westfield in a state of defense. He then proceeds:

"If we must be gone from hence many of us have estates and friends calling of us elsewhere, and thereupon most of us incline, in case we remove, to come downwards."

Such inclination may have been due to the fact that many of the early settlers came from Connecticut towns, and had left relatives and friends in the lower settlements. It was twenty-five years since the two Colonies had settled their differences in the quarrel respecting jurisdiction over Woronoco, and the bitter spirit had had abundant time to abate.

Mr. Taylor then repeats the doleful tale of the hardness of God's hand upon them as proven by the grievous sickness in the family of Capt. Cook, and continues:

"Wherefore the ground of these lines is, in part, to intimate unto you that if there should be any convoy allowed at the present by your honored selves to any one for the bringing off of their estate, the opportunity being so desirable to us all, if our town were not under circumstances by the hand of God upon the persons of some amongst us, whereby it would be their death to remove, (yet we see that it being such a desirable opportunity,) that we fear we should lay our hands upon * * * leaving our sick to look to themselves, and liable to the rage of merciless enemies.

"This we thought good to leave to you that you might not

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against their wills, expose us to such a temptation as such an opportunity might be. This, and not any respect of resuming the estate of any one with us, is the ground of this intimation; but the ground also of our lines is to desire this favor—that you would refresh us in this sad state that we are in by letting us understand whether we may have any hopes of such a favor as may be a safety for us, in case the Lord should put us in a personal state to remove by removing his afflicting hand, and whether or no you would advise us to adventure to cast any seed into the land, if God doth detain us at the present where we are. You know (we judge) where our fields lie. We request not anything at your hands to lay you under any temptation, and therefore we have ingeniously intimated what the thoughts of the Bay gentlemen are concerning us. But our danger is such as we cannot settle upon anything, and if we are like to have no relief from yourselves, it being known, may be an occasion to force us into the fields. The Lord shine forth and show us our duty and bring us to a willing kissing of the rod. We shall not add, only desiring the Almighty God to be our shield."

The exact tenor of Mr. Taylor's letter must be left to a master of casuistry. It is certainly obscure and seems to have been an attempt at fine diplomacy which is rather remarkable in a man so young and inexperienced as Mr. Taylor was at that stage of his ministry, having been then but thirty-three years old.

The reply of the Hartford Council bearing date of April 7, is hardly less ambiguous. It says, "as circumstanced, were we capable to anything in way of supply for your continuance there we should do it; neither have we nor will we, do anything irregularly to draw you from attendance of what from your own authority is presented, if it be found for their welfare and advantage; or to draw off any part to the hazard and discouragement of the rest, and shall forbear giving any such opportunity. We cannot but say that when God shall open the door with safety, both for shelter to you and security to us, in reference to the disease, we shall account it our duty and accordingly be ready to lend our assistance in your transport and give such entertainment as we are capable. In the

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meantime, your patience a little longer will be advisable. If you should venture while there to sow, it is somewhat possible you may find opportunity of reaping. It is doing what we can and leaving the event with God."

The sound christian philosophy of this last suggestion and statement must surely be recognized, whatever skill of fence and plausible casuistry may precede it.

These two letters certainly present an interesting study in psychology and diplomacy. It may be that in the simplicity of their minds, when beset by perplexities and difficulties of that embarrassing situation, they were absolutely confused and bewildered, turning from one possible course of action to another in painful doubt as to which policy was to be followed.

Holland finds grounds for suspecting both Westfield and the Hartford Council to be guilty of a little sharp practice. He thinks that the Westfield people did not really intend to remove and that the Hartford people did not really want to have them. "At the same time, the inhabitants of the disaffected town wished to have 'the gentlemen of the Bay' think there was danger of their removal to Connecticut, in case they were not humored and protected in their determination to remain where they were, while their Connecticut friends, taking care to disclaim all idea of any irregular proceedings, apparently complied with their wishes, both to gain time and assist them in achieving their ends." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 118.)

In pursuance of this plan the Connecticut Council wrote to the Massachusetts Council on April 27th expressing strong disapproval of the plan of deserting certain Hampshire County towns as being very favorable to the enemy and not insuring the larger towns against continued annoyance. The letter recommends the removal of men from "the leaner places" (meaning small settlements where the soil was not very fertile), and planting them in the larger settlements on the river. The authorities at the Bay heeded these protests and appeals, ordering Major Savage to have ample garrisons in the several towns.

In view of the dangers and uncertainties that harassed them the people of Westfield were awake to the necessity of doing all in their power for the defense of their homes.

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The following quaint record, in grotesque and almost indecipherable characters stands upon the books:

"Aprill 12: year 1676.
"The Selectmen considering the commoson that is amonst us in the towne with respect to removing: and being willing to see who are willing to depend upon God in the youse of meenes for our own preservation hear in contracting of our fortification to fence it of [off] above Mr. Whitings house and so to cep [keep] the lowr part and strengthen it wee are come all within this compas."

Another vote relating to the same matter is equally perplexing to one who would decipher it:
"May 8: year 1676
"The Towne agrees that the fortification shall be proposened according to mens estates in the list of the country rate and every man that was an inhabitant when sed wars began or shall become owner of the land shall do his proposon accordingly & this to be done well and strongly according to the judgment of the Comity of the malisha: and to be proposhoned by the selectmen this to be done with al speed."

If the people cherished any settled purpose of removing in case conditions became more desperate and the hand of God relaxed its pressure in the matter of prevailing sickness, they evidently determined to put up a stout defense while they remained, aided by the small garrison which they were still allowed. The above action related to the contraction of a fortification already existing. When it was erected there is no record to show, for no previous vote of the town still preserved makes any reference to the subject.

The same is true of Northampton, no record there existing shows that the town took formal action ordering the erection of palisades. Trumbull thinks that the work might have been done under the provisions of a general law of 1667. Power was therein given to

"the comittee of militia in every towne, together wth the selectmen thereof, or the major part of them, to erect or cause to be erected wthin their townes, either inclosing the meeting houses or some other convenient place, a forti-

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ffication or fort of stone, brick, timber or earth as the places may be most capable, of such dimensions as may best suit their ability & use; in which fortiffication the weomen children & aged persons may be secured, in case of any suddaine danger, whereby the souldjers may be more free to oppose an enemy: for the effecting whereof itt is hereby ordered that the trayned souldiers, both horse & ffoote in every towne upon their trayning dayes, shall be implojed about building the sjd fort at the guidance of the chiefe military officers of the towne: and all others exempted from ordinary traynings who have estates or bodily ability, that dwell in the towne or belong to it, they shall also according to proportion contribute their help & assistance in bodily labour or otherwise accordinge as the comitee of militia & selectmen shall order & appoint."

This work was to be attended to immediately. The above enactment, while specifying the forting of particular buildings is broad enough to include the palisading of a village. That enactment was made two years before the organization of the town of Westfield so that the inhabitants would have been justified at any time after settling in erecting such a defense. From time to time later, they provided by formal votes for the forting of certain houses in various parts of the town furnishing more security than that of the extended round of palisades.

The circuit of the enclosing palisade of the hamlet of Westfield during Philip's War was probably about two miles in extent. Along a considerable part of its course the natural contour of the land added much to its effectiveness, the sloping bank furnishing a real glacis to this primitive fortification. To trace its course one may start at what is now the corner of Main and Meadow Streets, turning somewhat north of easterly, follow the edge of the terrace around behind the site of the second meeting house on the Moseley lot, and go on in a generally northeasterly direction to the bank of Westfield River. That bank is to be followed to the mouth of Little River and its bank in turn, southerly to the mouth of the brook that crosses Noble Street. Thence the course is westerly along its bank for some distance, then curving to

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the north to the starting point. The westerly gate into this enclosure was near the present junction of Meadow and Main Streets.

Thus the majority of the dwellings were within that defensive wall; the first meeting house stood near its eastern side and the second meeting house, erected in 1720, stood near its western side. This rude defense served the people well in perilous times. Such disasters as actually occurred were outside its protecting walls.

Peace Proposals

In view of the disaffection on the part of the River Indians and the Nipmucks against Philip and his war, the Connecticut Council in April, 1676, sent envoys up the river to propose an exchange of prisoners and make peace overtures.

Towcanchasson and another Indian bore the message under a flag of truce. Negotiations were opened, and though a strong peace party in the Indian camp sought to end hostilities, the Narragansetts, smarting under old wrongs, and furious over the capture and execution of their great chief Canonchat, prevented any decisive action. Though they had little seed for planting, they captured considerable livestock, which made beef plenty, and made great preparations for the spring fishing whereby they hoped to obtain food for coming months.

The quantities of salmon and shad that swarmed up the Connecticut in those early days is well nigh incredible. Hoyt, writing in 1724, says that 5000 shad used to be taken in a single day, scooped up by nets at the falls where the Holyoke dam now is.

Sheldon says of the preparations of the spring of 1676: "Their principal camp was at the head of the rapids on the right bank of the river at Peskeomskut (Turners Falls): another was at some distance above it; a third nearly opposite on the left bank, while a fourth was in Smead's Island, a short distance below; and still another at Cheapside guarded the ford of the Pocumtuck river. Besides these, every fishing place on the Connecticut as high up as the Ashuelot had its camp."

Undisturbed by any English advance up the valley, satisfied each day with the meat captured from the settlers below,

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the Indians prepared for a great feast to be held at Peskeomskut on the night of May 18th. They gorged and reveled until after midnight, then without taking even the precaution of posting sentinels they stretched themselves in deep sleep.

The Falls Fight

The people below had become so exasperated by the artful parleyings of the Indians in the peace negotiations; by their repeated raids on the outskirts of the towns; by the attitude of the Council at Boston relative to providing troops for prosecuting the war in the valley region, that they grew clamorous for an advance with such forces as could be mustered to co-operate with the several small garrisons in assaulting the Indian quarters. Rev. Mr. Russell and others began a letter to the General Court, under date of Hadley, April 29, 1676, in these terms:

"It is strange to see how much spirit (more than formerly) appears in or men to be out against the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants here, would or committees of militia but permitt would be going forth. They are dayly moving for it, and would fain have liberty to be going forth this night * * * It is the generall voyce of the people here yt now is the time to distresse the enemy, and that could we drive them from their fishing, and keep out though but lesser parties against them, famine would subdue them."

The story of the Falls Fight has been told many times and is a thrilling episode of the old days of the Colony.

Two Springfield lads, John Gilbert and Edward Stebbins, who had been captured by the Indians, escaped the latter part of April. Another captive, Thomas Reed of Northampton, escaped shortly afterward. They brought stories of the conditions up the river which intensified the desire for an immediate offensive movement. Capt. Turner, left in command of the garrisons distributed among the towns when Major Savage marched to the Bay early in April, organized the expedition that was to make a vigorous attempt upon the enemy. Authorities differ slightly as to the aggregate number of those composing it. Trumbull says "about one hundred forty-seven men, nearly all mounted." That number included officers, chaplain and guides. Sheldon's alpha-

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betical list which he compiled with great care and patient research reaches the same figures. The garrison soldiers from Northampton, Hadley and Hatfield numbered thirty-five, who with twenty-five from the garrisons at Springfield and Westfield were under command of Lieut. Isaiah Tay of Boston. Volunteers from the several towns completed the expeditionary force, twenty-five from Northampton under Ensign John Lyman; twenty-six from Hadley and twelve from Hatfield under Sergts. John Dickinson and Joseph Kellogg; twenty-four from Springfield and three from Westfield, under command of Capt. Holyoke. The whole force was commanded by Capt. William Turner, with Capt. Samuel Holyoke of Springfield and Ensign John Lyman of Northampton respectively the second and third officers. The Chaplain was the Rev. Hope Atherton, the minister of Hatfield. Benjamin Wait of Hatfield and Experience Hinsdell of Hadley acted as guides.

Though disappointed that reinforcements from Connecticut had not arrived, the expedition made ready to start from Hatfield on the evening of May 18. Chaplain Atherton made a prayer which must have met with a fervent response from every heart in view of their hazardous undertaking. A ride of twenty miles was before them over neutral ground, into the enemy's territory, bristling with actual and possible dangers. They reached deserted Deerfield at midnight, the scene of previous massacres, and where were the ashes of the homes of some of the intrepid volunteers who were eager to avenge old wrongs. They avoided the regular ford over the Deerfield River because it was guarded by an Indian outpost, but still the alert sentinels heard the splashing of the horses' feet in the stream at the point chosen, and hastened to investigate the cause, but their torches having failed to reveal the trail of the party, they supposed the sound to have been made by a herd of moose and returned to their lodge.

Hoyt says: "Eluding these Indians, Turner continued his march into what is now Greenfield meadow, and passing Green river and a trackless forest of about four miles, halted on elevated land, a small distance west of fall river, about a half a mile from the Indian camp at the falls, where his men dismounted and left their horses tied to saplings, under a small guard." (Indian Wars, p. 129.)

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It was just before dawn, and hurrying forward, the English found the camp without even a sentinel on duty. The Indians aroused from heavy sleep by the roar of musketry were thrown into panic, and rushed toward the river crying "Mohawks! Mohawks!" not dreaming that the English had ventured upon such an expedition. The Indian loss was heavy by the guns of the besiegers and by drowning. Many of them leaped recklessly into their canoes, some of them even without paddles, but to be carried over the falls to certain destruction. It is impossible to determine the extent of their loss with any degree of accuracy. Palfrey estimates it at 300. It included many of their sachems and best warriors. The English lost but one man.

The farther fruits of the victory are detailed in a Narrative published that same year 1676.

"We there destroied all their ammunition and Provision, which we think they can hardly be so soon and easily recruited with, as possibly they may be with Men. We likewise here demolished Two Forges they had to mend their armes; took away all their Materialls and Tools, and drove many of them into the river where they were drowned, and threw two great Piggs of Lead of theirs (intended for making bullets) into said River." (New and Farther Narrative of the State of New England, p. 240.)

The critical period of the enterprise was now reached. As indicated above, the Indians were scattered along the river at various points and Capt. Turner lingered long enough at the specific point of attack for great numbers of the enemy to gather from camps near by and jeopardize his small force. He was driven back to where he had left his horses, to find the guard there already overpowered by the swarming savages. Having with great difficulty remounted, the English continued to retreat but beset by greatly superior numbers. The whole enterprise barely escaped complete disaster. Capt. Turner and many of his men were killed, and his command devolved upon Capt. Holyoke, who, as chief officer of the rear guard had already done brilliant service against terrible odds. By desperate fighting he "received them with resolution and often drove them back." His horse was shot from

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under him and numbers of the redskins closed about him, but after he had killed one with his pistol his men rescued him. He was but twenty-eight years old but proved a worthy son of a worthy Father. He made himself the real hero of the day. An old writer says: "If he had not played the Man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes on the Flank and Rear, and at all Times encouraging the Soldiers, it might have proved a fatal Business to the Assailants."

Green says: "He had taken charge of a rout and converted it into a military retreat. But it cost him his life. He never recovered from the exhaustion of those two days, and in October he sank into his grave, and was buried beside his Father, Elizur Holyoke." (History of Springfield, p. 174.)

When he was seventeen years old, in 1664, this redoubtable captain of 1676 was fined for creating a rumpus on the Sabbath.

The Indians harassed the retreating English even across the North Meadows and through the Town Street of Hatfield to the Bars. The total loss had been swollen from one at the Falls to forty-two, including Captain Turner, Sergt. John Dickinson and Guide Hinsdell. It was a cruel ending of an undertaking that cannot be considered other than foolhardy in view of the awful risks which it involved. Still, the general effect of it was far-reaching and invaluable. It practically proved the ending of the war. The Indians did not recover from its disaster. The Pacumtucks ceased to exist as an independent nation. The conspiracy of Philip was foiled and a few months later his own life paid the penalty of his machinations against the English, his head was carried as a trophy to Hartford and his hands were taken to Boston, for public exhibition.

Westfield was represented in the Falls Fight by seven garrison soldiers of whom three were slain, according to Bartlett, and three citizen volunteers, according to Sheldon's patiently collected list, John Lee, Eleazur Weller and Thomas Weller, another, John Munn, whom Bartlett credits to Westfield, is assigned by Sheldon to Colchester. James Munn, of Colchester, was among the nine veterans of the fight living in 1735. In the following year, a grant of land, six miles

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square was made to the survivors of the fight and the heirs of those participants who had died, which in 1762 was granted a charter under the name of Bernardston.

Bartlett says that John Munn of Westfield was in the Falls Fight and lost horse, saddle and bridle. Aid was asked of the General Court in 1683 and urged on the ground that "he is under a wasting sickness by reason of a surfeit got at the Falls fight and will decline into an incurable consumption." He died in 1684.

Benjamin Munn Senr. was a soldier in the Pequot War in 1637, was a resident of Hartford in 1639, removed to Springfield in 1649, and died there, a very aged man. John Munn, son of the above, was born in 1652. He settled in Westfield.

Town Meeting, Westfield, February 7, 1670. "Granted to John Munn a homelot of 4 acres, more, 5 acres of land next to Thos. Hanchett, Jr. above half mile falls, more, 5 acres in the first meadow on the other side of the River (Great) more, 10 acres in the Newfoundland."

Munn's meadow and brook were named for him as the first settler in that region.

"Petition of J. Munn of Westfield that he may be compensated for various services and losses.

"June 3, 1769"

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 69, p. 232.)

"Order that said Munn be paid

June 7, 1679."

(Vol. 69, p. 237.)

Dr. Davis says that there were nine men from Westfield in the Falls Fight.

The General Court, in session at the time when these stirring events were transpiring in the Connecticut Valley, enforced the most rigorous measures to prosecute the campaign. Town officers were empowered "to impress men for the management and carrying on of the husbandry of such persons as were called off from the same into the service, who had not sufficient help of their own left at home to manage the same." Impressed persons who failed to report for duty were to be punished, and such neglect, when "accom-

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panied with refractoriness, reflection, or contempt upon authority," was to merit grievous penalty or even death.

The General Court also sent messengers to the Indians with offers of a treaty charging them to conduct the affair "with clearness and confidence, that so no panic, fear, or weakness of mind might appear; and let them know that the English were resolved to make war their work until they enjoyed a firm peace." (Mass. Rec. V. 94.)

In a letter from Capt. Benjamin Newbury dated Westfield, May 24, 1676, he says, "I find the people very desirous for motion against the enemy, and according to best intelligence cannot but judge it may be for great advantage to be doing as soon as may be; They seem to be secure by what returns the scouts make, and doubghtly are not numerous; It's credibly affirmed there is a considerable party at Quaboag, nigh 300 from the intelligence that is come from thence last night. So that we are apt to think if Major Talcott would please to come this way with his forces he might do good service both here and there." (History of North Brookfield. Temple, p. 125.)

The success of the Indians in harassing the retreat of Captain Holyoke from the Falls to Hatfield on May 18, emboldened them to attack Hatfield on May 30. The force of six or seven hundred succeeded, however, only in firing several buildings before being driven from the town.

Each of the three Colonies realizing the necessity of pressing with continuous vigor their aggressive campaign, the people of the Connecticut Valley arranged to co-operate with a force from the Bay. Major Talcott of Connecticut marched from Norwich with fifty English and two hundred Indians, Mohegans and Pequots, to Brookfield, through the Nipmuck country, capturing and killing many of the enemy on the way and destroying their corn and cabins. The force under Captain Henchmen, which he was to meet there, was delayed by various attacks upon the foe about Lancaster. Therefore Talcott hurried on to Northampton, arriving there most opportunely, in time to march to the relief of Captain Swain at Hadley. The place was attacked by seven hundred Indians early in the morning of June 12 in a skillfully planned and desperate effort to capture and destroy it. The attempt

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was foiled with small loss to the English and proved to be the final effort of any considerable body of Indians against the Valley settlement during Philip's War.

Hoyt makes it a far more formidable affair than Judd. The Indians divided and scattered and whatever alliance had bound them into the semblance of a united army was dissolved.

Soon after the repulse at Hadley, Henchman on the east side of the river led one column, and Talcott on the west side led another, as far as Turner's Falls, scouting widely as they advanced but no Indians were found. They destroyed considerable quantities of fish and grain which had been stored in cellars, and returned down the river.

Major Talcott left New London the latter part of July, followed the enemy to the foot of the Great Falls of the Connecticut, which they crossed on rafts August 11. He reached Westfield August 12 but being short of provisions he sent back his horses and all his force except sixty soldiers and as many Indian warriors and with these pursued the retreating foe to the Housatonic. Rev. James Fitch, one of the founders of Norwich, probably accompanied him as Counsellor and Chaplain. (Caulkins, History of Norwich, p. 111.)

Rev. James Fitch was the Father of Rev. Edward Taylor's first wife.

Talcott was ordered to take a station at Westfield and attack any fugitives that might be discovered.

Hoyt says:

"Not long after his arrival at that place, the trail of about 200 Indians was discovered in the vicinity shaping towards the Hudson. Talcot immediately took the trail, and pressed on to overtake the Indians, and on the third day discovered them encamped on the west bank of Housatonic river, in the most perfect security. Being late in the day, he resolved to postpone an attack until next morning and drawing back lay upon his arms in the most profound silence. Towards the dawn of day, forming his troops into two divisions, one to pass the river below the Indians, make a detour, and attack them in their rear, while the other was to approach by a direct route opposite to their camp, and open a fire across the river the moment the attack commenced on the opposite side.

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"The plan was partially frustrated. One of the Indians left the camp in the night, and proceeded down to the river for the purpose of taking fish, and as the troops who had crossed the river as had been ordered, were advancing to the attack, he discovered them and gave the usual cry, 'Awanux! Awanux!' on which he was instantly shot. Talcot, now opposite to the Indian camp, hearing the report, instantly poured in a volley, as the Indians were rising from their slumbers. A complete panic ensued and they fled in confusion into the woods followed by Talcot, and most who escaped the first fire, made good their retreat. The division below was too far distant to share in the victory. Twenty-five Indians were left on the ground and twenty were made prisoners, and among the former was the sachem of Quaboag. Talcot lost but one, and he a Mohegan." (Indian Wars, pp. 138-9.)

This decisive victory occurred in the upper part of the present town of Sheffield. When this party of Indians passed through Westfield August 12, they seized some horses and cattle, and in the stress of their hunger plucked up cornstalks and sucked them for nourishment.

Major Pynchon, in a letter to Governor Leverett under date of August 15, 1676, says:

"The body of Indians is drawn off towards Albany where they are harbored under the government of Andros. We shall be in danger of being disturbed continually if he harbors the enemy." He then speaks of the body of 200 Indians discovered on the preceding Saturday within 3 or 4 miles of Westfield, and of sending 30 men to co-operate with Major Talcott in their pursuit on sabbath, the following day. While he was writing, Major Pynchon learned of the return of a large part of Talcott's force owing to shortness of provision. He adds, "An old Indian whom he took told him the Indians intended to rest at Housatonic and that they had 50 or 60 fighting men and 100 women, besides children. He hopes to get up with them and do some execution which the Lord in mercy grant."

A year after the ostensible close of Philip's War and the death of that savage miscreant there was a startling recrudescence of hostilities that proved more calamitous than any

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single engagement in the preceding two years. On September 19, 1677, a party of Indians surprised Hatfield about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, while some of the men were scattered about the fields and others were engaged in building a house outside the palisades. It was, indeed, a bolt out of a clear sky so long after any danger had menaced the inhabitants that it is not strange that they were found off their guard. Twelve persons were massacred, four more were wounded, seventeen were taken captive, and seven buildings were burned. All who thus suffered were women and children except five. Evidence seems to show that all of them and all the buildings burned, were without the palisade.

Taking their captives the Indians moved on to Deerfield where a few people were getting ready to rebuild their houses, of whom the Indians killed one and captured four, and the next morning moved up the river far above Northfield. In October they moved farther up the river, crossed the mountains to Lake Champlain and arrived in Canada in early winter. These twenty-one captives were the van of the large company which in the course of years endured the horrors of that experience.

Among the captives were the wives respectively, of Benjamin Wait and Stephen Jennings, to each of whom during the winter a daughter was born. To commemorate the circumstance in which their lives began, Wait's child was named Canada and Jennings' child Captivity, by which they were called through all their years. The two men having obtained a commission from the government of Massachusetts, set out October 24 by way of Westfield for Albany to attempt to redeem their wives and the other captives. They were cruelly hindered, sent by the authorities to New York to Gov. Andros, and only reached Albany again on November 19. They finally hired a Mohawk Indian to guide them to Lake George. There he fitted up a canoe, and made a rough draught of the lakes which they were to pass. They were the first New England men to pass through Lakes George and Champlain. After horrible hardships they reached Chamblee, January 6, 1678.

Having redeemed all the captives then living, they reached Albany on their return in the following May. Thence Benja-

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min Wait wrote a letter which would have moved a heart of stone.

"Albany, May 23, 1678.
"To my loving friends and kindred at Hatfield:

"These few lines are to let you understand that we are arrived at Albany now with the captives, and we now stand in need of assistance for my charges is very great and heavy; and therefore any that have any love of our condition, let it move them to come and help us in this strait." After giving a list of the party he concludes: "I pray you hasten the matter, for it requireth great haste. Stay not for the Sabbath, nor shoeing of horses. We shall endeavor to meet you at Cantorhook [kinderhook] it may be at Housatonock. We must come very softly because of our wives and children. I pray you hasten them, stay not night nor day, for the matter requireth haste. Bring provisions with you for us.

"Your loving kinsman,
"Benjamin Wait.

"At Albany, written from mine own hand. As I have been affected to yours all that were fatherless, be affected to me now, and hasten the matter and stay not, and ease me of my charges. You shall not need to be afraid of any enemies."

A messenger bore this letter to Hatfield and four days after he started, the little company which had to "come very softly because of our wives and children" walked twenty-two miles to Kinderhook and there met men and horses from Hatfield. Thence they followed the road which was to be traveled a century later by a larger company of captives not redeemed, for it was the route of Burgoyne's Hessians en route from Saratoga to Boston. They came through Otis and Blandford, down the mountain into the Westfield valley, through the town to the old highway from Windsor to Northampton, forded the river and passed up the hill near the present Springdale mill to the upper plateau and along it past Hampton Ponds, toward their homes. The captives had been absent therefrom eight months, their rescuers seven months. The two babies, Canada Wait and

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Captivity Jennings, the former five months, and the latter but three months old, were to see those homes for the first time.

There was great rejoicing at Hatfield over their arrival. A copy of Benjamin Wait's letter was forwarded to the Governor and Council at Boston and made the basis of an appeal by Edward Rawson, State Secretary, for contributions from the churches and towns of the Commonwealth for defraying the charges of above two hundred pounds paid for the redemption of the captives.

The people of Westfield, who had bidden Wait and Jennings "God-speed" in October of the year before, must have accorded them heartiest greetings and felicitations on the successful termination of their arduous, perilous and heroic mission.

How active a part in Philip's War was taken by the Woronoke Indians, cannot be determined with any accuracy. It is declared by Trumbull that much of the trouble in the valley was caused by local Indians, who numbered, according to his estimate, perhaps 150 fighting men, who were possibly aided by the Woronokes, but he conjectures that some of these last, soon after the war began, removed to the valley of the Hudson. One of the Woronokes figures earlier in a sensational account given by Hollister and repeated by Dwight.

They say that in 1646 the Connecticut River Indians were unusually troublesome. Sequasson, one of their chiefs, conceived the design of murdering Governor Haynes, Governor Hopkins and Mr. Whiting, one of the magistrates. The violent hatred which he cherished against these officials was due to the protection which they had afforded Uncas. Sequasson hired a Waranoke Indian named Watchibrough to execute the plot, then to charge Uncas with the crime and escape to the Mohawks. But the Waranoke, remembering the execution at New Haven of an Indian named Busheag, and the reward which those who informed against him obtained, "after he had received several wampum belts, went to Hartford and made known this plot."

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CHAPTER XII.

King William's War

What is distinctively known as Philip's War was of brief duration. The early autumn of 1676 marked its concluding butcheries and skirmishes in the eastern settlements of Maine. Still, however, the border towns of New England were in a state of solicitude and fear because of the danger of renewed outbreaks of their savage neighbors in the early spring of 1677. But not until the attacks were made upon Hatfield and Deerfield sketched in a previous Chapter was there any serious disturbance. They, however, aroused the people and the Government to the necessity for renewed vigilance.

In October, 1677, the General Court passed the following order:

"The townes in Hampshire being in more hazard of the incursions of the heathen ennemy than some others, this Court doeth order, that each towne there doe endeavor the new moddelling the scittuation of their houses, so as to be more compact & live neerer together, for theire better deffence against the Indians."

To carry this order into execution, a commission was appointed, consisting of one member from each town of the County, the one from Westfield having been Ensign Samuel Loomis.

This Committee took the following action:

"Northampton, Nov. 19, 1677.

"At a meeting of the Committee for ordering Compact Dwelling together for better defence and safety—present John Pynchon, Lt. William Clark, Mr. Peter Tilton, Lt. William Allin, En'sn Samuel Loomise. For Westfield we do order that the Inhabitants there do all possess and settle together in that tract of land which lies about Hugh Dudley's barn easterly to take in Mr. Taylor's house and their meeting house and so to turn south or southwest beyond Goodman Phelps his toward the hill by the bridge, so far that way as

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to have land for convenient building for all the Inhabitants; and then turning westerly all they can near over against Hugh Dudley's barn, whence to turn to that and into the street there; and all the Inhabitants there are to repair to and settle within that tract of land, except we do allow of Thomas Dewey to Continue where he is, if he desire it, in regard of the mill that way and security to the Common road, yet it is provided to be well fortified and take care to have 4 or 5 men with him for his defence; and Ambrose Fowler having now built is to fortify himself well and to have 5 or 6 men with him of his family, we permit his abiding awhile till we see what next summer may come to; but for all other persons, according to order of General Court requiring our stating the compactness of their Dewellings, we order their removing and setting as above, in the tract of land above mentioned and forthwith to prepair and fit to attend the same, getting fortification this winter and ready to sett up early in the spring which will advise to be made strong and substantial and every one of them to carry on their proportion in the fortification; and in case of their disagreeing about the way or rule of proportioning it, Majr. Pynchon with any one more of the Committee, to determine the same according to discretion we have had together and directions thereabout; and for satisfaction to such whose land must be made use of for others to build on, understanding the Inhabitants are in a way to allow for it, we advise their agreement thereabouts; and case of any disagreement about it, according to the rule we have set for others, Majr. Pynchon and any one more of the committee to determine the same and order of the Committee."

The mill of Thomas Dewey was on Two-mile brook on the Windsor road, and so far from the closely built part of the town as to make it utterly impracticable to include it within the general palisade, while it was of vital importance to protect it from assault, having already been the dependence of the people of Springfield after the burning of that town. The house of Ambrose Fowler stood on the west side of the road running from what is now Silver Street through the meadows toward the railroad embankment and under it at what is known as the tin bridge.

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Already in April, 1676, the Selectmen had provided for a contraction of the fortification for greater security. Whether the plan had been executed at that time cannot be certainly known, since the inhabitants of those early days had a habit of changing their minds and reconsidering acts in town meeting. There appears on the Town Records an item which indicates previous action which has not been preserved, but which may be easily inferred:

"At a town meeting May 14, 1677, it was voted Tho. Dewey shall attend at the next General Court to manage our petition to the Court and that the town will give him reasonable satisfaction for his necessary charges about the same, that is our former petition to the Court requesting garrison soldiers."

The problem of securing enough men to constitute an adequate protection during those years when the Indian menace was so formidable, overtaxed the resources of the General Court, since available forces were too scanty to supply the needs of the most necessitous settlements. The action of the Committee of the General Court, Nov. 19, 1677, cited above, was followed by an enactment by the General Court, May 30, 1679, as follows:

"Whereas the committee appointed by the General Court in October 1677, for new modelling the dwelling of people in Hampshire, did accordingly order a coming nearer together in some of those townes, & living more compact, for safety & security of the said people and particularly appoynting a tract of land for the inhabitants of Westfield, to build on nearer together at or by their meeting house; and some of the committee aforesajd having treated the inhabitants of Westfield about it, who by a generall vote consented to the settling thereon; and the proprietors of that land also yielding to breake their home lots, & forgoe part of their right and interest in them to such other persons as should come and settle on them, they, the present proprietors, being allowed for the land they parted with two acres for one out of the townes adjacent lands intended for home lots, or thereabouts, which was accordingly granted by the town to incourage the persons to bring in and sett their buildings on those particular

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parcells or portions of lands which were sett out and measured to them, being about half an acre, or three quarters of an acre to a man, now, for the full assurances of those portions of lands to such persons as have removed, or are about removing, & settling, building thereon, this Court doth order those persons which have or ought to have parted with their land as abovesajd, having had or being tendered satisfaction from the town, as above, they shall give deeds, and make legall confirmations of those small portions of land unto those persons, who in obedience unto authority, have them in actual possession or in grant in order thereunto."

The fears and distresses incident to Philip's War were gradually allayed, and for more than a decade the exhausted settlers had peace, enabling them to resume their normal methods of life and activity. The upper towns which had been deserted or greatly weakened by the expenses and losses in life and treasure during the years of conflict were reoccupied and gained in strength to such an extent that in 1688 the County of Hampshire had ten towns. The summer of that year was marked by fresh outbreaks of violence in Maine and in Hampshire. In July there came to the house of Thomas Wells of Deerfield for lodging fifteen Indians, apparently friendly, some of whom had formerly lived in the region. Only three days later, five friendly Indians were killed near Spectacle Pond, Springfield, and in the following month three men, two women and a girl, were killed at Northfield.

It was supposed that these visitors were hired by the French in Canada to kill and capture whites and friendly Indians within the English domains. It is not strange that the old spirit of unrest and alarm revived throughout Hampshire. Major Pynchon hurried soldiers to Northfield. Gov. Andros sent Capt. Bull thither with a company of fifty-one men, and a garrison was maintained there during the winter. In 1690 the place was abandoned for a second time, and not again settled for a quarter of a century.

This outbreak in 1688 was the precursor of that long series of troubles which, with few interludes, continued to keep the colonists in a state of alarm until the final issue of the struggle for supremacy of America was determined on the heights of Abraham at Quebec seventy years later.

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The earlier disturbances, so threatening to the life of the English settlement, had been due largely to local conditions and causes. Philip and his Indian allies were moved by passions aroused by the presence and encroachments of alien settlers, jealousy, greed, revenge, hate, and the nobler instinct of independence. The passions of nations oversea had no little influence over the affairs of the Maine coast and the valleys of the Connecticut and the Hudson. France and England were already intriguing for the profits of the fur trade and the favor of the Indians upon which that trade depended. But at this juncture of affairs the fierce ambition of Louis XIV reached out after conquest of the new continent, and he planned with great adroitness to bring under his sway so much of the vast domain as had become familiar to European courts and the vaster unknown regions stretching west to the Pacific and south to the Gulf of Mexico. The humble hamlets on the confines of this Western wilderness became strategic points on the far-flung battle lines of two mighty nations of the old world. The destinies of heroic pioneers who were toiling for subsistence at these distant outposts of civilization were involved in the policies of sovereigns and statesmen on the other side of the world. While the sturdy handful of men clustered about the first meeting house of Westfield were cultivating their acres, subduing the forest, harnessing the streams to their rude machinery, straining to feed, clothe, and shelter their families, the fate of all that was dearest to them was being determined in the cabinets of those distant courts; there depended the preservation from the Indian's torch of the humble home, and the safety from tomahawk and scalping knife of wife and children. It is common to consider that only in recent days has the United States become prominent in world politics, while in truth it has been an important factor there since its earliest days of feebleness and its primal struggles for existence.

Louis XIV at Versailles, and Count Frontenac, his eager and obedient tool at Quebec, were potent forces in the life of our noble ancestors in the Valley of the Connecticut and on the plain through which our Westfield River flows.

Late in 1688, the English Revolution was completed by

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the arrival of William and Mary, and the departure to France of James II. Sir Edmund Andros had been made Governor of New England, including New York, late in 1686. Unpopular from the first, the people became increasingly hostile to him, because "his administration was arbitrary, his demeanor overbearing, his demands oppressive and overbearing." Besides there was an old grudge against him on account of his course during Philip's War while Governor of New York, and he was suspected of being secretly favorable to the Roman Catholic Church. Conscious of his unpopularity and desirous of allaying it, he started on a tour of the Colonies with the proclaimed purpose of taking "measures to prevent a second Indian war." The trip consumed nearly three months, and during its course he visited Hartford, New York, Albany, and on his return, Springfield and Northfield and possibly Northampton. About the middle of October, 1688, he met, according to Judd, "the leading men of the valley, both civil & military, at Hadley, at which the condition of affairs locally, and the method of protection against the foe, were considered." On the first of November he issued orders for the raising of a force of six hundred men, consisting of ten companies of sixty men each. John Pynchon of Springfield was made Colonel commanding in the valley, and Aaron Cook of Northampton, Major. This was denominated "Standing forces for the defence of the country against the Indians." (History of Hadley, Judd, p. 397.)

Within a few months, in February, 1689, the welcome news that William and Mary had been proclaimed in England reached Boston. Andros was arrested, and on the twentieth a provisional government was established under the title "Council for the safety of the People, and conservation of the Peace."

Protestant New England hailed the advent of what seemed destined to be a brighter day for its liberties and an earnest of its prosperity. Whatever the ultimate issue, however, of this significant revolution, its immediate effect was distressful in the extreme. War was declared between England and France, which inaugurated that horrible experience of carnage and slaughter which extended with only brief intermissions through two generations of the life of the Colonies.

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While these far-reaching events were in preparation on the broader field, how insignificant seems the action of a town meeting in Westfield in 1682, midway between the two wars, known respectively as Philip's and King William's.

"The Committee of Militia and Selectmen did dispose of powder and lead to the several persons then concluded on, they to return it to the garrison when called for, it being out of the town stock.

"To Thomas Dewey—3 lbs. Powder & 5 lbs. Lead.

"To Josiah Dewey—3 lbs. Powder & 11 lbs. Lead.

"To Mr. Taylor—3 lbs. Powder.

"To Thos. Root.—3 lbs. Powder and 4 lbs. and quarter of lead.

"To Widow Root.—2 lbs. Powder & 4 lbs. and a quarter of lead."

Thus the town sought to provide against the ever threatening danger of surprise by the wily warriors of the forest, even though no depredations in the immediate neighborhood had been committed for several years.

The menace of Indians under the French influence on the northern border could be offset by alliance with the Five Nations of New York, who were foes dreaded by the French, a dread often amounting to panic because of the frequent incursions of those fiercest of Indian warriors. Hence the English were perpetually seeking to strengthen the bonds of fealty which the French had long but vainly striven to loosen by force of arms and by all the subtle arts of diplomacy. August 27, 1689, a delegation consisting of three agents from Massachusetts and one from Connecticut, with Major Pynchon as their leader, set out from Westfield for Albany, with an escort of 10 troopers, to carry gifts to the Maquas, as the Mohawks were called, and lesser gifts to the river Indians and to individual sachems.

A grand feast was given to 100 assembled braves, speeches were interchanged, and then presents were bestowed, costing, with expenses of the trip, £327. These bids for savage fealty consisted of 1,000 pounds of lead, 500 pounds of powder, 150 yards of duffel, 500 guilders in wampum, 90 shirts and 40 pounds of tobacco. The viands at the feast consisted of beef, pork, bread, beer and other dishes agreeable to the savage

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palate, which had to be purchased in the local market. Major Pynchon could not have considered that the delegates were given any great discount by the thrifty Dutch citizens, since he declared with evident feeling, "Albany is a dear place." Though so stiff in their prices for breadstuffs, they were ready to make the most of their New England neighbors when threatened by the common enemy, for shortly after the return of Major Pynchon and his escort, under fear of an attack from the north, they appealed for 100 men to strengthen their defense. In response, Connecticut sent about 66 men, with 24 from Hampshire County, under Capt. Jonathan Bull. They left Westfield November 18, 1689, and reached Albany a week later. Capt. Bull had been there already earlier in the year with several commissioners from Boston, to join with the citizens in making a league with representatives of the Five Nations. The council was held on May 24. Capt. Bull reported to the Connecticut authorities that the Indians, having chosen a speaker, remained silent while he made an address. Under three heads he said:

"1. Breatheren, we are now com as our grandfathers used to doe, to renew our unity & friendship and covenant made between us & you.

"2. We desier yt this house being the covenant & proposition house, may be kept clean, yt is, yt we may keep a clean, single, not a double heart.

"3. We do renue the former covenant or chain yt has been between us & you, yt is to say, New England, Vergenia, Mereland & all these parts of America on eavery side, yt it may not rust nor be forgot." (History of Albany, A. J. Weise, p. 223.)

On this second visit, Capt. Bull and his command reached Greenbush on November 25, averaging about fifteen miles a day after leaving Westfield. The ancient records say that on the following day he marched into the city with flying colors where he "was recd by ye Mayr & aldermen att ye gate & bid welcome. He drew up his men in ye middle of ye Broad [State] Street, gave three volleys & was answered by 8 gunns from ye fort; ye men were orderly quartered in ye Citty and extreamly well accepted."

Soon afterward Lieutenant Enos Talmadge of the Con-

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necticut Company was ordered to Schenectady with twenty-four men to do guard duty, a post of danger which was so soon to prove fatal to him and to several of his command.

It was in 1689 that Frontenac returned to his former post as Governor of Canada, to execute the comprehensive plan of his sovereign for the conquest of America. Because of the vital relation of that grand scheme to the welfare of the English Colonies, and the survival of the settlement of Westfield, then twenty years old, it may be interesting to note the general details of the proposed treatment of the conquered inhabitants as outlined to Frontenac by Louis.

It is given by Parkman, derived from a document in the colonial archives of New York, after the campaign proposed and urged by Callieres had been successfully accomplished. This involved the capture of Albany and New York and the command of the Hudson River, with the Iroquois cut off from English supplies and support, isolating New England and opening it to future conquest.

"If any Catholics were found in New York, they might be left undisturbed, provided that they took the oath of allegiance to the King. Officers and other persons who had means of paying ransoms, were to be thrown into prison. All lands in the Colony, except those of Catholics swearing allegiance, were to be taken from their owners, and granted under a feudal tenure to the French officers and soldiers. All property, public or private, was to be seized, a portion of it given to the grantees of the land, and the rest sold on account of the King. Mechanics and other workmen might, at the discretion of the commanding officer, be kept as prisoners to work at fortifications and do other labor. The rest of the English and Dutch inhabitants, men, women and children, were to be carried out of the Colony and dispersed in New England, Pennsylvania, or other places, in such a manner that they could not combine in any attempt to recover their property and their country. And that the conquest might be perfectly secure, the nearest settlements of New England were to be destroyed, and those more remote laid under contribution." (Frontenac and New France, p. 198.)

There are many suggestions in that schedule of the bearing which its execution would have had, directly and indirectly,

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on this New England outpost. Westfield would have been one of the "nearest settlements" to be destroyed, since it was next neighbor in those days to Albany on the west, and not far from the next neighbor to Quebec on the north. Or, had it then been spared destruction, the success of this brilliant campaign would have left it part of the New England territory to be brought under the sway of the "Grande Monarque" in the full realization of his grandiloquent dream.

It is bootless to characterize Louis as a driveling idiot, and his schemes as a roaring farce, considering the respective resources of the French and English on this continent at that epoch. It still holds true that Westfield and adjacent settlements of Hampshire County were then included in the fully matured plans of an able, adroit, energetic, resourceful commander, having under him capable officers and a large force of trained soldiery with innumerable savage allies; and, unsuccessful though he was in the general conduct of his scheme, the damage which he actually inflicted on the English Colonies was grievous, and, for the time, almost paralyzing. Philip, ten years earlier, without the help of a European exchequer or army, had seriously threatened the life of the English occupancy, and the dream of the mighty Louis at the zenith of his power, involving the co-operation of a great European nation with the dusky hosts of the forests, to subdue colonies of psalm-singing farmers already objects of jealousy and animosity on the part of their English sovereign and his ministers, does not seem wildly absurd. Whatever might have been the final outcome of the rivalry of France and England for dominion in the New World, temporarily at least, France might have triumphed.

Frontenac's first grand effort consisted of movements in three directions respectively, by three divisions of French and Indians, starting, one from Montreal, one from Three Rivers, and one from Quebec. The one from Montreal headed for Albany along the natural route through Lake Champlain, Lake George and the Hudson River. It consisted of about two hundred men, nearly half of whom were christian Iroquois whom the Jesuit priests had succeeded in converting to the Romish faith and to French allegiance. They would not fight their heathen brethren in New York whence

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they had been drawn to Canada, but would fight the English. The French portion of the party was composed chiefly of coureurs de bois, men inured to the hardships of the wilderness and skilled in woodcraft. The commanders were D'Alleboust de Mantel and Le Moyne de Sainte Helene, able and brave, with competent lieutenants.

They reached the Hudson after eight days, and coming to the point where the path divided, instead of following that to Albany they turned to Schenectady. Their sufferings were excruciating, and so spent were they by fatigue and hardship that, according to their own confessions, had a small force of resolute men opposed them, they would have been routed. In the early morning of February 9, 1690, they burst into the sleeping town, having found the gates open and not a single guard to give the alarm. The massacre which followed is among the most horrible of those savage times. Pieter Schuyler, Mayor of Albany, attempted a description of it in a dispatch to the Council of Connecticut sent a few days afterward: "No tongue can express the Cruelties that were committed. The whole Village was instantly in a Blaze. Women bigg with childe rip'd up, and the Children alive throwne into the flames, and their heads dashed to pieces against the Doors and windows. Sixty Persons perished in the Massacre, and twenty-seven were carried into Captivity. The rest fled naked towards Albany, thro' a deep Snow which fell that very night in a Terrible Storm; and twenty-five of these Fugitives lost their limbs in the flight, thro' the Severity of the Frost." (History of Albany, p. 245.)

Capt. Bull was sent with a detachment from Albany to succor any of the people who might have escaped and to bury the dead. He found that Lieut. Enos Talmadge, Sergeant Jonathan Church and another Hampshire man had been killed defending the block house. Three other Hampshire men were then taken captive, one of whom escaped, and another, David Burt, Jr., of Northampton, never returned.

The year 1690 thus inaugurated, was one of disaster and disappointment to New England. Frontenac's other two expeditions were successful. One attacked Salmon Falls, on the stream which separates Maine and New Hampshire, killed thirty persons and took fifty-four prisoners. Then

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uniting with the third party they captured Casco Fort, where is now Portland.

The pretentious expedition of the English against Canada in two divisions failed disastrously. It was planned in retaliation for the triple attack on the places noted already, but to the chagrin and humiliation of the colonists each of the movements ended in a wretched fiasco. The one by land, under Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, which had Montreal as its objective point, succeeded in getting no farther than the southern end of Lake Champlain. The other, under Sir. William Phips, which was planned to capture Quebec, proved far more disastrous, losing ships and men, and entailed upon Massachusetts an additional debt of £150,000. This involved still farther disaster through the issue for the first time of paper currency. Parkman, in summing up the results of the year's failures, says, "Massachusetts had made her usual mistake. She had confidently believed that ignorance and inexperience could match the skill of a tried veteran, and that the rude courage of her fishermen and farmers could triumph without discipline or leadership. The conditions of her material prosperity were adverse to efficiency in war. A trading republic without trained officers may win victories; but it wins them either by accident, or by an extravagant outlay in money and life." (Frontenac and New France, p. 298.)

King William's War, which so early in its course involved New England in such losses, dragged on for many weary years. Massachusetts was not alone concerned in the failure of the plan to subdue Canada. The scheme had been developed at a meeting of the Commissioners of the several Colonies, which, in response to a call from the upper towns of Hampshire, met at New York, May 1, 1690. Holland lays emphasis on the fact that it was the first Congress of the American Colonies.

Though Hampshire County suffered no loss of men or property during 1690, still the people were in such a state of alarm, and danger from the enemy seemed so imminent, that Major Pynchon finally decided to retain forty men whom he had detailed to join the army at Albany which was preparing to march against Montreal. Of this company, nine

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were from Northampton, eight from Springfield, four from Westfield, six from Hatfield, five from Hadley, five from Suffield, and three from Enfield.

During the early months of the year he sent "scouts of 14 or 16 men to bee out by the week together for the discovery of the enemy" with pay guaranteed by the County Court, "if ye General Court do not pay them," and a garrison of sixty Connecticut men under Capt. Colton was established at Deerfield, then the frontier town.

Added to the sorrows occasioned by the Indian menace were those resulting from a malignant distemper which affected the river towns. Peter Tilton wrote to Governor Bradstreet, under date of August 23, 1690:

"The righteous Lord is sorely visiting these frontier towns at present, with sickness by agues and fevers, of which many are sick and weak and many are carried to their graves. The arrows of mortalitie and death are flying thick from town to town and from family to family. A hundred persons sick at Deerfield, about fourscore at Northampton, many at Hadley and Hatfield. The disease increased in the towns downward. Capt. Lewis and Capt. Moseley are dead."

How far the epidemic affected Westfield we have no means of knowing, since the records make no mention of it.

Late in 1691 the people of Deerfield and vicinity were greatly disturbed by the arrival from the Hudson of about one hundred and fifty Indians and their encampment about a mile below the town. Major Pynchon wrote to Governor Bradstreet a detailed and verbose report of their presence and of their conduct, which was generally peaceful and proper, yet saying that "they are very unacceptable to our people," which may be readily believed after their experiences of recent years. He proposed that a company of some fifty men should be enlisted in the upper towns to be in readiness to march at short notice in case of trouble, and adds this naive suggestion:

"If such a company in their Arms should only march once or twice this winter to Deerfield, ye very sight of them might awe these Inds, who will thereby see & know we are in a warlike Posture; a laishlike indiscretion may procure some smart blow (as it did at Scenectoke) which should stir us up to dili-

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gence and Prudence; or people minding there owne busnes, without Arms or watches, requires that same orders be given for rousing ym up, especially considering ye talke is of yt the French coming down on us this winter. Doubtless there is this winter as much danger as ye last."

The Indians had passes from the Mayor of Albany and were forced by the scarcity of provisions there to come into this region with wives and children for hunting.

Still feeling considerably alarmed by their presence, about the middle of January, 1692, Major Pynchon, with Capt. Samuel Partrigg as his agent, wrote out formal Directions and Proposals concerning them. They were not to go out hunting in companies numbering more than five; they were not to enter the towns after sunset or at any time with their "Armes."

Well aware of the mischief wrought in the redmen, as well as in the palefaces, by intoxicants, he includes this emphatic injunction:

"We doe particularly caution you to beware of strong drink, wch intoxicates men's braines & makes ym more disorderly than otherwise they would be, & to warne your young men in special least it occasion quarrels, wch are carefully by you & by vs to be prevented, wherefore we allow not or people to sell it, & you would doe well to acquaint vs wth any wch does, that we may deale with ym for their disorder."

Pynchon adds their reply to this prohibitory deliverance: "Our young men & sqvs wil buy it for all yt & your English wil sel it." That certainly is a "touch of nature" which "makes all the world akin."

In May following the inconvenient guests were summoned back to Albany by messengers from the Mayor, who feared an inroad from Canada.

In spite of repeated rumors of an invasion from the north, the year passed without any attack, though the harvests were meager.

Late in July, 1693, a party of Canada Indians, numbering twenty-six, attacked Brookfield. They killed the wife of Joseph Wolcott and her two young daughters and Thomas Lawrence, Joseph Mason and his son. They seized and carried away Daniel Lawrence and Mason's wife with her infant.

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There having been too few men in the garrison house to cope with the captors, John Lawrence, brother of Thomas, rode post haste to Springfield for help. Major Pynchon spent the night gathering troopers, twenty men from Springfield and eight from Westfield. Commanded by Capt. Thomas Colton of Springfield they reached Brookfield early in the afternoon, and buried the dead while waiting for thirty additional men from the upper river towns.

Since there were eight Westfield men engaged in this enterprise, which was quite brilliantly executed amid great difficulties, it seems worth while to give at length Pynchon's report of it to Governor Phips under date of August 1, 1693:

"On Saturday July 29, Capt. Colton began his march out of Quabaug about 10 o'clock in the morning (having been detained by the rain) with 42 men, having left 16 at the garrison, because he knew not certainly that the Indians had drawn off. He went to Wolcott's house where the enemy kept their rendezvous, found their tracks to go through Wolcott's lot & followed the same, soon came to where the enemy first lodged after the mischief at Quabaug, viz. Thursday night last, which was about 10 miles northerly from Wolcott's house, where they killed Mason's child which they had taken away, the Mother, as also young Lawrence about 18 years of age, being then captives with them. After a small halt our men came where, as they supposed, the enemy dined the next day, their 2d day from Quabaug; there they killed a mare of H. Gilbert's which they had taken to carry their load & there also they had broken the drum taken from Lawrence's house. Our soldiers pursuing came to a great pond, 30 miles or more off from Quabaug, where they found the enemy lodged the 2d night. Here they found a horse of Mason's killed & fresh tokens of them, their fire not out, which encouraged the soldiers much, though the way was hideous, swamps, stones, brush &c. scarce passable for horses—went 6 or 7 miles further that Saturday with their horses; finding they could not get along with horses, they left all their horses & men that could not foot it; 19 men were dismissed & ordered to bring the horses after.

"Capt. Colton with 23 men, the most likely, pursuing the enemy on foot, lightening themselves of their coats & with-

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out provisions; they hastened that if possible they might come upon the Indians before night.

"But the night came on before any Indians could be seen, the Capt. having gone 7 or 8 miles very briskly after he left his horse, and he was forced to take up lodgings. Way very bad, Horses came up within 2 miles of the fort that night (Saturday) which was 3d night the enemy had been gone.

"In the morning of Lord's Day July 30 the men resolutely bent, thought they were near the enemy; & they set off early before the horses came up. When they had gone about 1½ mile they came upon the enemy in a most hideous thick woody place, when within 3 or 4 rods of them they discerned them not, till they heard them laughing. Presently the Capt. made signs to his men to come up and compass them about, who did accordingly, about 10 of his men only just about at his heels, the place obscure, the enemy hardly to be seen, having also cut down bushes to shelter themselves, yet made a shot upon them, as many of our men as had advantage, the rest of our men also coming up gave their volley also, just as the Indians rising up, being at breakfast about sun a quarter of an hour high. Our men could not all make shot at once, those that at first had not opportunity did it at the Indians beginning to budge away, none of our men failing; and the Indians not knowing or discerning them till the bullets were in some of their bodies, & others of them alarmed at the volleys ran away; not having opportunity to fire on our men. The Capt. says the enemy fired but one gun, though some of the soldiers say another was fired & that the Indian quivered so he could not hold his gun steady. They all ran that had life to do it in an instant, & in such a hideous thicket that our men could not see nor find an Indian more. Our men killed 4 certain outright, which the Capt. saw & is sure of; most of the soldiers say there were 6 killed outright, with one that being wounded, one of our men ran up to & dispatched with his hatchet. Many were sorely wounded & no doubt ran into holes to die, for our men say the brush was bloody in many places, which it was hardly possible to make discovery of, & Capt. Colton says he saw blood on the ground as well as on the bushes.

"The Indians ran away so suddenly that they left their

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powder & ball though some snatched up their guns. Our men brought away 9 guns, 20 hatchets, 4 cutlasses, 16 or 18 horns of powder, besides 2 barks full neatly covered about 1 or 2 lbs. in a bark.

"Also scalps our men got from them & burnt them. Our men here regained the two captives the enemy carried away, Mason's wife & young Lawrence & brought them back in safety, leaving plunder which they could not bring off, rendering it unserviceable. On their return they met their horses within 2 miles of them." * * *

In a postscript Pynchon writes:

"What I much wonder at, one of the soldiers a Smith [blacksmith] of Northampton says that one of their hatchets he knows well that he made it about a year ago." (Trumbull's Northampton, Vol. I, pp. 435-7.)

That is a graphic sketch of experiences through which the early citizens of Westfield passed in their heroic struggles to prepare for their descendants a place of habitation. For it was not for themselves alone that they endured such hardships and strained for such victories. They had in mind the aim of those who preceded them, and sought to establish in the wilderness an enduring and developing Commonwealth which should be an integral part of a great nation.

In August, 1694, there was an assembly at Albany of Commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, under guard of sixty horsemen from Connecticut, to meet Iroquois sachems and load them with presents. The expense to Massachusetts was £370, and about the same to Connecticut, including the pay and the subsistance of the escorting troopers.

During the following four years various incursions were made and many settlers were killed at Deerfield and Hatfield. In 1696 Richard Church of Hadley was killed while hunting by two of the New York Indians who were sojourning near Hatfield. The men were tried, convicted and by order of the Court shot. These were the first executions in Hampshire County.

During the period of King William's War Westfield suffered from no Indian depredations, but that the people felt

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the need of preparation for attack is evidenced by two votes in town meeting:

"Feb. 7, 1694. The Town voted to raise a Rate of 10£ to procure a stock of Powder & Lead and to pay it in money or wheat at 3/6 a bushel or Corn at 1/6."

"May 5, 1697. The Selectmen made a rate of ten pounds, & five shillings for the procuring Powder and ammunition towards a Town stock to be paid in money and to put it into the hands of Joseph Maudsley, Constable, with a warrant to him to colect and gather it in forthwith and make payment thereof to the Selectmen of the Town on this order at or before the last of this instant May."

King William's War is specially significant because of its introduction of French intrigue and French arms to our colonial life and affairs. It was formally concluded by the Peace of Ryswick, September 21, 1697, but in those days of slow communication between distant points, it took long for the fact that France and England had ceased from war to reach their dependencies on this side of the ocean, and even after it had been proclaimed the dusky allies of France were loth to give up their forays. Even as late as July, 1698, there was an encounter with them in the Hatfield meadows.

During the ten years of this war Massachusetts expended for its prosecution more than £150,000, half a million dollars, when money had a far greater purchasing power than it has in these later days.

Though Hampshire County suffered far less than other regions, at least 28 of its inhabitants were killed and many were carried away into captivity. Its war expenses borne by the Colony averaged more than £500 a year during the last five years of the war. The soldiers who came here from Connecticut were paid by that Colony, but Massachusetts supplied their provisions. According to Judd, the pay which soldiers received at that period was six shillings per week for a private, for a drummer and corporal seven shillings, for a sergeant nine shillings, ensign twelve shillings, lieutenant fifteen shillings, captain thirty shillings, major fifty shillings, chaplain twenty shillings, surgeon twenty shillings.

Regular troopers, each furnishing his horse, private ten

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shillings, trumpeter and corporal twelve shillings, and the officers correspondingly more than the foot soldiers. A common soldier with his horse received eight shillings. They were well supplied with food, and in at least one expedition into Maine were provided with rum, sugar, pipes and tobacco.

The number of soldiers in five of the towns in May, 1690, was given by Major Pynchon as follows; Northampton 128, Springfield 120, Hatfield 80, Hadley 66, Westfield 60. It is probable that the other towns of the county brought the number up to about 600, from which it may be inferred that the population of the county then was about 2500. A striking proof of the changed relations of the people of this Colony and those of that one lying directly south of it, from the jealousies and contentions of a half century earlier, is found in the readiness of Connecticut to send its soldiers to the relief of the upper valley during the prevalence of Indian troubles, and the grateful appreciation thereby inspired. That the help was highly esteemed received striking evidence by a letter of which a copy is preserved, bearing among its notable signers two Westfield names:

"The ready assistance this county of Hampshire, in their Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, have had and found in our distresses in the times of war, from our neighbors and freinds of Connecticut colony, calls for our grateful acknowledgement, as we do expect the continuance of their former friendliness and good neighborliness.

"Wherefore, these are humbly to signify, that we have received great help and good assistance from their Majesties colony of Connecticut, in a ready, large and plentiful supply of men and help, both in the first war in the years 1675 and 1676, as also at divers times upon emergencies and exigencies, they have performed great helpfulness in going upon discoveries and keeping garrisons, to their great charge, and now lately in their assistance at Deerfield, our chief frontier town; whereby through God's goodness, they have been a great support and guard, encouragement and safety to our county, and discouragement to our common enemy; and hereunto we subscribe our hands, September 28, 1693.

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Solomon Stoddard, Minister of Northampton.
John Williams, Minister of Deerfield.
William Williams, Minister of Hatfield.
Edward Taylor, Minister of Westfield.
John Pynchon, Peter Tilton, Aaron Cook, Joseph Hawley, Samuel Partrigg, } Justices of the Peace for West Hampshire in the province of the Massachusetts Bay in N. E.
Thomas Colton, Capt. of Springfield.
Samuel Roote, Lieut. of Westfield.
Timothy Nash, Lieut. of Hadley.
Samuel Partrigg, Capt. of Hatfield.
John King, Lieut. of Northampton."

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CHAPTER XIII.

Schools and Teachers

The original settlers of New England were passionately devoted to the establishment and promotion of essential institutions, those respectively related to religion, education and civil liberty. There is a deep symbolic meaning in the fact that the meeting house was used for both religious and civic gatherings, and in the additional fact that the schoolhouse was often used not only as a place of educational enterprises, but also for religious and civic purposes. Those sturdy old Puritans put a high estimate upon the training of young minds by teachers as competent as could be commanded by the stipends which could be afforded by the inhabitants of the Colonial towns, though the disparity between their financial resources and their spiritual ideals was pathetic. When they were unable to secure such teaching talent as they coveted, they accepted eagerly such as was available.

The spirit of the settlers of New England differed widely in this respect from that which prevailed in Virginia at the corresponding period. Governor Berkeley in 1671, replying to various inquiries respecting the condition of the Colony sent by the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, described conditions there in 1670, the year after Westfield was organized. The freemen engaged in military drill once every month in their respective counties in numbers which he estimated at "near eight thousand horse" in a total population of forty thousand. There were six thousand white servants and two thousand negro slaves. Every man taught his own children according to his inclination and ability. Berkeley devoutly declared, "I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years!" He pronounced learning and printing the patrons and promoters of heresies and sects and of libels on government. A dozen years later, in 1682, one Beeckner, because he had presumed to print the laws of 1680, was put under

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bonds "not to print anything thereafter until His Majesty's pleasure should be known."

In an "advisive narrative" sent toward the end of the seventeenth century from America to the Bishop of London it is said:

"This lack of schools in Virginia is a consequence of their scattered planting. It renders a very numerous generation of Christian's Children born in Virginia, who naturally are of beautiful and comely Persons, and generally of more ingenious spirit than those in England, unserviceable for any great Employment in Church or State."

The democracy of New England was deeply conscious of dependence for its maintenance and vigorous growth upon universal education.

John Adams records in his diary that he gave to a Virginian "a receipt for making a New England in Virginia." The secret lay in the adoption of town-meetings, town-schools and ministers. "The meeting-house and the school-house," he said, "are the scenes where New England men are formed. The four chief things were towns, militia, schools and churches." (Fisher, The Colonial Era, p. 162.)

The Fathers of the Bay Colony provided early for a system of universal education within its borders. The General Court, convened September 8, 1636, only six years after the arrival of Winthrop and his associate immigrants, voted £400 toward a "schools or colledge" for the purpose of educating the "English and Indian youth in knowledge and Godliness." That was the initial step toward the establishment of Harvard College.

But far lower down than such an institution, primary and intermediate schools were needed to fit pupils for the higher privileges, and as the intimate relationship between religion and education was emphasized in that earlier appropriation, so it was in the subsequent action which was taken by the General Court in 1642 which made the earliest provision for more fundamental educational needs.

In that year the first school law of the Colony of Massachusetts was enacted, in order to make general provision for what had been provided singly by a few towns. It ordered the Selectmen of the towns to take account of all parents and

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masters respecting the education of their children, in order that all children should be taught to read so as to understand the capital laws of the Colony and become useful. Fines were imposed upon parents and masters who might refuse to render such accounts, with the possibility that their children might be taken out of their possession. Education was declared to be essential to the welfare of the Colony; parents were responsible for its promotion, and the right was asserted to compel parents to furnish it.

The law of 1654 ordered that all teachers should be sound in the faith and free from scandal in their lives on pain of dismissal, and declared the right of the Colony to examine, and certify to, the qualifications of all teachers within its bounds. As an inducement to the work of education teachers were exempted, in 1692 from taxes, in 1693 from militia duty, and in 1699 from the watch.

The famous act of November 11, 1647, was thus framed:

"It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading them from the use of tongues that so at least the true sense & meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church & commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors—

"It is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased them to 50 householders shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach such children as shall resort to him to write & read, when such wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns, but it is farther ordered that when any town shall increase to the number of 100 families or householders they shall set up a grammar school the master whereof shall be able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University: provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above

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one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order." (Mass. Records II, 203.)

Commenting upon that enactment, Palfrey says: "The measure is all the more impressive for having originated in a general voluntary movement of the people in their several settlements." In 1644 the inhabitants of Dedham, "taking into consideration the necessity of providing some means for the education of youth, did, by a unanimous consent declare by vote their willingness to promote that work, promising to put their hands for the maintenance of a free school." They appropriated therefor some land and £20 annually.

In 1645 Winthrop wrote, "Divers free schools were erected as at Roxbury."

It is a matter of deep interest to the people of Westfield that the Father of one of its settlers, and a "foundation" man of the church, was closely related to the establishment of the free school in Dorchester which has a unique place in the history of free education.

John Maudesley was among those who came to the Bay in the second Puritan immigration in 1631 and settled in Dorchester.

The General Court, March 4, 1634-5, granted Thompson's Island to the inhabitants of Dorchester, to be theirs forever for an annual payment of 12 d. Four years later, May 30, 1639, the town laid a tax upon the proprietors of that island, really a self-imposed tax upon themselves, for "the maintenance of a school in Dorchester."

The peculiar significance of that action is that it seems to have been the first instance in the world's history of provision made by a town by direct tax or assessment for the support of a free school.

Two years afterwards, in 1641, the proprietors formally conveyed the island to the town for the purpose originally declared and the name of John Maudesley appears as one of the signers of that historical document. His son, John Maudesley, Jr., moved to Windsor and thence to Westfield in 1677, and became here the head of one of the most honored and influential families in the successive generations of the town's life, the original name soon having become changed to Moseley.

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A traditional family interest in free education is shown in Col. David Moseley, of the sixth generation of the name in Westfield, born March 6, 1798, died in 1871. Mrs. Maria Moseley Whitney, his daughter, states that before his death he requested that instead of erecting a monument over his grave, the money which it would cost might be expended in educating some poor boys.

A movement toward the support of free education took a curious form in Hempstead, Long Island, which had been settled by people from New England in 1643.

At a general town meeting held on Nov. 27, 1658, the following action was recorded:

"It is ordered that any manner of person or persons inhabiting within the town of Hempstead that after the day of the date hereof shall sell eyther wine, beere or any manner of drams or strong licquors that they shall make entry of the same unto the Clercke, and shall pay for any kind of drams or spanish wine; the som of 5 guilders the ancker; for the half satt of strong beere 12 guilders, one half to be employed for the provision of amonition for the use of the town, and the other moytie and half part for the education of poor orphants, or other poore inhabitants children." (Early Long Island, Flint, pp. 143-4.)

Just when the first provision for the education of children was made in Westfield cannot be determined. The first vote appearing in records now preserved bearing date of Feb. 4, 1678, nine years after the town was chartered, indicates that the teacher named had been engaged already in the work of instruction.

"Voted, to give Mr. Deutre 15£ and what the schollars dont pay the town agrees to make up & to pay a third part in wheat.

"granted to Mr. Deutre a home lot about ¾ acre and 6 acres of land by the home lot of Oliver Weller also 10 acres of land by Pochasuck farm and 10 acres more where he can find it not hindering former grants."

That is the extent of our information respecting him and his educational service to the town. Two years later, in September, 1679, the month following the formal organization of the church, the name of another man appears about whom

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we know much more than we do of Mr. Deutre. "It was voted to give Mr. James Cornish 18£ for keeping school this half year ensuing which is to be paid in wheat, Pork & Indian Corn by equal proportion."

Actual money in coin or paper as a medium of exchange was rarely employed in those early times. Its scarcity necessitated the use of grain as a substitute.

James Cornish, a man having sufficient qualification of some kind to justify the title of "Mr.," went from Saybrook to Northampton in 1660 and became the first teacher there, serving in that capacity from 1664 for three years, and soon afterward moved to Westfield. He seems to have had a disposition which according to our modern ideals would have disqualified him for the intimate and influential relationship of a teacher of children.

Feb. 18, 1696, it was "voted & left with selectmen to git & setell a skool master in the town for half a year."

A year later "it was voted that such as send their boys to scool 3 pence week for reading scolars and 4 pence per week for wrighting

"It was also voted that all boys from 7 to 14 years old shall pay by the week as above said—though they go not to scool their parents or masters shall pay for them."

In November, 1697, it was voted "that the Selectmen shal indeavor to procure a scoolmaster for three or four months this Winter, the scolars to pay 3 pence per week for reading & 4 pence for Wrighters and what wants to bee paid by the Town and all boys from 7 to 14 year of age shal pay whether boys atend or not."

In the following year similar action was taken with the additional proviso that the payment was to be made "in Peas, ry or indian corn at the town price and each person that sends children to Scool shal provide a load of wood for each scolar."

It appears from the preceding records that the free school system as we understand it had not yet been fully established. Obligation for the support of teachers rested primarily upon parents of children of school age, and any deficit in the salaries was to be made up by the town, so that instead of levying a tax upon the whole town for the entire support of schools,

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the town was held responsible only for so much of the needful funds as the parents did not provide.

Judd says: "Schools were not maintained wholly by towns till after much discussion and agitation. Those in moderate circumstances, with large families, desired free schools. Some of the wealthy and those with no children to send, were opposed to them. Few towns were willing to vote for schools entirely free to the scholars, till after 1700, and it was many years after 1700 before free schools became general in Massachusetts." (History of Hadley, p. 56.)

It is a notable fact, however, that, according to Trumbull, the town of Northampton instituted a veritable free school system as early as 1692. It then changed its system and voted "to give forty pounds per year for A Schoole Master that might be Attained fit for that worke and the aboue said sum of forty pounds they Agree to pay for one yeare and the Scholars to go free."

The difference was a radical one. Parents no longer were obliged to pay per capita for their children, but the whole town assumed obligation for the instruction of whatever children attended school. The plan met with considerable opposition, which found expression at successive meetings and was only settled finally at a special meeting called "to Againe consider about a Schoole," when the former vote was confirmed, though nine prominent citizens registered a formal protest against it. In May, 1693, the plan was ratified for twenty years, during which the teacher's salary was ordered to be forty pounds a year.

"Att a Town meeting legally warned November 1, 1700 it was voted that the Selectmen shall tak care for the wringing the Town bull at the Town charge.

"At the sam meeting it was voted that there shall bee a scool house built Lieut. Root John gun Samuel Ashley and David Ashley jnn: were chosen as a comity to tak care that said house be built & finisht the said hous to bee about eighteen foot square the said comity are to call al persons to work giving a day's warning each person to be alowed for his work acording to what hee does acording to the judgment of the Comity & what more may be needed for building said house to bee paid by the Town in corn & rye.

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"The said house to be set between the fortmeadow gat & the guly by John Nobles. It was also voted that the selectmen shall endeavor speedily to provide a scoolmaster & a place to keep scool in at the town charg the scolars to pay 3 penc a week readers & wrighters 4 penc:

"Jan 6. 1700 At a legall Townmeeting it was voted upon farther consideration that the place for seting the scoolhouse shall be removed from the place where it was formerly voted to be set & to be set nere the meeting house.

"At a Town meeting October 27, 1697 it was agreed upon and voted that present select men shall endevor the repairing the meeting house."

In Westfield quite an advance upon the earlier method of employing a teacher for only half a year was made at the April meeting in 1702, when the voters arranged to have Nathanael Phelps, Thomas Noble and Joseph Maudesley, Selectman, make a contract with Isaac Phelps to teach school for one year, "to begin in May and receive as his stipend twenty Pounds at or before the year is expired, to bee paid in ry & indian corn, half of each, ry at 3 shillings per bushel & indian corn tow shillings price per bushel, the Select men to see it paid accordingly."

In December of the following year a similar contract was entered into by the Selectmen and Joseph Sexton, he to "keepe schoole from ye day of ye date hereof untill the 15th day of April nexte ensuing all which time hee Doth Ingage to use ye best of his skill & Industry so far as he is capassatated to teach children to Reade & Wright which are sent to school during said terms."

Inasmuch as the above document is signed "Jos. Sexton—Towne Clarke," indicating that he was the author of its language and was responsible for its spelling, it would seem that he himself was not above need of a tutor in one branch of education. But the art of orthography was as tardy of introduction as were veritable free schools.

Before the above arrangement had been consummated the following action was recorded:

"At a Legall Town meeting Desember ye 13th: 1703 ye Towne voted to hire some man in ye Towne to keepe Schoole Att ye same meeting ye Towne voted yt ye selectmen should

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be Comitty to agree wth some man in ye Towne forthwith to keep schoole as a foresaid

"Att ye same meeting ye Towne votted that ye schoole master soe hired should keep schole tell ye middle of Aprill nexte ensuing.

"Att ye same meeting ye Towne votted ytt ye Children ytt goe to schoole should pay (viz) Riters att 3d pr weeke & Readers att 2d per weeke

"Att ye same meeting ye severall persons whose Names are hereafter mentioned enter there Desents from ye vote above mentioned namely ytt Vote respecting 3d pr weeke for Riters & 2d pr weeke for Readers Samuel Ashley, Jos Mosley, Richard Church, Thomas Gunn, Stephen Kellogg, David Dewey, Benj. Maudsley, Thos Ingerson, John Sackett Junr Matthew Noble; Jos Sexton, Thomas Weller, David Ashley Jun

"Joseph Sexton, Town Clerk was elected"

That there was opposition to a complete system of free schools as late as April, 1705, is shown by action of that date when "it was agreed unanimously ytt ye selectmen should ease such children as through sickness or Lameness &c By ye judgement of ye selectmen Renders them uncapable of goeing to schoole as aforesaid All former votes in this Respect too ye contrary notwithstanding."

The poverty of the people accounts in part for such unwillingness to pay for schooling which was not actually enjoyed by a man's children. The broader view of universal responsibility for the teaching of all the children of the community came slowly into popular favor, but finally prevailed. But the children of those who could not pay were provided for from the first.

Isaac Phelps was recalled to teach from May 1, 1711, to the end of October. Before the latter month expired the Selectmen were ordered to provide a schoolmaster, with the qualification of the vote, "that they will not have a scolar for a school master." Inasmuch as Isaac Phelps was engaged in that capacity a few days later it is a fair inference that the authorities did not consider him "a scolar." He seems to have been continued in office until November, 1717.

There is one unique item in the report of the March meet-

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ing in 1716. Following a list of those who were chosen Sealers of Weights and Measure, there appears, "School Committee, Nathl Phelps, John Root & John Ashley to provide a teacher and look after school land." It is the first time that a School Committee is spoken of in the town books and it does not appear again for more than a century.

Before tracing farther details of the progress of schools in Westfield it may be well to pause for a brief consideration of the character and equipment of those primitive institutions of learning in old Colony days, aided by the diligent researches of skilled investigators.

Alice Morse Earle, in her charming symposium, "Child Life in Colonial Days," devotes large space to the subject of education. In beginning a chapter on "Schools and School Life," she says:

"No greater contrast of conditions could exist than between the school life of what we choose to call the 'good old times,' and that of the far better times of to-day. Poor, small and uncomfortable school houses, scant furnishings, few and uninteresting books, tiresome and indifferent methods of teaching, great severity of discipline, were the accompaniments of school days until the present century [the nineteenth]. Yet with all these disadvantages children obtained an education for an education was warmly desired; no difficulties could chill that deep-lying longing for learning." (p. 68.)

She indicates the source of this passion in many instances by quoting the exclamation of a noble New England Mother of early days: "Child, if God make thee a good christian and a good scholar, 'tis all thy mother ever asked for thee!"

The first reference to the education of girls which appears on the town records is a vote of April 26, 1705. They were to pay the same tuition as boys "if they goo" while the boys from 7 to 12 years old were to pay "whether they go or not." It is difficult for us at this remote day, when the matter of female education is considered as imperative as the education of the sterner sex, to understand how it could have been considered so lightly in the early days of New England and the sister Colonies. That girls should not be absolutely illiterate was needful in the popular estimate, even before they were provided with schools. By some means they were expected

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to learn to read and write and to get a smattering of arithmetic, but it was not disgraceful for them to lack a grammar school training to fit them for entrance to college since there was no college open to them. When Jonathan Edwards was eight years old he had five sisters, and in that year, 1711, his Father, Timothy Edwards, a chaplain in the expedition against Canada, said in the course of a letter to his wife at Windsor, Conn.: "I desire thee to take care that Jonathan dont lose what he hath learnt, but that as he hath got the accidence and about two sides of Propria quae maribus by heart, so that he keep what he hath got I would therefore have him say pretty often to the girls. I would also have the girls keep what they have learnt of the Grammar, and get by heart as far as Jonathan hath learnt; he can keep them as far as he had learnt. And would have both him and them keep their writing, and therefore write much oftener than they did when I was at home. I have left paper enough for them which they may use to that end."

Whether or not they had attended school at all, the girls as well as their brother probably had been taught by their ministerial Father. Multitudes of girls who never enjoyed school advantages were taught the rudiments at home. In 1817, the wife of President John Adams, who became famous as a writer, born in the parsonage at Weymouth in 1744, wrote:

"My early education did not partake of the abundant opportunities which the present days offer, and which even our common country schools now afford. I never was sent to any school. I was always sick. Female education in the best families went no further than writing and arithmetic; in some few rare instances music and dancing."

At the "Dame" schools, girls were taught to read and write and sew, though the fact that the wills of many women of property are recorded which have no signature but the sign of a cross shows that the art of writing was too often neglected. Even as late as 1790 the following action was taken by the town of Gloucester: "And also that the master be directed to begin his school from the first day of April to the last day of September at 8 o'clock in the morning and close at 6 o'clock in the afternoon, or any 8 hours in the 24

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as shall be thought the most convenient, but that two hours, or a proportionable part of that time, be devoted to the instruction of females—as they are a tender and interesting branch of the Community, but have been much neglected in the Public Schools of the town."

In Norwich, Conn., they were provided for "from 5-7 A.M." In New London in 1774, Nathan Hale, the noble but ill-fated patriot, wrote: "I have kept during the summer a morning school between the hours of 5 and 7, of about 20 young ladies; for which I have received 20 shillings a scholar by the quarter."

The dame school seems not to have been opened in Westfield until the spring of 1725, when the town voted to "give the widow Catherine Noble 25 shillings a month for keeping school as long as the Town sees fit to improve her in that service & if she see cause to atend it."

There are traces of dame schools in England as early as the fourteenth century. In the eighteenth century they were very numerous there.

They came into Massachusetts with the early settlers. In Woburn in 1673 one dame school was kept by "Allan Convar's wife," another by "Joseph Wright's wife." Judge Samuel Sewall, the lifelong friend of Westfield's first minister, Rev. Edward Taylor, records in his Diary in April, 1691: "This afternoon had Joseph to school to Capt. Townsend's mother, his cousin Jane accompanying him; carried his horn book."

In many towns there were several private dame schools and occasionally, during the eighteenth century, towns made appropriations for their support as part of the system of public education, as in the case of the Widow Catherine Noble in Westfield. They did much to provide rudimentary instruction for boys and girls.

The aids to their tasks employed by the teachers in early days were very simple and inadequate. The first in point of time was the hornbook, long before familiar in England. Its importance and widespread use as a vehicle of instruction justify a quotation here from Alice Morse Earle who describes it thus:

"The first book from which the children of the colonists learned their letters and to spell, was not really a book at

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all, in our sense of the word. It was what was called a horn-book. A thin piece of wood, usually about four or five inches long and two inches wide, had placed upon it a sheet of paper a trifle smaller, printed at the top with the alphabet in large and small letters; below were simple syllables such as ab, eb, ib, ob, etc., then came the Lord's Prayer. This printed page was covered with a thin sheet of yellowish horn, which was not as transparent as glass, yet permitted the letters to be read through it; and both the paper and the horn were fastened around the edges to the wood by a narrow strip of metal, usually brass, which was tacked down by fine tacks or nails. It was therefore a book of a single page. At the two upper corners of the page were crosses, hence to read the hornbook was often called 'reading a criss-cross row.' At the lower end of the wooden back was usually a little handle which was pierced with a hole; thus the hornbook could be carried by a string, which could be placed around the neck or hung by the side." (Child Life in Colonial Days, p. 118.)

What was called a "battledore" succeeded the hornbook; it was printed on a double fold of cardboard with a flap of the same material like a pocket bill book. On the inside of it the alphabet was printed in capitals and small letters, with sundry syllables of two letters each, some words of three letters each, the numerals and two small illustrations.

"Reading boards" were wooden tablets about fifteen inches long and six inches wide, on which were pasted paper containing simple reading lessons. But most worthy of note, because universally used for two centuries and over, is the "New England Primer." Memory goes back to as late a period as the middle of the nineteenth century when in the writer's childhood home in Troy, N. Y., instinct with New England tradition, the quaint miniature volume, with its crude wood-cut pictures was used to impart religious instruction on long Sunday afternoons, when coveted strolls out of doors were forbidden.

Paul Leicester Ford has made a valuable contribution to Colonial History by his researches relative to this "Little Bible of New England," as it has been called most aptly. He adduces evidence that the New England Primer was arranged for publication by Benjamin Harris, a London editor and

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printer, who came to Boston in 1686 for a brief sojourn. Ford concludes that the first edition appeared about the beginning of the last decade of the seventeenth century. From time to time it was renamed but to revert to the original title under which it continued to be published until well along in the nineteenth century. He says of it:

"For one hundred years this Primer was *the* school book of the dissenters of America, and for another hundred it was frequently reprinted. In the unfavorable locality (in a sectarian sense) of Philadelphia, the accounts of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall show that between 1749 and 1766, or a period of seventeen years, that firm sold thirty-seven thousand copies. Livermore stated in 1849 that within the last dozen years '100,000 copies of modern editions * * * have been circulated.' An over conservative claim for it is to estimate an average annual sale of twenty thousand copies during a period of one hundred and fifty years, or total sales of three million copies." (The New England Primer, p. 45.)

In the course of years many variations of the rhymed alphabet pages appeared, although the first and the last never changed:

"In *Adams* Fall We sinned all."	and	"*Zacheus* he did climb the Tree his Lord to see"

were the same in each of the innumerable editions. The "Shorter Catechism," which, however, always proved too long for the youngsters doomed to commit it to memory, was an essential feature of every edition, as was also the gruesome picture of John Rogers perishing amid flames and smoke guarded by two soldiers armed each with an ax and in full view of his family. The children were depicted in varying sizes, standing by their Mother, one reaching to the height of her shoulder and the rest graduated down to one reaching half way to her knee. Underneath it was the familiar description:

"Mr. John Rogers, Minister of the Gospel in London, was the first martyr in Queen Mary's Reign and was burnt at Smithfield, February 14th, 1554. His wife with nine small

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children and one at her Breast, following him to the Stake; with which sorrowful Sight he was not in the least daunted, but with wonderful Patience died courageously for the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

The next step beyond hornbook and primer took the scholar into Latin Grammar; an early one by Lilly was popular in England and thence found its way over to the Colonies. It has been said that "it named twenty-five different kinds of nouns and devoted twenty-two pages of solid print to declensions of nouns; it gave seven genders, with fifteen pages of rules for genders and exceptions. Under such a regime we can sympathize with Nash's outburst, "Syntaxis and prosodia! You are tormentors of wit and good for nothing but to get schoolmasters two pence a week." Ezekiel Cheevers, a famous schoolmaster who died in Boston in 1708 after having taught upwards of seventy years, published a Latin Grammar called "Cheever's Accidence." Alice Morse Earle makes the following reference to it illustrative of the intolerable method of teaching Latin in the latter part of the eighteenth century:

"Josiah Quincy, later in life the president of Harvard College, wrote an account of his dismal school life at Andover. He entered the school when he was six years old, and on the form by his side sat a man of thirty. Both began *Cheever's Accidence*, and committed to memory pages of a book which the younger child certainly could not understand, and no advance was permitted till the first book was conquered. He studied through the book twenty times before mastering it. The hours of study were long—eight hours a day—and this upon lessons absolutely meaningless." (Child Life in Colonial Days, p. 134.)

The first English Grammar used in the public schools of Boston was a small volume with a large title. It was about the size of the New England Primer, five by three inches, containing but fifty-seven pages, of which a hundred thousand copies are said to have been sold.

Its pretentious title was "The Young Lady's Accidence, or a Short and Easy Introduction to English Grammar, design'd principally for the use of Young Learners, more especially for those of the Fair Sex, though Proper for Either."

"Dilworth's Speller" was used very early, though not

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until the days of Noah Webster was there a systematic effort made to secure uniform spelling. A second edition of his "Little Reader's Assistant" was published in Hartford in 1791. It contained—I. A number of stories. II. Rudiments of English Grammar. III. A Federal Catechism. IV. General Principles of Government. V. The Farmer's Catechizing, containing plain rules of husbandry—"all adapted to the capacity of children."

Our educational debt to that masterly pioneer publisher of English text-books can hardly be estimated.

Although "Cocker's Arithmetick" was largely used in England in the later part of the seventeenth century, the first use of any formal text-books on the subject was late in the following century. Home-made sum books, such as Abraham Lincoln has left as a memorial of his early educational efforts, were common until a comparatively recent period. The first text-book on Geography—Morse's—was not published until after the Revolution. It was a very small and crude affair.

"It had a mean little map of the United States, only a few inches square. On it all the land west of the Mississippi River was called Louisiana, and nearly all north of the Ohio River, the Northwestern Territory." With such inadequate implements the early educators conducted their important tasks, in miserably furnished and equipped buildings, in striking and pathetic contrast with the palatial structures devoted to educational purposes in modern days, and the elaborate and scientific text-books now available, furnished without cost to any pupil in our carefully graded schools.

In October, 1717, the Selectmen were ordered to "hier a schoolar to keep school for the space of 3 months and if that cannot be obtained then provide some other man who they shall think fit for the aforesaid 3 months."

They seem to have found a "schoolar" who proved satisfactory because at the March meeting following "the Town agreed with Mr. Felix Habalah to keep school his year out at the same rate he was hired for to wit, 30£ a year or more if the Town see fit." It does not appear whether "more" had reference to the length of the service for which he was to be employed, or the amount of his stipend.

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In the preceding January, the weather having been "extremely cold," the Moderator, by common consent, removed the meeting from the meeting house to the schoolhouse, from a room without artificial heat to one provided with a fireplace. Stoves for the meeting house were not provided until a century later.

It is evident that boys were boys in the early part of the eighteenth century, for in May, 1718, there was "Granted to Consider Maudsley 10 acres of land absolutely on the account of damage done by schoolars about the school house."

The monetary value of the land may be computed from a grant at the same meeting of an equal amount of land in the "new addition" to John Root, Town Clerk, "on account of 14 shillings due to him from the Town for drawing out of Records into a new book."

The reference in that vote to the "new addition" is perplexing, unless it was prompted by a wish which was father to a thought, in which case John Root must have waited impatiently for many moons for his ten acres, though a committee of the General Court reported favorably Feb. 10, 1713, on a petition of the town for it. It was not until January, 1736, that Thomas Ingersole, on behalf of the town, presented to Governor Belcher and the General Court, a petition for an enlargement of the town's territory to the amount of about 6000 acres, a copy of which may be found in the Appendix, with a copy of the earlier report of the Committee. This petition was granted in July of the same year, on several conditions, among which it was provided that the Grantees should lay out two hundred acres for the minister then in the town, two hundred more for the ministry, and one hundred for the school forever.

The land lay west of the town and ran from the southwest corner of the bounds of Northampton to the northeast corner of the township granted to the proprietors of the town of Suffield. It ran along the western hill tops, and was fit only for pasturage and as a source of wood supply. It included parts of the modern towns of Russell, Montgomery and Granville. In March, 1719, the munificent sum of forty-five shillings was allowed "towards the school over the Little River," twice and a half as much as was voted at the same meeting

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per head for "cat a mounts" killed within ten miles of the town.

Provision was made for a "wrighting master" in November of the following year.

Whether or not it was hoped to secure one of a large class of men who in that century were to be found in many towns, does not appear. They were honored by any community which was fortunate enough to possess them. The obituary notice of one of them who died in 1769 in Boston includes the following encomium:

"Last Friday morning died Mr. Abiah Holbrook in this town. He was looked upon by the best Judges as the Greatest Master of the pen we ever had among us, of which he has left a beautiful Demonstration."

Of course the only pens used in that early period were made of goose quills, steel pens not having been introduced in England until 1803, and costing for a time two or three dollars apiece. Ten years later the price had become reduced to twelve cents apiece.

Ink was not furnished at the school, but was brought by individual pupils in a bottle or horn, having been made at home from ink powder or by some combination of vegetable and mineral ingredients. Isaac Stiles served as teacher in 1722 and the year following while he was assisting Mr. Taylor in the work of the pulpit.

In May, 1723, it was voted that the Selectmen provide a "gramer schoolmaster" for the next winter, but there is no record to indicate whether or not they executed the commission.

In November, 1724, the usual arrangement was approved whereby the Selectmen were to hire a schoolmaster and besides they were "to provide a teacher for a Gramar school." A special vote of 3£ was also passed for a winter school "for the people at Little River."

It appears that Rev. Nehimiah Bull, who became the second Pastor of the church, was at that time secured, who also helped the aged Mr. Taylor in the pulpit, as thus indicated: "Also voated to alow Mr. Bull Friday & Saterday out of the school to prepare for the preaching."

In 1731, the amount of six pounds was allowed for the

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school over Little River and two pounds for one at "Mun's Brook."

In January, 1749, there was a plain and direct vote "to build a new school house with Brick at the same place where the school house now stands" with Lieut. David Moseley, Ensign Matthew Noble, Lieut. Taylor and Doctor Ashley as a committee to execute the plan.

In May following the matter of leasing lands for one year given to the town for the benefit of the school by Mr. Moses Root was committed to the Selectmen.

Elisha Parks, who became a prominent citizen and official in later years, was engaged to teach in the spring of 1751, not however in the new brick schoolhouse, which proved as slow in materializing as was usual with a new meeting house in that early period.

The perplexing affair was finally settled. May 15, 1759, the whole task of "providing a school or schools" was left to the Selectmen. At the same meeting "it was voted to set up a New Pound on the ground near Deacon Eldad Taylors dwelling house where the first meeting house stood."

That action enables us to be sure of the exact location of that historic structure, since it is not many years since people were living who remembered clearly the existence of that pound in actual use, a few rods north of the stone marker placed just west of the Little River bridge.

In January, 1772, the lump sum of 25 pounds was voted "for the use of the schools for the last year and the present year."

Two years later it was voted to sell the Ministry and the school lands in the new addition provided the whole could be disposed of at a rate of "18/ per acre, one acre with the other."

At a meeting in December, 1775, Elisha Parks, Moderator, before choosing a new Committee of Correspondence and Inspection, the sum of 80 pounds lawful money was raised for the maintenance of schools, an amount equal to that raised for highways.

The same amount was raised for schools in 1777, equal to the amount raised for preaching in that year when the town paid for a man's work 4/ per day from April 1 to Oct.

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1, and 8/ for a man and team, the rates for the rest of the year having been respectively 3/ and 6/.

In December, 1777, the amount raised for schools during the ensuing year was 100 pounds, and the year following it was 500 pounds, indicating the debased state of the currency then prevailing.

In 1796 it was 140 pounds, in 1810 it was $500.00, rising thence to $600.00 in 1813, to $800.00 in 1823, and $1000.00 in 1827.

"Oct. 18, 1791, William Shepard Warham Parks & Saml Fowler Esquires a Com. to repair to the West Mountain & fix a place where the School shall be kept agreeably to a Petition of sundry Inhabitants on s'd Mountain. Nov. 30, 1791 Eight pounds voted for the Purpose of keeping a Grammar School in addition to the sum that may be voted for general purposes of Schooling."

The several school districts as determined in May, 1818, were as follows on the town records:

"Green, Great River, Shepard Lane, Farms West, Munn's Brook East, Silver Street, Munn's Brook West, Moses Dewey, Noble Town, Owen, Main Street, Little River, East End, Farms East, Stephen Sackett, Edmund Ely, District by himself."

In March, 1823, another was added, the Raner Knox and Noah Clark.

The district system above indicated had been in operation since the latter part of the preceding century when various modifications and amplifications of existing laws and customs were formally established. The matter is fully explained in a comprehensive work upon education published within a few years past, a compendium of great value. Its conclusions are as follows:

"The constitution of 1789 and the school law enacted by the new state embodied into law the practices, as well as the principles of the past 150 years. The old laws had contained requirements so high that they could not be enforced. While retaining the old principles, the new law set requirements capable of being enforced.

At a town meeting, Dec. 6, 1824, it was "voted to appoint a Committee whose duty it shall be to examine the qualifications of all school masters & that no school master shall be

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employed in any District without procuring his certificate from sd Committee that he is qualified to instruct."

The members of that committee were Revd. Isaac Knapp, Elder David Wright, Alfred Stearns, Dr. Wm. Atwater, Augustus Collins, Esq.

In 1826 they were Job Clark, Rev. Isaac Knapp, Rev. David Wright, Lucius F. Thayer, Ambrose Day, Jun., David Moseley, Lewis Fowler.

In 1827 they were Henry Douglas, Thomas Loomis, Elihu Ely, Jr., Lewis Fowler and Samuel Sherwood.

According to the law of that year all teachers in the higher schools must be college graduates, or instead, must have a certificate from "a learned minister, well skilled in the Latin and Greek languages, settled in a town where the schools are proposed to be kept," or from two such ministers in neighboring towns.

The law of 1827 made the entire support of the schools by taxation compulsory, for the first time in the history of the State and Colony, thus, after so long a delay, putting into full effect the principles declared in the law of 1647.

The first truancy law was enacted in 1850, in 1852 the first compulsory attendance law in the Union, requiring all children between 8 and 14 to attend school at least 12 weeks unless excused on account of poverty or because otherwise instructed.

In 1873 school committees were required to appoint truant officers.

In 1898 all from 7 to 14 were required to attend school during all the time of its session, excuse of poverty rescinded, and if they attended private schools they must be such as the school authorities approved.

The first superintendent in this State was employed by Springfield in 1840. The law of 1892 required individual or union superintendents.

The struggle against the district system began in 1853, but did not gain universal triumph until 1882.

The school districts of Westfield were abolished by action taken at a town meeting April 23, 1863, when graded schools were ordered to replace them, the town to purchase all the school buildings.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Queen Anne's War

During the all too brief interval between King William's War and that which speedily followed the accession of Queen Anne to the English throne, the people of this region were still alert. They felt that incursions by bands from Canada formally commissioned in spite of the fact that peace had been declared, or by marauders on the lookout for scalps and plunder might be made at any moment. In view of the danger the following action was taken at Westfield:

"March 21, 1700.

"The inhabitants especially those that live on the Town plot had a meeting to consider about fortifying for thar security, did agree and vote that four houses should be securely fortified and Mr Taylors Fort repaired if needed. The four houses agreed upon were John Wellers, Stephen Kelloggs, John Sackets and Benjamin Smiths, and also Consider Moseleys.

"It was also voted that Isaac Phelps, Jedediah Dewey and Nathanael Weller should allot and appoint what persons & teams should work on each house aforesaid in fortifying."

The people of Hadley three years later were impressed with the need of farther preparations for defense. The Rev. John Williams wrote to Governor Dudley, in October, 1703: "The fortification can be mended no longer: we must make it all new, and fetch the timber for 206 rods, 3 or 4 miles if we get oak. We have been driven from our houses into the fort, and there are only 60 homelots in it, and we have been so crowded together that indoor affairs are carried on with difficulty. Strangers tell us that they would not live where we do for twenty times as much as we get."

Samuel Partridge wrote in the same month that Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield and Westfield had all laid out much in forting. Hatfield voted in 1703 to build stairs into the turret of the meeting house so that a ward or day watchman might be stationed there.

An excellent description of the garrison houses, so com-

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mon in various parts of New England in those days, is given by Sylvester in his comprehensive work, "Indian Wars of New England."

"These houses of refuge were similar in construction and built after a general pattern. They were mostly of two stories, the upper somewhat overhanging the lower. They afforded opportunity for using the musket or fire pail upon the assailant who attempted to force the entrance or fire the buildings, there being on the floor of the overhanging storey port holes conveniently spaced for this purpose.

"The walls were pierced with port holes at regular intervals, both for observation and musketry. A flanker, or watch tower, was not unusual at the opposite corners, and not a few were constructed with projections as would enable the inmates to see every foot of the outside wall of the building, from which the musket could be directed against the savage attack. Some were ordinary dwellings, enclosed by a stout palisade, which was made more secure against assault by the so-called flankers at the corners, the port holes of which swept the palisades in all directions. These were built to be used as sentinel towers, and were effective as they afforded a wider view of the surrounding country.

"Other garrisons were constructed of timbers hewn square, which were laid up log-house fashion, the windows of which were heavily shuttered: these were utilized as port holes as well. The doors were of stout oaken plank and barred from the interior. These garrison houses were generally of oak, being less inflammable and offering a greater resistance to musket ball and the hatchet. They were roomy and of generous proportions. To the weapons of the time they might be regarded as fairly impregnable to the devices of the savage, unless from the torch. One finds an occasional relic of those days of barbarous warfare when the silent hours from sunset to dawn were tremulous with treachery and peril." (Vol. II, p. 399.)

He cites for example, the Jenkins and McIntire houses still standing at York, Me., where so many Indian ravages were committed.

In the Westfield records, under date of Dec. 16, 1708, we read: "Att the same meeting it was votted that what forti-

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fying was Don in ye summer last past should be paid for by ye Towne & allsoe yt it should be paid upon ye Cuntry list."

It was only fair that protection afforded for the general welfare should be provided for from the common funds. That such was the end in view is more clearly shown by a later vote. The peril was rendered more appalling by rumors, confirmed by Governor Dudley's Indian spies in May, 1703, that preparations were being made in Canada for an attack on Deerfield. They were still farther supported by a message sent by Major Schuyler of Albany to the town authorities. But though the town was freshly garrisoned and put into a state of defense, the announcement proved premature. The attack was not actually made until the following year. When it came it filled New England and the adjacent Colony on the west with horror and consternation.

Deerfield, which already had suffered from so many ravages and had lost so many inhabitants, was to be the scene of a crowning tragedy, in spite of extraordinary precautions and defenses which were considered ample. The story is familiar to all students of colonial history, having been told graphically by many writers. The most complete and reliable account is that of Mr. Sheldon in his history of Deerfield, given after having spent years in painstaking research. Its general outlines will be here presented.

In the winter of 1704, the expedition, so long threatened, started from Canada under Major Hertel de Rouville, assisted by his two brothers. They led two hundred French soldiers and one hundred and forty Indians, through three hundred miles of forest in terrible winter conditions of cold and snow. As the night of Feb. 28, 1704, fell they were near the doomed village. The snow was heaped almost to the top of the palisade surrounding it, and a heavy crust enabled the attacking party to pass over the defense easily and gain the vicinity of the houses, the sentinels having been either asleep, or as it was near dawn, withdrawn. The assailants scattered through the town and made a simultaneous attack at many points. The sleeping inhabitants were aroused, men, women and children, dragged from their beds and collected and bound for the long march to Canada, and many were killed.

Some houses were easily forced, while others were stoutly

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defended by the inhabitants and by soldiers of the garrison scattered among them. At the house of Capt. John Sheldon the stout front door held and they hacked a hole in it through which they shot Mrs. Sheldon in her bed. A son and his wife jumped from a window, he escaping and she, having sprained an ankle, being captured. The house of Benoni Stebbins near by, defended by seven men and some women who cast bullets for the men, resisted all attempts to capture or burn it, but it accidentally caught fire during the fight and was destroyed.

Sheldon says, "In all the wars of New England there is not a more gallant act recorded than this defense of an unfortified house, by seven men and a few women, for three hours, against not only the fury and wiles of an unorganized horde of savages, but also a large force of French soldiers, under officers of the line trained in the wars of France."

The house of the minister, the Rev. John Williams, was attacked among the first. He leaped from his bed and found a party entering the door. Calling to two soldiers in his chamber, he seized a pistol, pressed it to the breast of an Indian and pulled the trigger, but the powder flashed in the pan, the Indian's life was saved, and probably his own as well. He was seized, bound and kept for some time without his clothes. Two of his young children and a negro servant were murdered. Five other children and their Mother were bound and the house was speedily ransacked. Capt. Stoddard, a son of the minister at Northampton, who was lodging there, leaped from a window with his cloak, which he tore into strips and bound around his feet, then escaped across Deerfield river and reached Hatfield in an exhausted condition.

Sheldon, summing up the results of the attack, says, "Of its forty-one houses, at least fifteen were within the line of the stockades. About twelve were north, and fourteen south of it. When the night of February 28th closed down, 291 souls were under their roof trees. Of these, twenty were garrison soldiers, two visitors from Hatfield, and 268 inhabitants. They were of all ages, from widow Allison of eighty-fours years, to John, the youngling of Deacon French's flock, of four weeks. Among them were three negro slaves, one Indian and three Frenchmen from Canada. In a few hours,

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all but one hundred and twenty-six of the inhabitants were either killed, or in the hands of the enemy, on a march over the snow to Canada, three hundred miles away."

The Sheldon house, in which because of its capacity the captives were gathered preparatory to the march, though fired, was saved and stood, the widely known "Old Indian House" until 1849. The door, bearing the marks of Indian hatchet and tomahawk, supported by the original posts and flanked by great oaken brackets from the front of the old house is now a center of attraction and interest in Deerfield's Memorial Hall.

The horrors of that midwinter march through the forest to Canada, beggar description. It seems incredible that the captives, especially the women and children, could have survived it. The Rev. John Williams, who was held in Canada two years before being released, gives many of its harrowing details in his remarkable book, "The Redeemed Captive." Of the one hundred and eleven captives taken from the doomed town, more than half were under eighteen years old, forty of them were not over twelve and twelve of them under five. Three of the women, including Mrs. Williams and one man, were murdered within twenty-four hours after the march began.

A story is told to the effect that a wealthy lady of Montreal who had become interested in Rev. Mr. Williams offered him a better suit of clothes than the one which he wore, if he would consent to become a papist, to which he replied, "Better a ragged coat than a ragged conscience."

A heroic attempt at rescue before the party had gone far from the town failed because the English fighting men who survived the massacre and escaped capture and such allies as had hurried thither from Hatfield were too few to cope with the enemy and could not follow up the attack later because of lack of snowshoes, the crust having softened over the three feet of snow which covered the ground. This tragic incident has been sketched here in order to suggest the agonizing experiences through which neighbors of the early citizens of Westfield passed and which, coming so near to them, filled their hearts anew with the most harrowing fears for their own safety. As they lay down at night they could not be con-

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fident that before dawn they might not be aroused by the blood-curdling war whoop of the Indians, and the crashing in of their doors and windows under blows of tomahawk and hatchet. They knew not but their children might be snatched from their slumbers by dusky savages and either brained, or bound as captives before their eyes. They knew not but ere the morning broke their homes might be ransacked of their precious though modest treasures, and set ablaze by the resistless torch, leaving the inmates, even though they might escape capture, without roof or shelter in the rigors of winter. Without a great and sustaining faith in divine Providence they could not have endured the stress and strain of those awful years. Surely "they endured as seeing Him who is invisible." They nourished purposes as heroic as fired the souls of the less fortunate citizens of the valley who fell in the conflict by savage hands.

It is worthy of note, that at that epoch when there were such fierce incentives to race hatred, when the feeble settlers had suffered so much from the red man whom they had sought to treat fairly and considerately in business dealings, buying at an agreed valuation their shadowy rights to the lands which were needed for settlement, they were not so embittered by the cruelties which had been already inflicted by their Indian enemies as to change their commercial habits. Instead we find the following action under date of Aug. 11, 1703:

"Att a Leguall meeting itt was unanimously voted to purchase all ye Commons Lying within ye Towne bounds which is not already purchased:

"Also voted that ye Selectmen with John Noble should agree with ye Ingones for the above land which is not yett purchased as above.

"Also voted that what money should be expended for ye purchase of ye above land should be paid by ye Towne within two months after this date.

"Also voted that ye Selectmen & John Noble should proportion & sett upon those men ytt are particular Proprietors in said land above nott purchased: what each of them particularly should pay towards ye above said purchases and the remainder of ye purchase to be paid by ye Towne."

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In the spring following the Deerfield disaster the town was stirred to take additional precautions against attack.

"May ye 14, 1704.

"It was unanimously votted that all persons shall work with themselves & their teams at repairing of ye Fort a boute Mr. Taylors house forthwith & whosoever shall neglect to Doe his share shall pay their proportion to others according to what worke shall be done at said Forte or work at some other public work in Towne."

That action of the town was probably instigated at that particular time by what must have been considered a narrow escape of Westfield from attack just previous to it.

A party of French and Indians commanded by Sieur de Montigny, said to have been on the way to attack Westfield, but impeded by floods which rendered the streams impassable, fell upon Pascommuck, a hamlet within the bounds of Northampton, near the northeast end of Mount Tom, near where the station of Mount Tom Junction on the Boston and Maine R. R. now stands. Of the thirty-three people there at that time, nineteen were killed, three escaped, eight were rescued, and three of them were carried to Canada. Among the wounded who were left for dead, was the wife of Benjamin Jones, who was taken to the top of Pomeroy Mountain, tomahawked and scalped. Having been discovered by a pursuing party she was carried on a litter to Northampton, treated and nursed after the rude fashion of the time, and eventually recovering she lived beyond the age of eighty years. Trumbull says that "for several years she was under the care of Dr. Gershan Buckly and others of Westfield," but Judd says of Wethersfield.

Whatever the difficulties which hampered this party from attacking Westfield, it came perilously near the town when the assault was made.

Warned of the attack by one of those who escaped from the enemy, Capt. John Taylor, with a troop of volunteers from Northampton, speedily started on horseback after the assailants. They pressed to the westward of what is now the town of Easthampton, and somewhat south of it between the original road from Northampton to Westfield and Wind-

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sor, not far from the present Southampton line. Capt. Taylor was shot and the pursuit was abandoned.

Reference has been made already to the general welfare sought by the preparation for defense of specific houses in the village. This is shown conclusively by the following:

"June ye 30th, 1704.

"It was unanimously voted by the inhabitants of ye several houses in ye Towne that are Forted hereafter named shall stand & be defended & have their several proportions of men posted to ym by ye Comitty appointed as may be accounted convenient under their circumstances for their defence viz. Mr. Taylors, Stephen Kelloggs, Consider Maudesleys, John Sackets and Thos Roots.

"Voted. Att ye same meeting that ye general housen & Garrisons above mentioned shall be free as well for ye proper owners, for all families and goods attending to their proportion who shall be appointed to ye several Garrisons by ye Committee of Malisha."

The success of the attack on Deerfield was so marked as to inspire Vaudreuil, the French Governor, with a purpose to follow it up with other expeditions to win farther victories. Bands of Indians roamed the middle ground and in May it was rumored that a party of French and Indians was planning an attack upon Northampton. Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, sent messages to the Massachusetts authorities stating that his scouts had learned that "300 French and Indians were marching with a design upon Northampton in New England."

As a matter of fact, Vaudreuil placed an army of seven hundred Indians and one hundred and twenty-five Frenchmen under command of Capt. Beaucours to carry out the project. Great expectations of their success were cherished in Canada and they started under the impetus of great popular enthusiasm, but, "to be forewarned is to be forearmed" and an ample garrison from all parts of Connecticut was hurried up to the defense of the threatened town. Several times during the summer, on the occasion of a new alarm, the forces returned but no attack was made. In his report to the home government, Vaudreuil attributes the

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grievous failure to the fact that the English had heard of the design and were prepared to resist it. According to his account the culminating trouble was the fact that when the army was within a day's march of Northampton one of the men deserted and bore full information to the enemy. English writers attribute the failure to dissension over the prospective spoil. The actual ground of withdrawal from the enterprise undoubtedly was the knowledge that the town was well defended and on the alert to resist attack.

Trumbull says, "These constant rumors of an approaching enemy kept the country in a continued state of alarm. At no time since Philip's war, twenty-eight years previous, had there been so many soldiers in the country. They were quartered in every town, and there were marchings and counter-marchings in every direction. Indians, spies and scouts of the approaching army filled the forest. Parties of English, many of them citizens of the river towns, incessantly ranged the woods. None of the inhabitants dared venture far beyond the fortifications without an efficient guard, and the occupations of the farming community were greatly interfered with, if not wholly suspended."

A party of men going to Westfield from Northampton in August under Capt. Allen of Connecticut was waylaid, two of them were killed and two others made prisoners. These latter, however, were rescued speedily by a scouting party, which killed two of the Indians.

The attack on Deerfield and the great advantage enjoyed by the enemy through the use of snowshoes, while the English wallowed helplessly in the drifts, moved the General Court of Massachusetts, March 13, 1704, to order 500 pairs of snowshoes and an equal number of moccasins, a quarter of them for Hampshire County. Only three shillings a pair was the allowance for them, though it was declared by Col. Partridge and other Hampshire officers that a "good pair of snow shoes with magasins and bands cost 10s." The allowance was raised later to 5s. and a few years afterwards to 7s.

It was compulsory for each soldier to furnish himself with a pair and the stinted allowance of the government was an injustice to the citizen soldiery which braved so many dangers and endured so many hardships in the common defense.

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The years 1705-7 were free from great disasters though not from grievous fears. During the winter of 1705 it was deemed wise to garrison Hatfield, Hadley, Northampton and Westfield from January to March, with two hundred soldiers from Connecticut, provided with snowshoes. But no attack was made at any point.

In July, 1706, Samuel Chapin of Springfield was wounded. A woman was killed at Brookfield and a man at Suffield.

The only casualty in 1707 was the death in September of Edward Bancroft of Westfield aged 19. He was shot in July and survived until September. The attendant circumstances are not stated in the records.

In the spring of that year Capt. John Stoddard of Northampton, he who during the attack on Deerfield escaped through a window and carried an alarm to Hatfield, led a party of twelve men across Vermont to Lake Champlain. They are supposed to have been the first soldiers from the Connecticut Valley to make the trip to the Lake.

Several Hampshire people were killed in 1708.

In the early summer of 1709 an expedition against Canada started from Albany under Gen. Francis Nicholson. After having made three forts at Wood Creek, farther advance was abandoned, because co-operating naval forces failed to sail from Boston owing to the non-arrival of promised ships and five regiments of regulars from England.

So confident were Col. Schuyler of Albany and many other clear-headed officials of the Colonies, that the only sure way of ending the exasperating and exhausting border troubles was by invading and conquering Canada, that after the fiasco of 1709 he took five Indians and sailed for England, to press upon the British ministry the necessity of continuing that policy with more adequate force. When they reached England it is stated that the Indians "made a great bruit thro' the whole Kingdom. The mob followed wherever they went, and small cuts of them were sold among the people * * * Sir Charles Cottrell conducted them in two coaches to St. James's: and the lord chamberlain introduced them into the royal presence." (Doc. Colonial Hist. N. Y., Vol. V, p. 252.)

Responding to Col. Schuyler's appeals, five thousand troops from England and Flanders were sent over to aid in

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the reduction of Canada. In July, 1711, a fleet of twelve men-of-war with forty-six smaller craft sailed from Boston for Quebec. Again a co-operating force marched from Albany to attack Montreal, with Gen. Nicholson in command. It consisted of about two thousand English and eight hundred Indians. The naval expedition came to grief in the St. Lawrence River, losing eight transports and eight hundred men, and as twice before in a similar attempt, the land forces made a humiliating return to Albany.

Massachusetts expended £21,000 on this futile expedition. It was the first time that men had been gathered from Hampshire to make the long and perilous voyage to Quebec. One of the eighteen companies of Massachusetts troops sailing from Boston was under the command of Capt. Ebenezer Pomeroy of Northampton. Judd says that he must have had under him men from all the Hampshire towns except one or two. As a roster of his company has not been found we cannot know how many names of Westfield men it contained.

In June, 1710, passing by Westfield on one side or the other, Indians penetrated as far as Simsbury and Waterbury, committing depredations, but taking no lives.

Renewed action relative to defense at Westfield is shown on the records:

"At a Town Meeting June 9, 1712, it was voted by the Town that Mr. Taylor's, Saml Ashleys & David Ashleys house shall be Forted.

"It was also voted, That ye Commission Officers & Selectmen shall proportion persons & families to ye houses abovesaid.

"It was also voted that Saml Deweys house shall be forted."

General relief and rejoicing followed the proclamation of a cessation of hostilities in Boston by the Queen's authority Oct. 17, 1712. The Peace of Utrecht was signed March 13, 1713.

Thus, another ten years of wasting warfare had been spent, involving tremendous expense of life and treasure, public and private.

In this period Massachusetts expended for the conduct of the war and to recoup some of its losses, no less than £285,000.

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In 1708 the Hampshire province tax amounted to £1056. 10s. and continued at the same rate for several years, apportioned as follows: Springfield, £272; Northampton, £210; Hadley, £157; Hatfield, £136; Westfield, £100; Enfield, £60; Deerfield, £30.

Losses by life and capture in Hampshire were, 103 people killed, 123 taken, of whom 22 lost their lives on the way to Canada, and two died after reaching there.

Penhallow estimates that every Indian killed in this war cost the province £1000.

Palfrey says, in summing up the war, "It was estimated that the eastern tribes had lost one-third part of the whole number of their warriors during the past ten years, and an equal proportion of women and children, and that the proportion of lives sacrificed had been little, if at all, less among the English population of Maine. While some families were extinct, others mourned parents, brothers, children, murdered or torn from them to hopeless captivity. The settlements were reduced to miserable poverty; their trade was ruined; their houses were burned; their fields were devastated. More than a hundred miles of seacoast, lately the seat of prosperous life, bore no longer a trace of civilized humanity." (History, Vol. IV, p. 287.)

While no such widespread and crushing disaster had befallen the western border, still the losses, direct and indirect, had been immense, involving untold hardships. The whole conduct of the war on the part of the French Governor had been absurd as a matter of administrative policy and so barbarous in its methods as to make the French instigators and promotors of it immeasurably more despicable than the savage tools employed.

The pen of a renowned student of the time has given a scathing characterization of this atrocious policy and practice of the French: "The war they waged was simply a succession of isolated barbarities, accomplishing nothing whatever towards a solution of the question of power. A band of sanguinary savages was led hundreds of miles over the snow to an assault upon some hamlet, where a few poor people had made an opening in the forest, and were beginning to get a hard living. Watching for a time when it reposed

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in unsuspecting helplessness, they fell upon it by night, burned the dwellings, tortured and massacred some of the inhabitants, and then fled, carrying with them the rest. Of the spoils they consumed the food and drink, as long as their fear of pursuit allowed. But they found little or no money to carry away, and for more combrous booty they had no means of conveyance. They gained nothing except the gratification of their monstrous appetite for mischief, and what they might be paid by their French employers for the prisoners they brought in. Nor does this latter kind of profit seem to have entered much into their account, if one may judge by the lavish butchering of their captives on the way." (Palfrey's Hist. of New England, Vol. IV, p. 265.)

It was after Hertel de Rouville, who had made himself infamous by the attack on Deerfield, led a similarly brutal expedition for a second time against Haverhill that Peter Schuyler wrote from Albany to Governor Vaudreuil a scathing protest: "I hold it my duty toward God and my neighbor to prevent if possible, these barbarous and heathen cruelties. My heart swells with indignation when I think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the exactest laws of honor and generosity which their noble ancestors have illustrated by brilliant examples, is degenerating into a savage and boundless butchery. These are not the methods for terminating the war."

To the farther credit of Col. Schuyler it is to be noted that he was bitterly opposed to the custom of the Dutch traders of Albany who did not scruple to purchase openly spoil which the Indians had taken from the people of New England.

This worthy man, prominent in civil and military affairs in Albany for many years, passed through Westfield in the summer of 1710. He landed in Boston in July on his return from England with the four Indians whom he had taken over the February before. They were feasted in and about Boston for three weeks at the public expense on the way thither, and on their way home Governor Dudley furnished them nine horses and an escort of ten troopers as far as Westfield. Whether its citizens showed them any marked attention, the records do not indicate.

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"July 1712. Gray Lock with 12 Indians swooped down upon Springfield. They captured Benjamin Wright of Skipmuck and two others Benjamin Barrett of Deerfield and William Sanford, a Connecticut soldier. This was the last raid down the Deerfield valley during Queen Anne's war." (Sylvester, Vol. III, p. 150, note.)

After the peace of Utrecht, negotiated March 31, 1713, the province enjoyed a respite of a few years from serious disturbances, and the people had a chance to attend to their affairs without serious menace.

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CHAPTER XV.

The Second Pastor and Meeting House

The first rude house of worship, though galleries had been added in 1703, had long been inadequate to the needs of the community when the first actual steps were taken toward the provision of a new and better one. Indeed, forty years was a long time for it to be used, during a period of steadily though slowly increasing population, and it was several years longer, as will appear, before the new edifice was actually occupied and completed. The original building in Springfield was used only for thirty years, up to about the time that the first one in Westfield was erected. In Northampton the second one supplanted the first one after about seven years. In neither of those towns was there any such bitter and extended struggle between factions relative to the location of the second building as agitated the people of Westfield. We can hardly blame them for taking the matter so seriously, when the subject of the controversy was so important as that of the location, in the growing settlement, of the house of God. It was nearly six years from the time the initial vote on the subject was passed before the task of building was completed.

It may not be uninteresting to note some of the successive votes of the town dealing with the matter.

"Jan 21st 1716. It was voted to have a Comitey chosen to consult and agree upon a place to set a meeting house & to make a report to the town in a short time & to treat with any person or persons if it so fals out who are proprietors of the ground where they have fixed to set the Meeting house.

"The Comitey chosen for that end are Capt Isaac Phelps Capt. Joseph Maudsley, Lt Adijah Dewey, Deaken Thomas Noble, Capt. John Ashley, Ensign Stephen Kellogg & Philip Loomis."

It was certainly a committee of dignity and worth, comprising many of the leading men of the town, but still for

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some inexplicable reason nothing seems to have been accomplished by it, there being no record even of its having reported. A whole year later, lacking but a few days, another vote was passed in almost the exact terms of the former one, and another committee was appointed which contained not a single member of the original one. Samuel Ashley, Daniel Bagg and John Root, Sr., were the men appointed in the place of the seven at first named. The next record was made in May following:

"The Town voted that a new Meeting house shall be set at the same place where the old meeting house now standeth although several men made considerable demur, but several men lookd upon it to bee a vote & the moderator did declare it to bee a vote."

In October of the following year, 1718, a third committee was appointed, no report of the second appearing. Deacon Noble, Capt. Ashley, Lt. Dewey, Daniel Gun, were deputed "to go and treat with John Gun Senr & with ye widow Noble concerning a place to set a new meeting house & the terms thereof & to bring report thereof unto the Town at the next Town Meeting."

Still the matter dragged its slow length along with nothing definite accomplished. After another year had passed the delay proved so serious that energetic and revolutionary action was taken, and outside help was called upon to settle the controversy.

"Nov. 17, 1719. The Town took into consideration the necessity that wee were in of putting ourselves into sum way to find out a place to set & to build a new meeting house & it being one of the main things for which the meeting was apointed therefore the Town proceeded as followeth.

"The Town voated to make choice of Deacon Nath'l Munn, Lt. John Merrick & Benj Lennard Senr. all of Springfield as a Comitey to consider, consult & to perfix a place for the Town of Westfield to set or erect a Meeting house within the limite folowing, that is somewhere between the Little River & the Fort Meadow Gate and that street which leads along near Joseph Roots house."

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The above limits were separated by less than a quarter of a mile, the distance between the stone marker which indicates the location of the first meeting house and the corner of Meadow Street where the Fort Meadow Gate stood. Yet so violent was the contention over that short space that it seemed necessary to leave it to an imported tribunal.

"At the same meeting the Town made choice of Deacon Thomas Noble, Deacon David Ashley & John Shepard to accompany the Comitey above chosen & to Enform & to Enlighten them in respect to the surcomstances of the Town.

"Also voated & agreed to stand & abide by the determination of the above said Comitey Respecting the place which they shall perfix for the erecting a meeting house.

"Also voated to build a meeting house barn fation with a bell Coney upon the middle of it 52 foots in length and 41 foots in breadth."

A week later the following record was made:

"Whereas it was voated at a legual Town meeting to leave the Desition of that difficulty of Affixing a place to set a new meeting house unto a Comitey, therefore having made choice of these persons undernamed therefore Nov. 24th The Comitey were called & gave in their result as followeth—

" 'Gentlemen, seeing God in his providence hath called us according to your desire' " [an instance of *vox populi, vox dei,*] " 'to consider your surcomstances & where may bee ye Convenientest place for you to set your meeting house our result is on the northwest corner of Capt [Joseph] Maudsleys lot by the meadow gate.

Benjamen Lenard
Nathaniel Mun
John Merick.' "

It would seem as though that ought to have settled the absurd and perplexing dispute; but the Puritan conscience was involved on both sides as well as keen personal desires and jealousies. The whole matter was threshed over yet again as shown by the following formal action:

"Whereas notwithstanding the result or determination of the Gentlemen above named in respect to the mater to which they were Chosen & imployed sum persons being disatis-

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fied, the Town were called together again & then left the Desition of the same mater as above said unto Colenall Samuel Partridge who acted upon the mater and gave to the Town his determination as followeth—

" 'Whereas the town of Westfield at a legal town meeting on ye 21 day of this instant December 1719 past an act in said meeting they being at a difficulty in concluding the place to set their new meeting house at and voated to leave the full desition of that matter unto me undersigned upon which I together with Cap'n John Ashley and Lieutenant Adijah Dewey went up to ye place of the cyder press their standing which I judged too fur toward the West end of ye town for conveniency of the peoples meeting at ye present allso I vewed ye norwest corner of Deacon Root deseased his lot I judged that place too near ye dwelling houses against and as to Mr Gunns pastor and ye lot where old John Sacket lived too much to the South end of the town and ye old meeting house much more I allso vewed Cap'n Maudesleys paster on ye south side of the way and that I judge will be too near Cap'n Roots barn therefore having maturely vewed the knowl on Cap'n Maudesleys lot on the north side of ye way behind his housing I hereby determine to bee the place for erecting and setting up the new meeting house this I deliver as my positive opinion upon the premises.

SAMUELL PARTRIDGE.' "

In selecting Col. Partridge as arbiter the Westfield wranglers showed good judgment. He was for many years one of the most prominent and influential men of the valley. After the death of Col. Pynchon, Partridge commanded the troops of upper Hampshire, and during the fourth Indian war in 1725, when 80 years old, he was chief in command in the whole county with Lt. Col. John Stoddard of Northampton next him in authority. He was a deputy in the General Court in 1685-6, was Justice of the Peace, and Judge of Probate.

The town honored him by accepting his report and proceeding immediately to long-delayed action.

At the same meeting that heard and adopted his conclusion, a committee was appointed to engage carpenters and other workmen, to gather materials, and also voted £20 in

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money to procure nails for the meeting house, no small item in those days when each nail was literally "wrought," hammered out by hand.

That committee met with the same fate as many a previous one, having been discharged, and a new one was substituted, consisting of Capt. John Ashley, Samuel Ashley, Thomas Ingersole, Samuel Bush, Jr., Eliezer Weller, who seem to have carried the task to a finish.

It was not yet plain sailing, however, for on April 27, 1720, it was "voated by the Town that they would not by the land of the widow [Capt. Joseph] Mosley which was determined to bee the place to erect & set the meeting house upon by ye Comitey as a former record doth demonstrate, that is to say at 20£ price."

Just a month later another meeting was called on account of dissatisfaction respecting the site, and to make matters sure, ratified what had been previously done in the matter of location and the choice of a committee to have the work in hand. A few days afterward the £20 for land that was withheld by a previous vote was ordered to be paid. Then the clouds seemed to have cleared permanently and a heroic vote was passed.

"It was voated by the Town that they would begin to raise the meeting house on Wednesday morning at 2 hours by the sun, the 8th day of this instant June, atending to work at the beat of drum every morning untill it is over.

"At the same meeting it was voated that all men belonging to the Town shall asist in the work of raising the meeting house from 17 years of age & upwards on pain & penalty of 3 shillings per day for every days neglect dureing the time of Raising, except all such as shall make a satisfactory excuse unto the Comitey yt have the charge of ye mater.

"It was voated that the Comitey shall have liberty to prepare 4 or 5 barels of beer at the Town charge for the Consern above mentioned.

"It was also voated that Capt Phelps Deacon Noble & Deacon Ashley should go and desire Mr. Taylor to come to the place of raising the meeting house then & their at the time apointed to seek to God for his guide & protection in the work of raising."

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In November the town voted £5 for the use of the committee and also voted that £260 should be raised to defray the town charges respecting the meeting house. There seems to have come in somewhere a voluntary subscription to help along the enterprise, for according to the authority of Mr. Bartlett in one of his articles on "The Old Cemetery" he credits certain persons for that cause as follows: Samuel Kellogg, £53; Samuel Ashley, £13; Samuel Root, £9; Capt. John Ashley, £9; Consider Moseley, £7; Joseph Pixley, £6. He adds that these were Yankee pounds, $8.33 1/3, or six shillings to the dollar.

"June 22, 1721, voated that there shall be a Aley across the new meeting house, strait up to the pulpit & pews all Round the house.

"Also voated, to face the pews & fore seats & ye back seats with wainskut work.

"Also voated to seal up to the windows below & above the rest whitewashed."

The fine deference paid to the aged pastor is evidenced by the appointment of a committee to treat with him "Conserning his removing to the new meeting house to atend the worship of God their."

"At the same meeting it was voated that if Mr. Taylor will go to the new meeting house to carry on the public worship, that the Comitey have liberty to remove some of the timber & Carey from the old meeting house & use it toward finishing the new meeting house," which shows the slowness with which the work was actually performed, eighteen months having elapsed since the modest structure was raised. It shows also the rigid economy which was forced upon the Fathers in those troublous times, even in the matter of such deep public concern as the erection of a house of worship.

In October, 1721, a committee was chosen to seat the new meeting house, having "regard to the last December list in their seating."

The old house was sold to Thomas Dewey "for nine pounds & ten shillings Curnt money," Jan. 9, 1722. Hence the people must have begun to occupy the new building late in 1721.

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One more curious vote occurs in this connection to the effect that "those people belonging on the south side of the Little River hath liberty to build a hovel for their horses of an 100 foots long against the end of the Mosleys lots in the highway over against Sam Roots hous lot." At the same meeting it was voted "to alow the Town of Springfield 5 shillings towards the building a Court house their."

The term "hovel" is still used by the lumbermen of Maine for a horse barn in the woods. The hovel which was thus authorized was a forerunner of the horse sheds which later became so common an adjunct of country churches. The primitive shelter arranged at that early day was needed only for horses, vehicles to carry people not having come into general use until many years later. The pillion enabled the women to ride with comparative comfort behind the men. It was a capacious, padded cushion with a sort of platform stirrup, and was fastened behind the saddle, but could have been safe and endurable only when the horse's pace was not faster than a walk, though doubtless used often, especially in emergencies, when the gait was faster, in which case the rider upon the saddle must have been essential as a support to his fair companion, and not always unwillingly.

There were in that early quarter of the eighteenth century enough families with homesteads somewhat removed from the compact settlement to warrant their riding to meeting, except in the periods of greatest terror from the Indians, when practically all the inhabitants sought shelter within the palisade. And for many years after the plan for the "hovel" was put into execution, the Indian menace was from time to time fearsome.

Soon after the new meeting house was occupied the chronic difficulty of seating called for all the wisdom, discrimination and diplomacy of the long suffering committee which was appointed to wrestle with the desperate task.

In this case it consisted of Capt. Ashley, Mark Noble, Joseph Dewey and Israel Dewey. It was voted that they should seat by "age & estate only & that so much Estate as any mans list is advanced by negroes shall be excluded & cast out," a conscientious protest against the inherent right of property in human beings. No man was to be seated

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"for more than onely a third part of what Estate he hath by hier or by marrying of a widow."

It was decided that the dignification decided upon by the committee should be confirmed by the vote of the town.

But when the report was made the town rejected it and chose a new committee who should seat persons according to their own judgment and discretion and make report on the following Friday. The time having arrived the committee plead for another week, but whether the report was actually made and accepted then or later, the records do not reveal.

"Aug. 20, 1723, it was voated that no children under the age of 12 years shall sit up in the gallereys."

It has been natural to conclude that the new meeting house was a finished structure; what then is the shock of finding that on March 9, 1725, Nehimiah Lumis, John Root and Jonathan Ashley were chosen "to go & stir up the meeting house Comitey to see that the meeting house be finished speedily."

Nor was the "dignifying" task completed to the general satisfaction of the people. Jealousies and heartburnings must have been rife, since we find that on New Year Day, 1731, it was voted "to choose a Comitey to make sum regulation in respecting persons siting in the meeting house, to help sum persons who have been roughed in the former seating."

And on September first, following, the Selectmen were "impowered to get the glass windows of the meeting house repaired & those put up as are yet down."

In November, 1735, it was ordered to have "a new seating of the meeting house & to cut the two hinde seats in the body of the meeting house and make pews in the place thereof, & the rules to be observed is age, Estate & qualification and one year age to be reckoned equal to 2£ on the List."

The space given to these somewhat trifling details relative to the second meeting house may seem to some readers too extended, since the subject may not be sufficiently significant to warrant it. But incidents of the intimate home life of the fathers should insure our interested attention, as well as the more tragic incidents of war with its hardships

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and heroisms. When we consider the part played by the church in each community in Colonial times, its unique and comprehensive place in the interests and the activities of those God-fearing and earnest people, it would be impossible to get an adequate and truthful picture of their real life without including in our survey as complete a knowledge as possible of their church life. The church was an immensely more influential and dominant factor in the life of the community then than it is now in any part of New England, urban or rural. Though many men of prominence and influence in every community in the Colonial days were not formally identified with the church as duly accredited members, still they realized the essential importance of the church to the well-being of the community, they had votes, as citizens, in the calling and settlement of the minister, in the amount of his salary and his holdings of land, as well as in the erecting, furnishing and maintenance of the house of worship, and they attended the Sabbath services habitually.

Those services furnished material for thought and discussion during week days; the mingling of the people in connection therewith involved valuable social privileges. Each community in those days when means of travel were so primitive and limited, was self-dependent to a large extent, rendering it the more needful that the people should see one another as often as possible to keep hearts aglow and minds alert. Hence the privilege of freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience was linked with other high privileges in the conduct of the religious and social life of the people.

And even the petty differences and absurd squabbles, which we ridicule and criticize, have an interest as incidents in the subtle working of human nature, its ambitions, its frictions, its struggles, its jealousies, its weaknesses, revealing the essential likenesses between the people of that age and those of this modern, advanced, complacent era. It is a strange fact that although the actual work of raising the meeting house began June 8, 1720, and slowly progressed until it was occupied late in the following year, the deed for the sale of the land, or rather a bond for a deed, was not executed until several months after the building had begun to be used for church purposes, as shown by the following copy,

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the original of which was placed in the Westfield Atheneum by Mr. Bartlett, for safe keeping as a valuable document, in 1886.

"Westfield, Feb. 13, 1722.

"This may certify that whereas, I the executor of the Estate of Capt Joseph Maudsley Deseased haveing made an agreement with the Town of Westfield to part with a certain tract of land for the use of seting or erecting a meeting house do hereby Covenant promise & promise & Engage to give unto the Town of Westfield a legual title to said land & to confirm the same to the sd Town by the alienation of a Deed at any time that the Town of Westfield shall think Convenient & that according to these boundaries as folow, to say, a strait line ranging with the meeting house on the back side to the highway westerly which leads out of the Fort Meadow and from the Easterly corner of the Meeting house a strait line easterly untill the line comes up against the corner of Capt. Moseleys house southerly 22 foots from the house & also a conveniency on the backside of the Meeting house to mend or repair the same as ocation may be and furthermore, I Abner Maudsley the subscriber hereunto do hereby acknowledge that I have received of the Town of Westfield the sum of 20£ curant money which is in full compensation or satisfaction for the above tract of land. I say received by mee

Abner Mosely

Signed in presence
of us the subscribers
in the day and
year above dated
William Sacket
Josiah Phelps"

Joseph Maudsley, the third child and second son of Lieut. John Maudsley, the settler, was born in Windsor, Conn., Dec. 21, 1670. He married Abigail Root, in Westfield, the daughter of John Root the settler, Sept. 13, 1696, the ceremony having been performed by Joseph Hawley, Justice of the Peace, of Hatfield.

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Abner, the second child and oldest son, his executor, was born March 24, 1699.

Thus we have proof that the £20 which the town once voted not to pay for the land was finally expended for that purpose.

A boulder at the corner of Main and Meadow Streets, properly marked and placed by the Western Hampden Historical Society, indicates to passers-by the location of the second meeting house a few rods to the northeast, near the old Moseley homestead, which still stands in good preservation where it stood before the meeting house was erected.

The new house of worship could not have become greatly endeared to the venerable Mr. Taylor. He was eighty years old when it was first occupied, and greatly enfeebled. Indeed, it must have been a trial for him to leave the old building, associated with a half-century of his active ministry, where he had received two hundred people into membership, so slowly grew the church, two separate years having passed without the addition of a single person, and where he had baptized more than seven hundred children, not a few of whom had become grandparents during his ministry.

That the aged pastor was averse to removal to the new building is evidenced by an entry in a letter of his lifelong friend Judge Sewall, just about the time of the transfer of services:

"Nov. 22, 1722.

"In our difficult times the Inhabitants of Westfield have built them a very roomthy and beautifull Meeting house. Mr. Edward Taylor, my old classmate at the College, 5 or 6 years above Seventy, is preaching in it. He had an aversion to it because it was not built just in the same spot the former sorry house was. The new one is built upon a little Knowl, that it might be out of the way of the Overflowing of the River. I writ to Mr. Taylor to incline him to remove to his New House," and he concludes with a Latin quotation which he had used in another connection. The Judge courteously pared off a few years from the age of his cherished friend in the above reference to it.

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These were trying years for the church. Besides the strain and loss due to the Indian menace, continued with hardly an interruption since before the church was organized, nearly a half-century earlier, there were the distresses incident to the breaking health of the venerable pastor and difficulties and disappointments endured while seeking for some one to be his coadjutor, and, in time, his successor. An arrangement was finally completed with Mr. Nehimiah Bull, who had been teaching in town. His family in this country descended from Capt. Thomas Bull, born in England in 1606; he came thence in 1635 and died in 1680.

Of his seven children, the third was Deacon Thomas, born at Hartford in 1646. He married Esther Cowles, Aug. 29, 1669, the year in which Westfield was organized. They had eight children. Their first child was John, born in 1670, who married Esther Royce in 1698. Their second child was Nehimiah, born in 1700 and graduated from Yale College in 1723.

In the course of an account of his beginning work here recorded by himself in the church book, after having praised the work of Mr. Taylor and recounted the efforts to obtain first Mr. Brown, and then Mr. Stiles, as an assistant in his declining years, Mr. Bull continues:

"Then they applied to no other until the latter end of that year [1724], when I came from Long Island where I had been teaching school for a year past, & they hearing that I had come in to New England, sent to me to know whether there was any likelihood of my coming if they should send. I sent them word that I knew of nothing to the contrary, whereupon about the beginning of January 1725, there came a messenger to me, but I had been sick just before so that I could not come then but gave him a promise that I would come the week following, Deo Volente, and accordingly I came at the time or about the time appointed & came into the town (I think) the 13th day of January 1725 and preached my first sermon that I preached in the town, from 1st Cor. 8:4, and that there is none other God but one. The sabbath or Lords day following, being the 17th day of the same month & tho I was and am most unworthy to be employed in any such service, yet God has continued me here ever since, but

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by one difficulty or another that arose, I was not ordained here until the 26th day of Oct. 1726, and indeed my difficulty and the unfitness of myself to enter this work made the delay no way disagreeable to me. We had agreed upon terms in March this year, but the Ordination was deferred (as we observed before) and when the fall of the year came on it was tho't expedient by almost all that the Ordination should be attended & the church in this town being already gathered & their former Pastor living, there was nothing to do but to send for Elders to come and assist in the Ordination of myself as his Colleague.

"Hereupon Letters were sent to the two eldest Churches in Hartford, the church in Hatfield, three churches in Springfield, the Church in Suffield, & the church in Enfield, to send their Elders and Messengers of the New Church at Hartford. I think all the rest of the Elders that were sent for came over night except Mr. Devotion [of Suffield] & being gathered together it was thought by them best to do what business they could that night that they might not be hindered next day & therefore they thought convenient to examine into what opposition there was (for these just as the ordination drew on caused a great stir). Therefore they sent for the principal man who was so confident that he had a great party on his side, if there was a Town Meeting. If the Elders desired, there might be a Town Meeting the next morning which was obtained, and the town was desired, if they desired that Mr Bull should be ordained or that the ordination should go on that day to vote for it & the vote was so clear that the Revd Elders judged that the barr was wholly taken out of the way.

"Whereupon they proceeded to solemnize that affair & those that managed the work were The Revd Mr. Edward Taylor, Mr. T. Woodbridge, Mr. Wm Williams, Mr. D. Brewer & Mr. Devotion in this order, viz. Revd Mr. D. Brewer began the work with prayer, Rev. William Williams preacht, & then they proceeded to set me apart by prayer and the laying on of hands.

"Revd Mr. Taylor, Mr. T. Woodbridge & Mr. Wm Williams laid on hands, then Rev. Mr. Woodbridge made ye first prayer & gave ye charge & Rev. Wm Williams made

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last prayer. Rev. Mr. Devotion did that which served in the room of giving the Right hand of fellowship. When that was done I was directed to name a Psalm to be sung, after which I was (according to the custom in these parts) directed to bless the Congregation in the name of the Father, Son & Holy Ghost, & so this solemnity was finished."

Just what the bar to his ordination was, is not indicated clearly, but from subsequent recorded incidents, it seems possible that it may have had something to do with money matters. Mr. Bull's account of the transaction throws an interesting side-light upon the intimate relations between church and town even in so decidedly an ecclesiastical matter as the ordination of a minister. At the last moment, even when the Elders and Messengers were assembled, a town meeting was called to ascertain whether the important affair should be carried to a conclusion.

On Sept. 26, 1726, the month preceding the ordination, "It was proposed to the Town whether or no they would concur with what the church had agreed upon concerning Mr. Nehimiah Bull being ordained amongst us, & it was voated in the affirmative." That seems to indicate that the town stood in about the same relationship practically to the church as trustees do in these modern days. The church took the initiative but to become operative its action had to be ratified by the town. That practice was not invariably adhered to, since there are recorded several votes of the town about the calling and settlement of Mr. Bull.

Soon after his arrival, in February, 1725, the town voted to have him help Mr. Taylor during his continuance in the school that winter, and he was to have Friday and Saturday out of school "to prepare for the preaching." In March following it was voted to hire Mr. Bull for half a year from the time that his service in the school ended, and to pay him therefor £25.

At the meeting a year later it was voted "That they would set up a house 20 foot wide and 40 foot long with a Cheeking and to dig a Celor, to stone it & to underpin the house, to cover it outside & to build the Chimneys and to find bords & slitwork sufficient to finish the inside work of said house." A year afterward, April, 1726, a committee was appointed

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to do practically what was then decided upon, but the action at the later meeting was made contingent upon the acceptance by Mr. Bull of the terms of settlement proposed by the town.

At the March meeting, 1725, it is noted that "The Selectmen have agreed with Nathaniel Ponder to sweep the meeting house for the year ensewing & have promised him 35 shillings for said service—& John Negro, to beat ye Drum on the Sabath days & other days as ocation may serve & promised him 23 shillings for said service and the first drum is to be beat against the widow Moseley's house in good weather," which means near the meeting house which stood next to her house.

Some interesting questions are suggested by the above action. We wonder how often and how thoroughly during the year the aforesaid Nathanael actually performed the service for which he was to receive that modest stipend. If the Widow Williams, in 1716, was to have done the work for the same period and leave the older meeting house "clean swept," for 20 shillings, it may have been taken for granted that for an additional 15 shillings this male janitor ought to care efficiently for the newer and larger edifice.

We wonder too, whether John, Negro, was to restrict his service to "good weather" in order to preserve the drum from damage by storm, or because the church services were omitted when the weather was inclement. This latter alternative is hardly thinkable in connection with those sturdy Puritans, who did not shrink from spending from two to three hours even in zero weather in a meeting house where the only artificial heat was contributed by an occasional foot stove. John, Negro, seems to have approved himself to the people, and must have attended faithfully to his duty in warning the people of their obligations at the sanctuary, for a year after his appointment as ecclesiastical crier, the town voted him "liberty to finish his house & to live in it peaceably where it now standeth so long as himself & wife shall live."

But however skillful and punctual his work with the drum may have proven, the people were moved by a progressive spirit to vote at the March meeting, 1728, "to raise £50 for procuring a bell for the Church." It is to be noted in pass-

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ing that this is the first instance in the town records where the building is called a "church," having been invariably hitherto referred to as the meeting house.

The people of Northampton purchased a bell in 1687, ten years earlier than the Springfield people acted in the matter. In some places in New England, before bells were obtained, trumpets were used to call the congregation. At Hartford in 1677 a hand bell was rung along the street.

The next reference to the Westfield bell bears date of Dec. 27, 1728, when payment for it was voted in the form of 200 acres of land granted to Mr. Jacob Wendell of Boston "upon condition of his exsepting it," in full satisfaction for it. Col. Jacob Wendell was born in Albany of Dutch lineage in 1691. He became one of the most prominent and successful merchants of Boston, a director in the first banking institution established in America, a notable politician and a peer of Col. John Stoddard of Northampton, as a dealer in wild lands of the Colony. He married a daughter of Dr. James Oliver of Cambridge, and their son was the distinguished Revolutionary leader, Oliver Wendell. They were ancestors of two men, even more distinguished in other spheres a century later, Wendell Phillips and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Mr. Wendell already owned land in the southern part of the town as is shown by records of an earlier transaction in relation to the settlement of Mr. Bull. Oct. 9, 1727, a committee, consisting of Thomas Ingersole, Thomas Dewey and John Root, was appointed to sell 800 acres of land at the southwesterly corner of the town at £25 for each hundred acres to any who were willing to buy any portion of it. The committee reported sales as follows:

"To John Shepard	200 Acres.
To Qut. Mast. John Maudsley	200 Acres.
To Consider Maudsley	100 Acres.
To John Bancroft	100 Acres.
To Saml Kellogg	100 Acres.
To Stephen Kellogg	100 Acres.

"The above said 800 acres of land is bounded as followeth —West by the west corner of the township, thence 400 Rods North to a heap of stones, then running East, to Simsbury

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road to a heap of stones bounded Northerly by land of Mr. Jacob Wendell and Easterly by Simsbury Road and laid out by order of the Town.

John Root
Thomas Ingersole } Comity"

In February, 1730, it was voted "to allow Mr. Bull 100£ to enable him to carey on the work of the ministry for the year next ensuing," and a committee was appointed "to search into the difficulty arising about Mr. Bulls salary for the time past." In November of the same year it was voted "to rais 20£ and add it to the Town Rate, to be put into the Treasurers hands for the use of Mr. Bull if he see cause to accept it, if not then to convert it to other uses."

In 1734 Mr. Bull was to have £150 and it was agreed to pay it in "wheat at 9/ Ry at 6/ and Indian Corn at 4/ per bushel and pork at 6d per pound." That was a much higher rate for produce than was allowed in an agreement of Springfield with Rev. Mr. Brewer fifteen years before, when wheat was at 5s. 6d., rye at 3/, and indian corn at 2/. It hardly seems as though there could have been such a sharp advance in the price of grain in so short a time, nor does it seem as though Mr. Bull, who had a shrewd commercial instinct, would have submitted to any bald attempt to force upon him breadstuffs at more than current rates.

That the slowly advancing civilization had reached a stage where greater deference needed to be paid to the requirements of parliamentary law, is shown by action taken Jan. 3, 1732, when

"It was voated unanimously that for the year ensuing, at the Town Meeting persons are to take there seats, and to speak orderly, one at a time, and not without leave obtained from the Moderator."

Whether or not the people approved the result of the experiment is not recorded. Similar action was taken in Springfield many years previously. The above meeting was adjourned to Jan. 10, 1732, when action was taken preliminary to the distribution of the Common Lands.

"It was unanimously voted and agreed upon that the 'divitionall line' between the inner and the outer Commons

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so called is as followeth, viz. beginning at Muns Brook and running a strait line along by Nathl Ponders house over to the second Brook south of Nathaniel Lees house where Simsbury road Crosses said Brook, then beginning at Ponders Brook where Simsbury road crosses said Brook and then down the Brook too the 'Two Mile Brook' to the mouth of the 'Four Mile Brook' to the road that crosses said brook, and then a strait line to the top of the East Mountain.

"Another divitionall line between the inner & outer Commons is as followeth, viz. 2 miles in width at the North end of the Township beginning at Springfield bounds, and so running a strait line over too the West Mountain and then running down 'Sandy Mill Brook' to a little brook coming in from Samuell Bush's farm, then running up said little brook a strait course to Springfield line, so all the land contained North of this line and likewise Southerly of the other line is called the 'Outer Commons.' "

At the same meeting it was agreed to dispose of the aforesaid "Commons or undivided land for reasons mentioned."

What the reasons were is not recorded, but the proposed action was carried out during that and the following year. (See Appendix.)

To facilitate that action "it was voted to choose a Committee consisting of Capt. John Ashley, Thomas Ingersole, Consider Moseley, John Gun and Thomas Dewey," who were "to take a survey of the aforesaid Outer Commons and see how much land there is and in what form it may be best to lay it out and what highways are needfull." These new grants were to "be free for timber, wood, stone and feeding untill it be fenced."

In the distribution of the Outer Commons the largest allotment went to Capt. Ashley who received 515 acres, and John Moadsley ranked next with 384 acres. He and another Moseley were the largest recipients also, two years later, Jan. 28, 1734, in the allotment of the inner commons based on the rate of "2 acres of land to one real estate," when the portion of Capt. Ashley was 100 acres, and that of Ensign [David] Moadsley was 90 acres.

This Capt. John Ashley was the one already referred to who married for his second wife, in 1709, widow Mary Shel-

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don, daughter of Mr. Joseph Whiting and granddaughter of Col. John Pynchon. His granddaughter Jane, the daughter of his son Col. John Ashley of Sheffield, married Doctor William Bull, the oldest child of Rev. Mr. Bull.

In the division of the Outer Commons Mr. Bull received 36 acres. His portion in the subsequent distribution was 10 acres, but not in the regular allotment. His name stands first in a list of twenty-three persons indicated by the following curious record:

"Jan. 28, 1734. It was voted to divide the rest of the land in the inner commons, which is not disposed of in said scheeme, excepting what land is given to Sundary persons by way of Charraty, which are as followeth."

At that time Mr. Bull had three children, William, born Dec. 3, 1729, John Partridge, born May 7, 1731, and Justin, born Sept. 4, 1733. His marriage was published Jan. 4, 1728, somewhat over a year after his ordination. The bride was Elizabeth Partridge of Hatfield, daughter of Edward and granddaughter of Col. Samuel. Her Mother was the daughter of the prominent and influential minister of Hatfield, Rev. William Williams. She was born Oct. 14, 1708. Thus by marriage Mr. Bull became allied with two of the most powerful families of the valley, and we find him standing with them in the strenuous religious controversies which soon divided the region into hostile camps. Early in his ministry a mission to the Housatonic Indians was undertaken. Dr. Davis says of it: "Mr. Hopkins of West Springfield having learned something of their condition and of their willingness to receive religious instruction, set about the adoption of some measures to furnish them with such instruction. Mr. Hopkins being taken sick, the Rev. gentlemen, Bull of Westfield and Williams of Deerfield, were appointed by Gov. Belcher in 1734 to superintend the mission. They procured the Rev. J. Sergeant, then a tutor in Yale College. He came immediately to Westfield and was accompanied to Hoosatonic by Mr. Bull. There was at that time, 1735, only one house between here and Sheffield. Mr. Bull, after introducing Mr. Sergeant to the Indians, remained some days and baptized the first Indian convert." The church record under date of Oct. 17, 1734, reads: "Ebenezer an Indian, belonging to Ous-a-tonnuck

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embract ye Christian religion & joined himself to ye church of Christ."

The years 1734 and 1735 were marked by two significant movements, the influence of which extended far beyond the two leading towns of the valley where they had their beginning and which continued to be the chief centers of their operation. One was what became known as the Great Awakening, the primal force of which was the personal power and the potent preaching of the young minister Jonathan Edwards, the grandson and for a time the colleague of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton. The reports of it which have been preserved indicate that it was one of the most remarkable movements of the kind which have ever occurred in this country.

Jonathan Edwards, great as a preacher, and as a theologian the greatest which Congregationalism has produced, was born Oct. 5, 1703, at East Windsor, Conn., where his Father, Timothy Edwards, was pastor. The brilliant youth was graduated at Yale College in 1720, and was settled as colleague at Northampton in 1727, two years before the death of his Grandfather Stoddard. An able historian says: "In Edwards there was a rare combination of fervor of feeling, of almost oriental fertility of imagination, and intellectual acumen, which clothed all that he said with glowing force, while beneath his words flowed the stream of a most carefully elaborated theologic system; and all these more exalted and impulsive moods were emphasized by the influence of his wife, Sarah, a daughter of the Rev. James Pierpont of New Haven, a woman of remarkable intellectual force, but even more conspicuous for intense spirituality of nature."

The intensity, both of religious life and of preaching, which marked the early years of New England, was lacking in the third and fourth generations of the Colonies. Early strictness of standard relative to church membership had been quite commonly relaxed. Conversions were comparatively rare when Edwards began his pastorate, and the ratio of citizens who were not in full communion with the church to those who were had been growing increasingly large. Spiritual coldness, religious inertia and indifference were common characteristics of churches and communities.

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It was into this condition of lowered spiritual vitality that the torch of Edwards's intense zeal and emotional fervency was thrust, with the result that soon this mass of unpromising material was kindled into flame which glowed and spread until not alone the community at Northampton but towns as widely separated as Northfield above and New Haven below, including every settlement between on the river, were more or less fired with unwonted religious fervor. That its influence was felt in Westfield is evident from the recorded admissions to membership in the church during the year 1735. They amounted to the notable number of forty-five, all but two of them having been admissions to full communion. They included many leading men of the town, Eldad Taylor, Gen. Israel Ashley, A.M., and others prominent in its affairs.

In the five years succeeding the death of Mr. Taylor in 1729, the admissions had aggregated but thirty-three, two in 1730, none in 1731, fifteen in 1732, ten in 1733, and six in 1734. During succeeding years the revival interest in Northampton was more or less marked, until the arrival there of Rev. George Whitefield in October, 1740. He had been invited to visit New England by Rev. Dr. George Colman of Boston, who had sent to his English correspondents an account by Edwards, printed in 1737-8, of the awakening in 1735, entitled "Narrative of the Surprizing Work of God."

Whitefield preached four sermons in the meeting house. Edwards says respecting their effect: "The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears during a great part of sermon time."

Thence Whitefield journeyed toward New Haven, preaching in various towns, the first of which was Westfield as shown by an entry in his Journal:

"Monday, Oct. 20. Left Northampton in the evening; rode very pleasantly 18 miles to Westfield; conversed with a poor woman on a sick Bed, who gave an Account of some Discoveries she had of our Lord's redeeming Love. Met with a little Book written by Dr. Cotton Mather, entitled, 'The Ornaments of the Daughter of Zion,' which I would recommend to all, especially the *Boston* Ladies. Preached in the Morning to a pretty large Congregation, and with

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considerable Power at the latter End. Hasted to Springfield about ten miles from Westfield." (A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, p. 49, London, 1744.)

What was the specific and immediate effect of that sermon we have no means of ascertaining. The church was at that time without a pastor, Mr. Bull having died six months before; and it was not until the following summer that a pastor to succeed him was settled. But that the influence of the renewal of the revival movement was strongly felt in the community is evidenced by the admissions to the church in the years 1741 and 1742, when they equaled those of 1735, about 45 to full communion each year, large ingatherings for a town of the size of Westfield at that time.

Careful historians have estimated the number of conversions during the ten years covering the "Great Awakening," from 25,000 up to 50,000 in New England in a population of about 300,000, though Professor Walker considers even the lower estimate much too high. While the exact or even approximately correct figures cannot be determined, it is unquestionably true that the movement was one of profound significance in many portions of the Colonies, and that while some deplorable features marked its progress, the general effect of it was of immense benefit to churches and communities alike.

The second significant movement of the years 1734 and 1735, to which reference has been made, and far less widespread in its influence, was the locally celebrated Breck Controversy. It made a deep cleavage in the church at Springfield, disturbed all the ministers and churches of old Hampshire County, and was felt in Boston and Connecticut. As a minister of Hampshire Association and through his personal relation to the powerful Williams family, two ministerial members of which were intense partisans in the controversy, Mr. Bull took a prominent part in it in opposition to Mr. Breck.

The virulence of the Breck Controversy was so deep and bitter as to affect ecclesiastical relations in the valley for many years. A malignant outcropping of it will appear when we come to consider the ordination of Mr. Ballantine, who succeeded Mr. Bull in the Westfield pastorate.

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Still another great movement affected the church during the service of Mr. Bull, as the records reveal, more general and more abiding in its influence than either of the two movements already considered.

As early as May 15, 1646, the General Court of Massachusetts, in response to an appeal from some of the ministers of the Colony, issued a call for a General Synod of the New England churches. An invitation was sent to the churches of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven to meet on September 1st of that year, "there to discusse, dispute & cleare up, by the word of God, such questions of church government & discipline * * * as they shall think needfull & meete."

Among the most pressing questions, in the mind of the Court, to be considered were "those about baptisme, & ye p'sons to be recieved thereto."

Although the synod, after having formulated the famous "Cambridge Platform," finally adjourned in August, 1648, without having dealt formally with that important question of the conditions of baptism, the churches of New England were obliged to deal with it. What was known as the "Half-Way Covenant" became the subject of the first general discussion of American Congregationalism. Professor Williston Walker has furnished such a clear and succinct analysis of the essential points of the controversy as to make an extended quotation from him a favor to those who are desirous of comprehending it: "Unlike any other division of Protestantism at that day except the Anabaptists, Congregationalism maintained that only adult persons of Christian experience, in the phrase of that day, 'visible saints,' should be admitted to the covenant union which constituted the local church; but they also held that, as in the Jewish church of old, children shared in their parents' covenanting and were therefore truly members of the church to which their parents belonged. The infant membership was not the result of baptism; rather it was the covenant relation already acquired by birth in a christian household that gave right to this sacrament. But the fathers of New England at their coming held that it extended only to the immediate offspring of professed christians, and hence restricted baptism to children one of

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whose parents at least was a declared believer, in fellowship with some church. This restriction was comparatively easy at first, in spite of the twofold mode of entrance into church membership—by profession and by birth—because the leaders of the emigration were men of tried religious experience, generally able to give a reason for their faith. The line of distinction was sharp between the consciously regenerate and that considerable class even among the first settlers who made no claim to a regenerative change. But with the growth of the children of these first-comers the question was made much more difficult. These members of the second generation naturally showed some decline from the ardent type of piety which marked many of the founders. They were prevailingly of moral life, anxious for the religious training of their children, and desirous of throwing about them the safeguards of church-watch and discipline; but in many instances they could point to no conscious work of divine grace in their own personal experience." (The American Church History Series, Vol. III, pp. 170-1.)

The problem, therefore, was what to do with that large and important class of persons. As not professedly regenerate they could not, according to the commonly accepted conception of the church, be admitted to all its privileges including participation in the Lord's Supper. But to deny some practical participation in church affairs to those who were by birth members of it, was both illogical and unjust, involving, as well, a loss of strength and influence to the church which it could ill afford.

In an attempt to solve this problem a custom was somewhat commonly adopted whereby the children who had received baptism on the ground of the regeneration of their parents were allowed, on certain conditions, to have their own children baptized. The condition enforced was that they should be familiar with the most important elements of christian doctrine, should promise to walk in fellowship with the church and hold themselves amenable to its discipline. Their formal declaration to that effect was called "owning the covenant," that is, they accepted for themselves the vows made in their behalf by their parents when they were baptized in infancy. They were thenceforward recognized as

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members of the church, but not in "full communion," and were restricted in two important respects, being deprived of the privilege of voting and not being admitted to the Lord's table.

Thus the church was composed of two classes, those who claimed regeneration, and those who made no such claim. It was from this latter class that opponents of the plan nicknamed it the "Half-Way Covenant."

Though the debate upon this question was long and acrimonious, as the discussion of theological matters is apt to be, and though the plan was not universally adopted, still the Half-Way Covenant was adopted by a great majority of the New England churches, and was practiced until early in the nineteenth century.

What was known as Stoddardeanism, named from its aggressive advocate, Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, whose pastorate almost exactly corresponded in time with that of the Rev. Edward Taylor, his Westfield neighbor, that modification of the Half-Way Covenant was widely adopted during the eighteenth century. Mr. Stoddard maintained that the Lord's Supper was designed for "all adult members of the Church who are not scandalous," and was to be "applyed to visible Saints, though Unconverted, therefore it is for their Saving good, and consequently for their Conversion." He defined "visible Saints" as "such as make a serious profession of the true Religion, together with those that do descend from them, till rejected of God."

The first reference on the records of the Westfield church to this widespread controversy was made by Mr. Bull before the death of Mr. Taylor. Allied with the conservative wing of the ministerial association though he was, yet Mr. Bull presented to the church the following questions for its consideration and action:

"1. Whether such persons as come into full communion may not be left at their liberty as to the giving the chh. an account of the work of saving conversion i. e. whether Relations shall not be looked upon as a matter of indifferency, and the chh. desired some time of consideration so the matter was deffered till the next Lord's Day, when it was voted in the affirmative.

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"2. Whether a confession of faith drawn up in shorter and more general terms should be used instead of the Assembly's Catechism.

"3. Whether all Baptized Persons who were come to years of understanding and were capable of discipline belonging to this congregation should be lookt upon subjects of discipline, and voted in the affirmative.

"4. Whether 5 men should not be chosen by the chh. to meet and consult with me about the issuing cases of difficulty upon immergent occasions, this voted in the affirmative & the Persons chosen for the present were Deacon Thomas Noble, John Shepard Sr: Serj. Consider Moydsley; Philip Loomis Senior; & Thomas Dewey."

Thus in 1728 four important changes from time-honored custom were decided upon. The last plan adopted was the initial movement toward what has been developed into the church committee, an essential element of representative government though possessing only moral and advisory authority, the ultimate tribunal in all matters being always the church as a purely democratic body.

"The Confession of faith then accepted by this Chh. was as follows viz.

"I believe (we) yt there is one only living & True God Infinite Eternal & Unchangeable in his being, wisdom, Power, Holiness, Justice, Goodness & Truth, Distinguished into & subsisting in 3 Persons, who are ye same in substance essence & attributes Equal in Authority, Glory & Majesty but distinguished by their Relative personal propertys, ye father being ye first in order begetting ye Son, ye Son ye 2d begotten of ye father, ye Holy Ghost ye 3d proceeding from ye father & ye Son. I (we) believe yt this God is ye Almighty Creator ye wise & Good upholder, ye Just Sovereign Governour & disposer of all his creatures & all their actions. I (we) believe yt man created in his image in a state of integrity was placed under a covenant of life upon condition of perfect obedience but by his disobedience lost both his uprightness & title to life & is by nature in a state of weakness enmity, pollution, Guilt, unrighteousness & wrath. I (we) believe yt when ye fullness of time was come God sent forth his only begotten

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Son to take upon him ye nature of man yt so subsisting in 2 distinct natures (divine & human in one Person) he might be a fit Mediator between God & man suitably qualified to Redeem man by price & power & effectively Reconcile him to God, for which end God appointed (gave permission to) his Son, to be a Prophet, Priest & King of his church, who did in ye days of his flesh execute these offices by obeying ye Law, Revealing ye Gospell & suffering death, & when he had continued under ye power of death for a time he arose from ye dead, ascended into heaven & sat down on ye Right hand of God where he now continues to execute ye several offices of a Mediator, Pleading his own merits on ye behalf of ye elect, interceding for 'em, sending ye Holy Spt to inlighten, convince, effectually call & sanctify those that are given to him, who being innabled to believe in his name to ye justification of their persons shall be openly acquitted, pronounced blessed & invited by ye Supreme judge to take possession of ye Kingdom of glory prepared for 'em, at that day when God shall raise ye dead both just & unjust & shall judge ye herets of men by J: Christ who also will condemn all that obey not ye gospel to everlasting punishmt according to ye scriptures of truth wch I believe to be ye word of God & ye only Rule of faith & manners."

There are indications in the town records that the relations between Mr. Bull and his people were less peculiarly happy than those which, from its organization until the present day, with that exception, have been a distinguishing feature of the church's life. Mr. Bull's disposition seems to have lacked equanimity. There was bickering for years over his salary. He seems to have had difficulty in meeting his obligations, an experience which not a few modern ministers have known.

It was voted, Nov. 18, 1735, "To choose a Committee to discourse with Mr. Bull concerning his being uneasy with what the Town does for him."

In February following it was voted to "raise 125£ to help the Rev. Mr. Bull to pay his debts & every person shall have liberty to pay the one half of his part in the same species & at the same prices as was set for his last rate, and upon condition that Mr. Bull gives acquittance under his hand whereby

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the Town shall be discharged of all arrearages and defections of all grants & sallaries for the time past down to May the first day which will be in the year 1736." At the March meeting, 1738, it was voted that he have £200 as salary.

Relations evidently became increasingly strained, for in April reference is made to a suit at law, and in August it was implied that he was to leave town, but finally the difficulty was amicably settled before his death, April 14, 1740.

In Memorial Hall, Deerfield, there is preserved an account book of Mr. Bull's, with entries running from 1721 to 1738. It was bound by himself in hogskin parchment and tied with thongs of the same material.

It is an interesting fact that in the inventory of his estate there are three items relative to negro slaves which he owned: Tamer, £90; Philis, £65; Dido, £40.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Father Rale's War

From the time when Frontenac instituted his general campaign against the Colonies, until the fall of Quebec, Indian depredations were more or less closely related to European strategy. Small bands of savages continued to roam over the vast territory of the middle ground practically comprising the present states of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, except a fringe of seacoast along the border of the last named state, where were a few feeble and scattered hamlets. In Hampshire County, early in Queen Anne's War, the redoubtable commander-in-chief of its forces, in fact if not in name, during later years, the most influential of its citizens for a generation, Col. John Pynchon, died Jan. 17, 1703. It would be difficult to conceive of a man who, for versatility, capacity, devotion and general personal power, could have been more effective in several spheres than this noble son of the founder and father of the Connecticut Valley settlements in the Bay Province.

Such was the beneficent relation of John Pynchon to the affairs of the county, civil, commercial, military and ecclesiastical, that no history of a town of the county which came into corporate existence before his death, could be complete without giving him a large share of credit for the promotion of its welfare. His was the dominant life of the valley during his span of the colonial period. He was its most efficient and influential personal factor, the most highly honored, the most widely known, of its citizens.

Green's sketch of him is worthy of quotation: "The figure of John Pynchon stands out in the latter part of the eighteenth century like a fair monument in a rude land. While the hardest worked man in western Massachusetts, not a word reflecting upon his honor has come down to us. He had a placid disposition, a dignified bearing, and yet was as tender-hearted as a woman. He was a town organizer, a maker and administrator and interpreter of laws, and a student of trade

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and commerce. When John Pynchon visited Boston he took his place among the assistants in the General Court; when he entered the County Court room, either at Springfield or Northampton, his seat was at the head of the bench of Judges; the town magistrate's chair was his chair; and at the town-meeting he was always moderator, and at training day he was captain of the company." (History of Springfield, pp. 198-9.)

Holland pays him high but merited tribute: "All the trusts reposed in him, and all the offices conferred upon him, he discharged with remarkable ability, entire faithfulness, and with wide acceptation. He was loved, honored and revered in all the complicated relations of a long, laborious and useful life, and when he was gathered home, like a shock fully ripe, he was missed not by Springfield alone, nor alone by Hampshire County, but by New England, in all parts of which his name was familiar." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 163.)

In so far as he had a successor in leadership in affairs civil and military, Col. Partridge of Northampton may be considered such, though a man of far less prominence and influence.

From 1722 to 1726, though the Province was disturbed, but few Indian depredations were committed in Hampshire. A few men lost their lives, but the towns were generally prepared for defense and alert to detect signs of an approaching enemy.

"At a Leguall Town Meeting, July 30, 1724, Deacon Thomas Noble was chosen Moderator. It was voated to go on a scout into the woods to make discovery of the enemy & for our own safety to have every souldier go once apeace throughout the Town & exsept the Country doth alow for it then such as shall go shall have credit 3 shillings a day & such as neglect their turn, either by themselves or sum other man for him there to have aded to his Town Rate 3 shillings.

"At the same meeting it was voated that there shall be a grand scout up our River 3 or 4 days & to have 4 shillings per day to be paid by the Town, ye scout consisting of about 12 or 13 or 14 men a day."

Such was the common practice in the valley towns for

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many years when there was any threat of trouble. It had in view a double benefit, that suggested in the vote above, to habituate the citizen soldiery to the open country and the woods beyond the confines of the town, and, as well, to show any prowling bands of redskins that the town was not oblivious of danger.

Less than a month after that action was taken, the need of it was proven, for the enemy actually appeared in the very settlement.

A startling message was sent by Col. Partridge:

"Springfield, Aug. 27, 1724.

"To Lieut. Root at Westfield.

"Sir: I hope you are apprized of the mischief done at Northampton upon the road yesterday, near unto Joseph Bartlett's house, about 4 score rods from said house towards Northampton which alarms us to be careful in going out, & I advise & order that you be very careful in your going out not to go near or further off from town with less in number than 12 or 15 men to guard, and before any work is done to scout the woods round about the place where the work is done before they go to work and the guards to be very watchful all the time they are out.

"Also give notice of this mischief to the carters & guards coming from Hartford, that they see themselves well guarded with an addition of 6 men at least in addition to the guard or scout men they now have, & do you supply the carters of your young men accordingly to prevent any further mischief as may be.

"Your humble servant

"Sam Partridge, Col."

John Root certified that he sent an addition of 6 men to Hatfield with the carters, viz., David Allen, Saml Bush, Jonah Pixley, Moses Ashley, Wm. Conners (or Comes), Samuel Dewey, all of Westfield.

Sylvester speaks of a party of Indians coming to Northampton and killing Nathanael Edwards.

"The next day, the same party of savages came into Westfield. The Westfield settlers were many of them at work in their fields, and as they were leaving them with their loaded

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carts they were attacked by the savages. One of them, who had been wounded, came near falling into the hands of the savages, but some of the settlers, having their guns along, met their assailants boldly. Penhollow notes a singular circumstance; for it is from him the story is borrowed. Every gun but one missed fire, that of Noah Ashley. He made a good shot which operated to put the savages to their heels. The settlers rallied, and pursuing them came upon the savage shot by Ashley. Scalping him, they sent the trophy to Boston, for which they received one hundred pounds,'which proved to be a very excellent day's sport.' " (Indian Wars of New England, Vol. III, pp. 241-2.)

This incident suggests the low stage of warfare to which the English had descended, imitating their savage foes. It seems incredible that the General Court of Massachusetts could have so degraded itself as to offer a standing bounty for these ghastly trophies of barbarity, yet in July of this year Lieut. Gov. Dummer wrote to Capt. Kellogg at Northfield, "I shall be glad to see a scalp or two brought down by some of your scouts." And scalping parties were organized to hunt for such spoils of war. A few years later the bounty for a scalp was raised to £300. This was surely fighting the devil with his own weapons, and in a way to stultify the christian characters of all concerned, officials at the capitol, officers, privates and all citizens who approved of the diabolical practice.

How far the people and their magistrates were from a conscious recognition of guilt for atrocious methods of warfare, though driven to desperation by their brutal enemies, is manifest from an incident which occurred early in this war.

Governor Shute, weary of his wrangle with the representatives and the resulting confusion of authority, took ship for London, Jan. 1, 1723, without revealing his purpose to anybody but two or three servants. He went to lay his case before the King.

This left the burden of his vexatious office to Lieut. Gov. Dummer. At his first meeting with the Council, Judge Sewall as the senior member of the Board, inflated with the dignity and responsibility of his position, with no sense of

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humor, and well on in years, offered an exhortation to the new chief magistrate "in a voice of quavering solemnity."

"If your Honour and this Honourable Board please to give me leave, I would speak a Word or two upon this solemn Occasion. Altho the unerring Providence of God has brought you to the Chair of Government in a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet you have for your Encouragement, that the people you Have to do with are a part of the Israel of God, and you may expect to have of the Prudence and Patience of Moses communicated to you for your Conduct. It is evident that our Almighty Saviour counselled the first planters to remove hither and Settle here, and they dutifully followed his Advice, and therefore He will never leave nor forsake them nor Theirs; so that your Honour must needs be happy in sincerely seeking their Interest and Welfare, which your Birth and Education will incline *Difficilia quae pulchra.* I promise myself that they who sit at this Board will yield their Faithful Advice to your Honour according to the Duty of their Place."

The old man, complacent over the proper and dignified performance of an important duty, went home and recorded in his precious Diary that the lieutenant governor and the councilors rose and remained standing during the delivery of this address "and they expressed a handsom Acceptance of what I had said: *Laus deo.*" (Sewall Papers, Vol. III, pp. 317-8.)

In fact, while smarting under the assumption that the King could do no wrong, they themselves assumed the same immunity from guilt, even when lowering their standards of warfare to conform to those of the native barbarians. Their crime in this respect can be neither denied nor condoned.

In the summer of 1724, the year following the elevation of Dummer, the horrible affair at Norridgewock was enacted, when the Indians gathered by the Jesuit missionary and wily Chieftain Rale, were overwhelmed by a party under Capt. Harmon. The controversy which followed between Vaudreuil and Dummer was bitter, the former charging the death of Rale to wanton murder, while the latter contended that he was slain in battle with arms in his hand and after he had already killed an Englishman.

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Vaudreuil wrote to Dummer, Oct. 29, 1724: "You will have to answer to your king for his murder. It would have been strange if I had abandoned our Indians to please you. I cannot help taking the part of our allies. You have brought your troubles on yourself. I advise you to pull down all the forts you have built on the Abenaki lands since the Peace of Utrecht. If you do so, I will be your mediator with the Norridgewocks. As to the murder of Rale, I leave that to be settled between the two Crowns."

To this Dummer replied: "Instead of preaching peace, love and friendship, agreeably to the Christian religion, Rale was an incendiary, as appears by many letters I have by me. He has once and again appeared at the head of a great many Indians, threatening and insulting us. If such a disturber of the peace has been killed in the heat of action, nobody is to blame but himself. I have much more cause to complain that Mr. Willard, minister of Rutland, who is innocent of all that is charged against Rale, and always confined himself to preaching the gospel, was slain and scalped by your Indians and his scalp was carried to Quebec."

Gray Lock, a celebrated Waranoak sachem, led the raid which resulted in the killing of the Rev. Joseph Willard at Rutland, to whom reference is made in the letter of Lieut. Gov. Dummer. This Indian chief was known to the people of Westfield in earlier days. During Philip's War he lay in wait for captives during several months. He seemed at that period to have less thirst for blood or plunder than for captives. He boasted that having watched a family named Noble for a long time he had many chances to kill several of the children, even at a single shot, but that he wanted neither their blood nor their scalps.

He was called Gray Lock from some peculiarity in the color of his hair, and in later years became a well known figure and dreaded leader of the Hampshire border. He is said "to have been capable of inspiring regard by his friendly offices and shrewdness in time of peace, as well as awakening dread by his craft and cruelty in time of war."

But even when he was carrying carnage to other settlements and inspiring widespread terror, there is no record of his ever having occasioned death or serious depredation

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in Westfield. It may be that his old neighbors there had dealt so fairly by him, and been so friendly to him and his tribe, that he cherished for them kindly and generous feelings, proven by his refraining from any overt act against their persons or property. For whatever his purpose in watching the Noble family and another family named Bently, he did not actually take one of them captive.

After Philip's War, Gray Lock removed to the Mohawk country. During Queen Anne's War he was living near Montreal under the guise of a French Indian, and began his depredations as a leader of small parties against the Hampshire towns. His acquaintance with the territory in this region must have been extensive and accurate, gained through the years of his youth and early manhood.

On the breaking out of this later war he made his headquarters on the shore of Missisquoi Bay at the northerly end of Lake Champlain, where he had built a fort and collected a considerable company of Indians who recognized his authority. They cultivated, with the help of their squaws, fertile meadows, raising large crops of corn. He was accustomed to sally forth from there with bands of warriors varying in size from time to time, and having found a good camping place within striking distance of some settlement, they would settle down to watch for an opportunity to do mischief, for this purpose maintaining diligent spies and scouts alert upon scalps or captives to be borne back to Canada. Col. Partridge, then at the head of military forces in Hampshire, wrote: "This enemy can and sometimes do lie in wait for two months about a town, before they kill or take, as some have acknowledged."

Such a public menace had he made himself by these methods that early in 1723 the acting Governor, with the military authorities of Hampshire, made earnest efforts through the mediation of Col. Schuyler and others at Albany, to conciliate this formidable chief. They sent belts and various presents to him but in some way the wily savage eluded the messengers. When they called he was never at home.

It was midsummer of 1723 before Hampshire realized most keenly how much the failure to placate Gray Lock meant. Aug. 18 two leading citizens of newly settled Northfield, Thomas

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Houlton and Theophilus Merriman, were waylaid and killed by Gray Lock and a party of four warriors. Taking their scalps, the savages pressed eastward and the next day appeared at Rutland. On that morning Deacon Joseph Stevens went to his meadow, a half-mile from the meeting house, and was joined later by his four sons. The Indians attacked them, killing, at the first fire, two of the boys, Samuel and Joseph. The other two, Phinehas and Isaac, were captured. The father, helpless before such odds, managed to escape to his house. Three of the savages were left to guard the two boys, and the other two of the band left them to waylay two men in a field, who eluded them by taking another way home. Starting back to join the guard, the two Indians met the Rev. Joseph Willard, minister of the town, returning from hunting. They fired at him but missed him. He wounded one of them and tackled the other with decided advantage, but the other three savages coming up with the boys, he was worsted in a plucky and unequal struggle and killed before the eyes of the two lads. The Indians then started with their captives for Canada.

Phinehas became a celebrated warrior in Cape Breton, and in April, 1747, bravely defended the fort at Charlestown, N. H., when attacked by 400 French and Indians under Mons. Debeline.

It is interesting to note that two years later, in 1749, this same Phinehas Stevens, as a Commissioner sent by the Governor to Canada to secure the release of captives, was able to purchase for an Indian pony, valued at £103, the freedom of John Stark, the hero of Bennington during the Revolutionary struggle.

When news of this raid of Gray Lock reached Boston, Gov. Dummer issued orders to Col. Partridge to impress eighteen able-bodied men to act as scouts at various exposed towns. There were then two companies of cavalry in the County, one commanded by Capt. Adijah Dewey of Westfield, the other under Capt. Henry Dwight of Hatfield. An order was sent to Capt. Dewey, Aug. 30, to "rally up his troopers and march to the upper towns, scouting, and repairing to the places of most danger, for the space of 14 days; then Capt. Dwight, with his company was to take his place for the same

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term of time: and so they were to alternate for a campaign of 8 weeks."

To this was added the encouraging assurance: "You are to provide for yourselves arms, ammunition, and provisions, all which are to be paid for by the public."

This postscript has additional significance as a revelation of the fact so familiar to the heroic citizen soldiery of that day, and which it is well for us to realize in order to help us understand the harassing limitations under which they labored, the fact that there was no organized department of military equipment or commissary stores upon which either the authorities or the men in the field could depend. Everything was at haphazard, with no order, no system, and the wonder is that in such conditions so much was actually accomplished in resisting the subtle and tireless enemy.

In the instructions of Col. Partridge to Capt. Dewey indicated above, there was another significant injunction which followed his signature: "If there be Need at Wesfd you must take care at home yet must not Neglect this order."

Thus was each soldier, officer and private, in a strait betwixt two, with a twofold responsibility, for his settlement and his hearthstone on the one hand, and for the Province on the other. Still, however, in the final analysis the two were one, for the safety of the home was wrapt up in the common welfare, though for each individual there was a tearing of heart between the two.

Early in October Col. Partridge wrote Capt. Dewey at Westfield of the arrival from Albany of Daniel Ashley, reporting great anxiety there lest the Indians were preparing for an attack.

This was soon followed by the following dispatch: "Sr These Give you orders forthwith to Move with yor troop up to Deerfd & when there to divide yor troop & send one half of them with one of yor officers to Northfield to improve yr tyme in Scouting & Guarding the people to get in the Remainder of their Harvest as also with some of the people to go out scout Northard & Westard in the woods to make discovery of any approaching Enemy & upon any Discovery of a body of the Enemy forthwith to Alarm the people & by a post inform me I pray God guard prserve & be yor Safety.

"I am yor Humble Servt

"Hatfield, Oct. 10, 1723." Samll Partridge Colll

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In a letter of the month following Col. Schuyler writes from Albany to Col. Partridge telling him of the return of two messengers who were sent with a belt of wampum to the Cognawago Indians, and the report that they were assured by these Indians that they did not want to fight the English but that some of their young men were drawn into making an incursion by French bribes of guns and ammunition; that they had returned and would never repeat the enterprise. He also says, "The Gray Lock has killed ye Minister & ye four brothers of which two are alive & two scalpt the youngest is given to the Cognawagos." It was by that gift of the younger of the Stevens boys to the Cognawagos that Gray Lock co-operated with Gov. Vaudreuil in securing some of them to join some of his own clan in making a fresh incursion which Capt. Dewey was called out to repel.

In November the Governor ordered Lieut. Kellogg to raise a company to be partly stationed at Northfield and partly utilized for scouting, and sent him a captain's commission. The muster roll of this company which served from Nov. 20, 1723, to May 30, 1724, contains the names of four Westfield men, David King, John Beamon, Jacob Wheeler and David Sackett.

To afford Northfield, the frontier outpost at that time, better protection than that furnished by a garrison and by scouting parties however alert and efficient, some more adequate form of defense was necessary. It was too far removed from the other river towns to depend upon quick communication with them in case of attack. Accordingly the General Court voted, Dec. 27, 1723, to erect a defensive fortification above it on the river. The action was as follows:

"That it will be of great Service to all the Western Frontiers, both in this and the Neighboring Government of Conn. to Build a Block House above Northfield, in the most convenient Place on the Lands called the Equivalent Lands, & to post in it forty Able Men, English & Western Indians to be employed in Scouting at a Good distance up Conn. river, West River, Otter Creek, and sometimes Eastwardly above Great Manadnuck, for the Discovery of the Enemy coming towards anny of the frontier towns: and that so much of the said Equivalent Land as shall bee necessary for a Block House,

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bee taken up with the consent of the owners of said Land; Together with five or six acres of their Interval Land, to be broke up, or plowed for the present use of Western Indians (In case any of them shall think fit to bring their families), and that His Honour, the Lieut. Gov'r. bee desired to Give his Orders Accordingly.

"In Council, Read & Concurred.
Consented to, Wm. Dummer."

It was a hard task for winter days, the men engaged upon it having to lie in the woods and work early and late. It was built in February, about 180 feet square, of yellow pine logs locked together at the angles. Houses were built against the wall on the inside and the open central space was used as a parade ground. Difficult as the task was, the whole expense incurred was only £256. It stood on the west bank of the Connecticut River near the site of the present town of Brattleboro, Vt., and was the first structure erected by the English within what are now the bounds of that state. Sheldon says, "I find no formal naming of this post. In the official records and correspondence it is uniformly called the 'Block House above Northfield' or simply the 'Block House.' The name of *Fort Dummer* is first noticed in a petition to the General Court from Capt. Timothy Dwight, of Dec. 2, 1724, and this name gradually came to be adopted."

On the muster roll of Capt. Dwight's company posted there from Feb. 1 to May 31, 1724, there appears the name of one man from Westfield, John Bement. It probably stands for the same person as John Beaman who was on the roll of Capt. Kellogg's company at Northfield, and he probably served for a period in each of the two commands. In the spring of that year, 1724, Capt. Dwight reorganized his company, and among the additions to it was Isaac Sackett of Westfield.

In the latter part of May Gov. Dummer proposed to Capt. Dwight to raise a party of rangers, to which consent was given by the sturdy officer, with the suggestion, "It seems to me the most probable place to be attained, and the most serviceable when done, is Meseesquick, Gray Lock's fort."

The expedition started July 27, and after terrible hard-

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ship returned Aug. 29, having reached Lake Champlain and the region of the fort, but without having attacked it because their provisions failed. The death of Governor Vaudreuil, Oct. 25, 1724, and the weariness of the Indians with the struggle, opened the way for a treaty of peace signed with the eastern Indians at Boston, Dec. 15, 1725, which, however, did not bind the western Indians. Gray Lock held aloof from it, and in the year following he gathered a band about Otter Creek to make an incursion on our border, but they did not carry out the plan. In the autumn of that year, 1726, an earnest effort was made through the commissioners at Albany to conciliate him. They sent him a message early in January, 1727, by his brother Malalamet, urging him to come to Albany, but the message, like the presents sent in earlier years, missed him.

Dr. Emerson Davis, in his all too brief history of Westfield, relates the following incidents: "There was an old Indian whom they called Grey Lock that produced considerable commotion among the people. He was constantly skulking about, waylaying them for the purpose of taking captives. He caught a young lad by the name of Loomis who went out of the fort in the early part of the evening to get cherries. He was soon released. Mr. Bentley in the east part of the town worked at ditching all one summer. He uniformly set his loaded gun one rod before him, and when he had cut his ditch up to the gun, would move it forward again, but the next year he was taken. Grey Lock said he had watched for an opportunity to take him all the previous year but could not: he might have killed him but he wanted captives. Mr. Bentley was afterward released.

"Mr. Noble who lived near where Ambrose Day now lives [on the present location of the State Sanatorium] was much exposed. One night during family prayers Grey Lock stepped up and pulled the string and let the door swing open, some of the family shut the door and as soon as all was quiet he would pull the string again. Mr. Noble was persuaded by his friends to move into Town.

"Mr. Phelps, who lived in Shepard Lane, returning from work at Pochassuck came to the fording place of Great River, and saw three Indians in the River. He considered his situa-

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tion perilous. They were coming towards him. He clapped his hands and exclaimed, 'here they are my brave boys, rush on, we have them!' at which the Indians took alarm and escaped."

In a letter from Joseph Kellogg, an Indian interpreter, giving news from Canada to Gov. Shirley, Dec. 3, 1744, among other items this appears: "Some of the young Scatacooks have gone to Canada to live with Greylock at his fort at Massoeekoyneag where they have a French priest."

The Scatacooks were a small tribe of Hudson River Indians living about 15 miles above Albany on the east side of the stream.

The signing of the Boston peace treaty left Hampshire at rest from Indian incursions for eighteen years.

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CHAPTER XVII.

King George's War

During what is known as King George's War, or the Old French War, of four years, 1744 to 1748, the Hampshire frontier was farther from Westfield than during the earlier wars. Hampshire included somewhat more than the area of the present four western counties, Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire. At the time of the ratification of the treaty of peace with the eastern Indians in 1726, it contained twelve towns, Springfield, Northampton, Hatfield, Hadley, Deerfield, Northfield, Brookfield, Suffield, Enfield, Brimfield, Sunderland and Westfield. Thus it extended into Connecticut on the south, into Worcester County on the east, and over the New Hampshire line on the north.

During the eighteen years of respite from Indian depredations, the upper towns of the valley were enlarged and strengthened and settlers pushed farther up the river. The building of the Block House in 1724, known as Fort Dummer, carried the technical frontier a score of miles farther north, but later other townships were laid out in a series, one to four, running still farther up the river, No. 4 being where Charlestown, N. H., now is. Still, however, when war was again declared, Westfield was a frontier town and had to pass through familiar experiences of exposure and menace. Each fortification in any border town, as well as each garrison and each scouting party, helped to protect the whole border, because it made the common foe more wary, and rendered depredations more difficult and hazardous, though all the defenses combined did not insure any town on the whole border from either sneaking depredation or carefully planned assault. Danger of the latter had, indeed, become almost negligible since the earlier wars, the Indians having no relish for attacking fortifications which had to be carried by direct charges, even when supported by trained soldiery of the French.

A natural result of the unfortunate boundary dispute between Massachusetts and New Hampshire was the loading

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upon the already overburdened shoulders of the original and stronger Colony of an unequal share of responsibility for the support and protection of the new up-river hamlets.

From the first settlement of New Hampshire in 1623 to its formal separation for independent existence in 1741, it had been under the administration of the Massachusetts Court. By the original charter of Massachusetts its northern boundary was made an east and west line, "three miles north of the Merrimac River." Massachusetts claimed that any point of that river might be made the basis of such a line, which would have carried the boundary a third of the way up the state of New Hampshire as constituted at present, since the river became known by the name Merrimac at the junction of its two main branches at Franklin. It would probably have been possible to compromise on a point three miles north of the mouth of the river, which would have run the line so as to bring Fort Dummer, just below Brattleboro, within the Bay State territory. The matter, however, having been carried to the Privy Council in England, its decision, from which there was no appeal, determined the line to start from the southernmost bend of the stream, just above Lowell, and Surveyor Richard Hazen ran the new line accordingly. This deprived Massachusetts of a strip of territory of fourteen miles wide and fifty miles long which would have belonged to the elder Colony had the line run, instead, from Franklin.

Fort Dummer, as well as the four townships above, became the property of New Hampshire, though that Colony was too feeble to defend the newly acquired settlements and forts. Soon after the breaking out of King George's War, Governor Shirley appointed a committee of three to construct a line of forts "from Colrain to the Dutch settlements." John Stoddard of Northampton, Colonel of the Hampshire militia, was chairman of that committee, and the other two members were Oliver Partridge of Hatfield and John Leonard.

The first formal action of the committee of which we have a record is indicated by a letter from Col. Stoddard to Capt. William Williams, which is preserved among the valuable Williams manuscripts in the Pittsfield Atheneum. At the top of the sheet is the following note: "The fort 60 feet Square Houses 11 feet wide Mounts 12 feet Square 7 feet high 12

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feet High the fort roof of ye Houses to be shingled the Soldiers Employed to be allowed the Carpenter nine shillings others six shillings a day Old Tenor."

The letter appended records the initial act in execution of a formally adopted strategic policy of defense of the old Hanpshire frontier:

"Sir you are hereby Directed as soon as may be to Erect a fort of the Dimensions above mentioned and you are to employ ye soldiers under your command, viz. such of them as are effective men and to allow them by ye day in manner as above expressed and in case your soldiers chuse rather to undertake to build sd fort for a sum in Gross or by ye Great you may promise them Two Hundred pounds Old Tenor Exclusive of the Nails that may be necessary the fort is to be erected about five miles and a half from Hugh Morrison's house in Colrain in or near the line run last week under the direction of Colo Timo Dwight by our order and you are hereby further directed as you may have Opportunity to Search out some Convenient places where two or three more forts may be Erected Each to be about five miles and a Half Distance upon the line run Last week as above mentioned or the pricked line on the plate made by Colo Dwight you will have with you.

"and further you are to order a sufficient guard of men under your Command to guard such persons as may be Employed in erecting sd fort and further you have liberty to Exchange of the men under your command for those that are undr the Command of Capt. Elijah in case there be any such that will be proper to be Employed in building sd fort you will take care that the men be faithful in their business, they must be watchful and prudent for their own safety.

"there must be good account kept of the various Services in case men work by the day.

John Stoddard.

"To Capt. William Williams,

Northampton, July 20, 1744."

The following certificate was added:

"We the Subscribers being appointed by his Excellency to build a Line of forts from Colrain to the Dutch Settlements &c. Do approve of the building of a fort in ye place above

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mentioned and also of the manner of building the same and the pay to be allowed therefor.

John Stoddard,
Ol. Partridge,
John Leonard,
} Committee"

Col. Timothy Dwight of Northampton, who surveyed that line for the chain of forts, was the officer who, in 1724, when a Lieutenant, built Fort Dummer. President Dwight of Yale College was his son.

Capt. Williams promptly executed the above order, and the blockhouse when completed in what is now the town of Heath, was called Fort Shirley, named in honor of the Governor.

Capt. Williams spent the winter there and it seems probable that early in the spring of 1745 he built Fort Pelham, which was rather a strong stockade than a fort of the blockhouse pattern. It was located in what is now the town of Rowe and was never very important except as a link in the chain which formed the strategic defense of the northwestern border of Hampshire.

It may have been while Capt. Williams was engaged in its construction that he received the first call for volunteers on that romantic expedition which, in a way that seems little short of the miraculous, resulted in the capture, by a band of raw provincial troops, of Louisburg, "the Gibraltar of America."

The following letter, preserved, like the one previously quoted, in the Pittsfield Atheneum, aroused Capt. Williams from the petty details of garrison duty, supervision of parties scouting on snowshoes, and plans for the erection of a stockade, to a scheme of stupendous import, though its details are not mentioned in this dispatch, not even the point to be attacked. The fact that it was Louisburg had been guarded most scrupulously when at first suggested by Shirley to the Council, but it soon became an open secret which was speedily whispered from mouth to mouth throughout the Colonies.

"Northampton, Feb. 25, 1745.

"We are raising two or three companys of Volunteers for the Expedition, Capt. Pumroy is beating up for men in

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the upper part of the county, I was provoked (when we mustered) to see how few appeared after so much pretension to List but since that time some others have appeared and am ready to think there will be 18 or 20 in this town. What appearance there will be in other places I cant yet tell.

"I imagine that some of your men will readily List, and if they will go they shall be entitled to everything as other men are, and restored to their places in the Garrison at their return if they desire it.

"It would be best immediately to know their minds, and let me have a List of them. I hope there will appear 15 or 16 of them, which we may make use of only in case there do not a sufficient number appear elsewhere, and I will take effectual care to supply their places.

"the thing is of weight and you must be thorough in it.

"I am your sevant John Stoddard

"Capt. Williams

"Since I wrote the above, I recd a letter from the Govnr, who depends on my getting some companies you must not fail on your part. J. S."

Acting upon this order, the emergency of which is made so evident, Williams raised a company, how large we know not, but probably about as many as Col. Stoddard suggested, and marched with them to Boston.

It must have been a sore disappointment to him to be separated from the enthusiastic Volunteers who were eager to have a part in this momentous undertaking which did not seem in their eyes the foolhardy enterprise that it actually was, in spite of its absurdly successful issue. His services on the frontier having seemed to the authorities to be indispensable, he was sent back to the important though rude line of forts, albeit later requisitioned for the more prominent field in a way which he explains in a letter from Louisburg under date of Oct. 3, 1745:

"Upon the war with France our Govr and General Assembly thinking it would be prudent to send a Number of Soldiers into our Western Frontiers gave me a Majrs commission (first a capts. then while the work was in progress a major's) to command the several Companies sent thither; When the

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Governour saw twas requisite to send supplies to Gen. Pepperell while in the siege, an Express was sent me 150 miles to raise recruits; which I did with such Dispatch that in 6 days tho' at that distance I was in Boston with 74 able bodied men. As I did in the spring raise a company but was not suffered to come with them for this reason that my presence and command would be more for his Majesty's service where I was. But now the utmost Dispatch being requisite they pitched upon the men they tho't would soonest raise the Leiveis they proposed to send. Upon my arrival in Boston the Governour gave me a Lieut. Cols Commission in the Regiment of which Colo John Choate is Chief."

The records of the campaign against Louisburg which was waged in the spring of 1745 and successfully concluded on June 15, read like a fairy tale, interspersed with redoubtable feats of heroic endurance and courage. It was a martial picnic of farmers, merchants and sailors, which was transformed into a conflict so strenuous and trying as to fill the world with astonishment that it could be successfully endured by men untrained and so ill-prepared. But the caliber of the men made up for the inadequate caliber of their siege guns. While crippled by the lightness of their cannon, they wrested from the possession of the enemy such as were heavy enough to batter down their fortress walls and make their numerous auxiliary batteries untenable. The whole story of the inception, prosecution and completion of the siege, as culled from original manuscripts and told by Parkman, is fascinating and thrilling, while containing many grotesque and humorous features.

The chapter in which he depicts the origin and early development of the plan has for its caption "A Mad Scheme." Mad indeed it was, not only in features which were urged but discarded, but also in the final and formal letter of instruction from Gov. Shirley under which Gen. Pepperell sailed from Boston on his Quixotic errand. The fortress to be attacked had been under construction for twenty-five years according to plans of the celebrated Vauban, and had cost thirty million livres, about six million dollars.

According to Hutchinson, Belknap and other reliable authorities, William Vaughan was the real author of the scheme.

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He was an extensive trader in fish and lumber, owning extensive lands on both sides of the Damariscotta river in Maine. He advised Gov. Shirley to attack the completely equipped fortress with fifteen hundred New England militia. But the final provision was less absurd than that proposal.

William Pepperell, who commanded the expedition, was a merchant of Kittery, Maine, who at about the time of his majority was made justice of the peace and commissioned Captain of militia. From that rank he rose to that of Colonel, commanding all the militia of Maine.

Respecting his selection and the difficulties of deciding upon a leader, Parkman says: "It was not easy to choose one. The colony had been at peace for twenty years, and except some grizzled Indian fighters of the last war, and some survivors of the Carthagena expedition, nobody had seen service. Few knew well what a fortress was, and nobody knew how to attack one. * * * Shirley's choice of a commander was perhaps the best that could have been made; for Pepperell joined to an unusual popularity as little military incompetency as anybody else who could be had. Popularity, we have seen, was indispensable, and even company officers were appointed with an eye to it."

Of the large Massachusetts contingent, a third of whom were recruited from Maine, which in turn constituted more than a third of the entire fighting force of the state, he says: "Perhaps there was not one officer among them whose experience of war extended beyond a drill on muster day and the sham fight that closed the performance, when it generally happened that the rustic warriors were treated with rum at the charge of their captain, to put them in good humor, and so induce them to obey the word of command." (A Half Century of Conflict, Vol. II, p. 81.)

Whitefield, who had been promoting by his preaching the "great awakening," when appealed to for a motto to serve as a watchword of the expedition, after some hesitation suggested the words "*Nil desperandum Christo duce*," which were far from inappropriate since the spirit of fanaticism was so prevalent among these intense Protestant zealots as to make the expedition a veritable crusade. Old Parson Moody of York, the senior chaplain, indeed, is said to have carried

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with him all the way from Maine to Louisburg, an axe, intended "to hew down the altars of Antichrist and demolish his idols," according to the doughty Parson's statement.

The army finally assembled consisted of the following contributions: Massachusetts 3,300 men, Connecticut 516, and New Hampshire 304 in her own pay and 150 more under pay from Massachusetts—4270 in all. The naval force consisted of 13 small vessels, carrying from 24 to 14 guns apiece, together with a large fleet of fishing boats which acted as transports for the army.

We can but smile at the sarcastic comment of Dr. Douglass who lived at that time in Boston, when writing that "the expedition had a lawyer for contriver, a merchant for general, and farmers, fishermen and mechanics for soldiers."

The most ludicrous feature of the whole affair is the letter of instruction to the commander seriously composed by the Governor. It was based on the theory of a surprise and involved arriving after the long voyage, which proved to be very rough, at nine o'clock in the evening, landing without noise, and sneaking in on the garrison. It should be filed among the comic papers at West Point and Annapolis.

Among the documents of value for details of the experience of the expedition is Seth Pomeroy's Journal, transcribed in full in Trumbull's History of Northampton. He was a gunsmith of that town who went out as Major of Willard's Massachusetts regiment. In the next war he was an active and prominent character in the battle of Lake George, and twenty years later still, upon hearing in Northampton of the critical condition of affairs about Boston, as Parkman appreciatively describes, "he borrowed a neighbor's horse, rode a hundred miles, reached Cambridge on the morning of the battle of Bunker's Hill, left his borrowed horse out of the way of harm, walked over Charlestown Neck, then swept by the fire of the ships-of-war, and reached the scene of action as the British were forming for the attack. When Israel Putnam, his comrade in the last war, saw from the rebel breastwork the old man striding, gun in hand, up the hill, he shouted, 'By God, Pomeroy, you here! A cannon shot would waken you out of your grave!' "

The details of the siege of Louisburg, as it progressed

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from late in April until the middle of June, are familiar, but can never be reviewed without an experience of wonder, mingled with pride, by any patriotic American. It was a most remarkable reversal of the experience of Phips's disastrous expedition against Quebec in 1690, of which Parkman said in language quoted in an earlier Chapter, "Massachusetts had made her usual mistake. She had confidently believed that ignorance and inexperience could match the skill of a tried veteran, and that the rude courage of her fishermen and farmers could triumph without discipline or leadership. The conditions of her material prosperity were averse to efficiency in war. A trading republic, without trained officers, may win victories; but it wins them either by accident, or by an extravagant outlay in money and life." The victory at Louisburg may surely be attributed to accident in a broad sense, whatever may have been the contributory causes.

Startling and disheartening as was the effect of the blow at Louisburg upon the French Governor, it did not prevent him from, indeed, it may have stung him to, sending out a series of marauding parties in the following spring, 1746, to ravage the frontiers, and make miserable the life of the colonists.

There is among the New York Colonial Documents a record in French of "military movements," a list of war parties sent out from Montreal between March 29 and June 21, 1746. During that brief period of two months it enumerates no less than thirty-five distinct bands, of from a half dozen to threescore Indians, an average of one party for every two days, formally dispatched to perform deeds of dastardly villainy upon helpless women and children and cattle, and hardly less helpless men, waylaid and either shot down or captured when diligently laboring to cultivate their scanty fields or otherwise provide for the needs of their families. The story of the frontier for a century is a mass of harrowing details which outrage decency and belie civilization through much of the period, incident to the hostilities of two christian nations.

If the triumph at Louisburg did not relieve Massachusetts of these exasperating hornets and vampires, it yet was the occasion of relief from one great common disaster, that of a hopelesly depreciated currency. For when, by the just

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response of England to her claims for the expense of the campaign incurred by Massachusetts, the mother country paid in hard cash the full amount, £183,649 sterling, the whole sum was most prudently employed in wiping out nine tenths of the old tenor notes, nominally worth above two million pounds. The market value at that time of an old tenor pound was only one eleventh of a pound sterling. Thirty shillings of the new tenor bills were required in exchange for a pound sterling, a far less desperate depreciation. The remaining tenth of the old tenor was at once wiped out by a stringent tax, "and Massachusetts was restored to financial health."

Ere this felicitous issue had been achieved, in view simply of the glorious victory of the provincial over the trained troops of France, Seth Pomeroy, after having returned safely home to Northampton, concludes his journal of three exciting months in a pious and exultant pean: "My hearty desire and prayer is that as long as I have a being I may give the great name of God the praise of it, that he has written salvation for New England." (Trumbull's Northampton, Vol. II, p. 145.)

Among those bands of sneaking miscreants sent out from Montreal in the summer of 1746 were some who hovered around the settlements in this vicinity and wrought mischief and sorrow. In August the houses of Aaron and Elisha Clark in Southampton, then a part of Northampton, which their owners had abandoned on account of threatened dangers, were plundered, clothing and provisions were taken, beds were cut in pieces, and other depredations were committed. At Pomeroy's Mountain the Indians killed and wounded several cattle and horses. Lieut. Lyman of Northampton and Lieut. David Moseley with twenty-two men from Westfield pursued the villains, but as usual the wily savages escaped, to return a fortnight later and perpetrate further wrongs.

Lieut. David Moseley was born in 1704, the son of Joseph, and grandson of John, one of the original settlers and a "foundation man" of the church. His Mother was Mary, the daughter of John Root, another original settler and one of the "foundation men." The two families have been prominent in the affairs of the town from its organization. This David was the first of a long succession of David Moseleys

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who have figured here, not uninterruptedly, but in many generations. A son of the late Harold Moseley now bears the name. The original David was married by the Rev. Nehemiah Bull in 1730 to Margaret Dewey, daughter of Jedediah, and granddaughter of Jedediah Dewey, one of the three brothers who were among the original settlers. Josiah, one of the three, was a "foundation man."

At the time of this pursuit of the Indians Lieut. Moseley was serving for the third consecutive year as Selectman of Westfield. At the annual meeting the following year he was chosen Moderator, and so served eight out of the following ten years. He was chosen Selectman fifteen times and perhaps oftener, since the records from 1762 to 1764 are missing. In 1749 he was commissioned as Justice of the Peace by King George II, and in 1761 he was Representative in Boston. During middle and later life he was one of the very foremost citizens of the town.

In the Rev. John Ballantine's Journal we find the following entry on Jan. 5, 1768: "Preached funeral sermon for David Moseley Esq. Ætat 63 in ye meeting house, followed to ye grave by a great multitude of people. Spent ye evening at David Moseley's house. They gave gloves."

As early as 1737, when he was but 33 years old, he is rated, in the list of property holders published that year, at £114, Thos. Ingersole, rated at £118, being the only one above him. The two next below him are Lieut. Consider Moseley, his uncle, rated at £110, and Cornet John Moseley, another uncle, rated at £98. In civil affairs, as well as in material possessions, the family was prominent and influential through successive generations.

A year from the time of the incursion in Southampton which called out Lieut. Moseley and his troopers, the same place was visited by another prowling band of Indians, and Elisha Clark, who had escaped the previous year through the abandonment of his house, was killed while threshing grain in his barn. The miscreants scalped him and left his body, pierced by seven bullets, hidden under some straw. Again they fled, killing cattle on their way. The following night they camped near the house of Noah Strong in Westhampton and left sixteen poles stuck up in the ground, pre-

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sumably to indicate their number. Lieut. Eldad Taylor of Westfield, with thirty-six men, all but one of whom were fellow townsmen, pursued them with as little success as marked the attempt of Lieut. Moseley the previous summer.

Eldad Taylor was the youngest of the fourteen children of the Rev. Edward Taylor, the late pastor of Westfield, and for many years was associated with David Moseley in various town offices. At this time he was just coming into the prominence and usefulness as a citizen and official in town and Colony which marked him during his remaining years.

Among the Williams papers in Pittsfield there is a reference to Westfield earlier in this year. In a letter to Col. Williams dated March 1, 1747, Col. Stoddard says: "I heard by Ensgn Noble of Westfield that there was some Hundred pair of snow shoes carryed to Westfield last Winter and remain there still, if it be so, doubtless they ought to be sent for forthwith and carried into the frontiers."

It was probably to provide for some of them that on March 6 of that year Col. William Williams delivered to Capt. Elijah Williams, who commanded a company of "Snow Shoe Men," fifty pairs of moccasins, according to a record quoted by Sheldon.

"At a Legal town meeting April 27, 1747 Thos Ingersole was chosen moderator for sd meeting at the same meeting it was voted to choose a committy to Consider what measures to take about forting it was voted that the Commissions Officers & the Selectmen & Doctor Ashley shall be the Committy to see what measures & what houses should be forted and to make Report to the town what is best to be done. att the same meeting it was voted to pay a Scout that may be sent by the Commissioners officers out after the discovery of the Enemy if the province will not pay them. at the same meeting it was voted that the Select men should be Impowered to provide a Schoolmaster untill the first day of April: 1748 this meeting was voted to be continued by adjournment untill monday next the 4 day of May: the town met at the time adjourned to the Committy Reported to the town that they determined it was best to make a fort Round Stephen Kelloggs house and Lt. Consider Moseleys and Doct. Ashleys house and one over the Little River & one over the great

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River & two watch boxes & to be done by the town At the Same meeting it was voted: to adjourn to monday the 11th of may at 4 o'clock in the after noon: town met together at ye time of adjournment."

"May 12, 1748.

"At the same meeting it was voted to pay a Scout that shall be from time to time untill the next October sent out by the Commission officers for the security of the town against the Enemy: the sum not exceeding the sum of 14s per day Including what they may be allowed by the Province per day untill the sum of one Hundred pounds old tenor be expended if need including what may be paid by the Province."

Turning again to the line of forts across the northern border of Hampshire, there remains one important enterprise to be considered. The extreme northwestern outpost, except a blockhouse erected in West Hoosac, now Williamstown, within a mile of the New York line, and really the most important of the whole series "from Colrain to the Dutch settlements," was Fort Massachusetts. Who chose its exact location is not known, though Perry inclines to the hypothesis that it was Capt. Ephraim Williams, who became the founder of Williams College, and for whom the town where it is situated was named. It was built in 1745 and garrisoned, being under the general command of Capt. Ephraim Williams, like the other forts in the series. In August, 1746, while Capt. Williams was absent, probably engaged in the enterprise against Canada, a large force of French and Indians, numbering not less than nine hundred, came up the valley of the Hoosac from the Hudson, to attack it. Rigaud de Vaudreuil was in command with several well known officers as his subordinates.

The garrison of the rude fort consisted at the time of Sergeant John Hawks of Deerfield and twenty-one men, including the Reverend John Norton, the chaplain of the line of forts who happened to be there. Three women, wives of soldiers, and five children were also there. A few days before the investment was begun, Dr. Thomas Williams, brother of Capt. Ephraim, had been sent to Deerfield for supplies of ammunition. The careful Diary of Chaplain Norton says,

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"Lord's Day & Monday, 17th and 18th. We met with no disturbance, nor did we discover the enemy: but the sickness was very distressing: for though some began to amend, yet there were more taken sick. Eleven of our men were sick, and scarcely one of us in perfect health; almost every man was troubled with griping and flux."

Thus the number of effectives was reduced to eleven men and they were enfeebled by dysentery. That handful of men, desperately short of ammunition, with no cannon, was called upon to defend the fort against nearly a hundred times their own number. But each man was a hero and the commander, though but a humble sergeant, had the spirit of a lion. For twenty-eight hours they held out against the fearful odds. But one of the garrison was killed, while Rigaud reports one Abenaki chief killed and sixteen French and Indians wounded, himself among the number, which, as Parkman comments, "under the circumstances, was good execution for ten farmers and a minister."

In the afternoon of the second day, Aug. 20, Rigaud called for a parley. Norton says: "We agreed to it, and when we came to General Vaudreuil, he promised us good quarter if we would surrender: otherwise he should endeavor to take us by force. The Sergeant told him he should have an answer in two hours. We came into the fort and examined the state of it. The whole of our ammunition we did not judge to be above three or four pounds of powder and not more lead: and after prayers unto God for wisdom and direction, we considered our case, whether there was any possibility of our being able to withstand the enemy, for we supposed that they would not leave us until they had made a vigorous attempt upon us, and if they did, we knew our ammunition would be spent in a few minutes' time, and then we should be obliged to lay at their mercy."

It would have been the extreme of foolhardiness to hold out longer in such conditions, soon to be without means of defense other than their clubbed muskets or bare fists. To the honor of Rigaud in this instance it is amply attested that he treated the prisoners throughout their toilsome journey to Canada most humanely, while encouraging the wild host of his followers to wreak their vengeance on the property of

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settlers along their march back to the Hudson after having burned Fort Massachusetts. He reports:

"I divided my army between the two sides of Kaskekouke [the French name for the Hoosac] and ordered them to do what I had not permitted to be done before we reached Fort Massachusetts. Every house was set on fire, and numbers of domestic animals of all sorts were killed. French and Indians vied with each other in pillage and I made them enter the [valleys of all the] little streams that flow into the Kaskekouke and lay waste everything there. * * * Wherever we went we made the same havoc, laid waste sides of the river through twelve leagues of fertile country, burned houses, barns, stables, and even a meeting house,—in all above two hundred establishments,—killed all the cattle, and ruined all the crops. Such, Monseigneur, was the damage I did our enemies during the eight or nine days I was in their country." (Journal de Rigaud.)

Those were the homes of Dutch settlers deserted by their owners through fear of the Indians and thus left undefended. Had the owners been there, however, they could not have stood against such a force of the enemy.

It was from such havoc and utter destruction of property that the rude defenses of the settlers in Westfield and other valley towns sufficed to protect them, when carefully watched and utilized during the successive wars. Even a few forted houses, such as were provided for by the action noted above, in April, 1747, served most useful purposes of defense, though Westfield seems never to have boasted of a more elaborate stockade or fort built solely for martial ends with no reference to its use as a residence.

Fort Massachusetts was rebuilt in 1747, larger and stronger than before, and had several small cannon mounted on its walls. Capt. Ephraim Williams commanded it with an ample garrison. In August, 1748, two years from the assault on the earlier fort, it was attacked by several hundred French and Indians, but the assault was easily repelled.

The subject of the Block House, known as Fort Hoosac, at what is now Williamstown, with the account of its tragic assault, will be treated in a following Chapter.

Two other interesting events on the upper frontier of

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the valley are worthy of note, one of them quite intimately related to Westfield through the prominence in the transaction of a descendant of a Westfield family.

Both Massachusetts and New Hampshire having withdrawn from what was popularly known as Number 4, the few families, less than a dozen, living there realized their danger at that remote outpost, thirty miles from an English neighbor, and in 1743 at a formal meeting resolved to build a fort at their own charges, and that they should be assessed therefor to the amount of three hundred pounds. Parkman says, "and to the end that their fort should be a good and creditable one, they are said to have engaged the services of John Stoddard, accounted the foremost man in western Massachusetts, Superintendent of Defence, Colonel of Militia, Judge of Probate, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, a reputed authority in the construction of backwoods fortifications, and the admired owner of the only gold watch in Northampton."

The fort was built of hewn logs locked together at the corners, and inclosed about three quarters of an acre of ground and several log houses of the settlers. It had flankers, and when completed by the sturdy hand of yeomen they proudly claimed its superiority to Fort Dummer, its nearest neighbor, which had been built by the Province.

It stood directly in the path of war parties from Canada, whether coming directly down the Connecticut from Lake Memphremagog, or by way of Lake Champlain, Otter Creek, and over the mountains to Black River and down that stream. Its great strategic value was thus due to its exposure to attack. Indeed, in two months in the spring of 1746 it was assailed no less than five distinct times. The settlers found that, even with the help of an occasional handful of soldiers from below, they were unequal to its defense, and by midwinter had all withdrawn, leaving there only a dog and a cat to defend what was so dear to the hearts of the sturdy frontiersmen.

The Massachusetts authorities, realizing the value of this outpost for the protection of the lower settlements, in March, 1747, sent Capt. Phineas Stevens with thirty men to garrison it anew. To their astonishment they were greeted upon arriving by the deserted dog and cat with signs of a

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hearty welcome. This Capt. Stevens was the same person who so many years before had been taken captive at Rutland by Gray Lock, at the time when the Rev. Mr. Willard was killed. He had become an accomplished frontiersman and an intrepid and skillful fighter.

Soon after the fort had been put in a state of defense again, Stevens discovered signs of the enemy. In fact, a large war party of French and Indians was hovering about, under command of General Debeline, as the colonial writers called him, but actually Boucher de Niverville, a French ensign. By the aid of trained dogs which Stevens had brought as part of his equipment, he routed out several Indians lurking behind logs, and brought on a general attack. On the windward side of the fort was a log house to which the assailants set fire, hoping that the flames would be carried to the fort. But while part of the garrison held the enemy in check, Stevens set the rest of his men to digging trenches under the wall, deep enough for men to walk in them protected from the bullets of the enemy. Through the eleven trenches thus prepared, the men carried vessels of water to use in quenching any sparks which lodged on the outside of the wall. That attempt having failed, Niverville called for an interview with Stevens, told him that he had under him seven hundred men, and would storm the fort and put to the sword the whole garrison. Stevens refused to surrender, to which Niverville replied, "Well, go back to your fort and see if your men dare fight any more, and give me an answer quickly; for my men want to be fighting." Stevens adds in his report, "I went into the fort and called the men together, and informed them what the general said, and then put it to vote whether they would fight or resign; and they voted to a man to stand it out, and also declared that they would fight as long as they had life." (Stevens to Col. William Williams, April, 1747.)

After three days of alternating attacks and parleys, during which the garrison had found scant opportunity for either eating or sleeping, the vaunting assailants sneaked away through the forest. Well might the heroic Captain include in his report the complacent verdict, "I believe men were never known to hold out with better resolution, and though there were some thousands of guns shot at us, we had but two men slightly wounded, John Brown and Joseph Ely."

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This redoubtable exploit of the faithful garrison won enthusiastic encomiums throughout the Colonies. It so pleased Commodore Charles Knowles, then in Boston, that he sent to Capt. Stevens a silver-hilted sword. That act of courtesy to their brave defender so pleased in turn the settlers at Number Four, that they called the name of their hamlet Charlestown, after the baptismal name of the Commodore, and thus has it been known ever since.

The other striking affair to be considered is the one more closely related to Westfield and is graphically described by Hoyt. He cites it as an instance of the success of scouting parties under brave and cautious officers, two qualities not always united in a single leader.

In June, 1748, Captain Humphry Hobbs of Springfield was ordered to go from Charlestown, through the woods, to Fort Shirley, with a force of forty men. When they reached the present location of Marlborough in Vermont, about twelve miles northwest of Fort Dummer, he halted to rest his men. They were refreshing themselves on a piece of ground on which grew alders and many large trees, through which a rivulet flowed, when the guard posted by Hobbs on the trail was driven in by a large body of Indians, commanded by a chief named Sackett, a half-breed descendant of a captive taken at Westfield in an earlier war. Though startled by the sudden onslaught, and totally ignorant of the strength of his opponents, Hobbs and his company immediately prepared for action, each man selecting a tree for cover. The English had learned much about frontier warfare since the days of Bloody Brook in Philip's War. Hoyt's account says: "Confident of victory from their superiority of numbers, the enemy rushed up, and received Hobbs' well directed fire, which cut down a number and checked their impetuosity. Covering themselves also with trees and brush, the action became warm, and a severe conflict ensued between sharpshooters. The two commanders had been known to each other in time of peace, and both bore the character of intrepidity. Sackett, who could speak English, in a stentorian voice frequently called upon Hobbs to surrender, and threatened, in case of refusal, to rush in and sacrifice his men with the tomahawk. Hobbs, in a voice which shook the forest,

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as often returned a defiance, and urged his enemy to put his threats in execution. The action continued with undaunted resolution and not unfrequently the enemy approached Hobbs' line; but were driven back to their first position by the fatal fire of his sharp-sighted marksmen; and thus about four hours elapsed, without either side giving up an inch of their original ground. At length, finding Hobbs determined on either death or victory, and that his own men had suffered severely, Sackett ordered a retreat, carrying off his dead and wounded, and allowing his antagonist to continue his march without farther molestation." (Indian Wars, p. 250.)

The size of Sackett's force is estimated by Hoyt at fully four times that of the English. Later in the same summer a part of the same band killed and wounded several settlers in the region of Fort Dummer and Northfield. This half-breed chief was probably familiar with the region about Westfield. Doctor Davis, in his historical sketch of Westfield, the only copy of which known to be extant is carefully preserved in the Westfield Atheneum, says, referring to an earlier period, "A daughter of the second wife of a Mr. Sackett (her name I do not know) was taken captive by the Indians and carried captive to the northwest part of New York, married an Indian and remained among them as long as she lived. Her descendants have been here to see their mother's friends several times since the French war. Previous to that they used some exertions to make others of the Sackett family captives but did not succeed."

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The Third Pastor

There is no direct reference in the town records to the death of Mr. Bull. Nor is there any way of ascertaining any of the details of his mortal illness. That it kept him from ministering in his pulpit for some time previous to its final issue is evident from a vote in town meeting on April 21, 1740, one week after Mr. Bull's death: "Voted to give Rev. Mr. Parsons 3£ for his preaching the Gospel among us each Sabbath day, he finding himself, both for the 6 Sabbaths that we are in debt for and for one quarter of a year following the said 6 Sabbaths."

Three months later the Selectmen were instructed to engage him for another quarter, and in November it was "voted to employ Mr. Parsons to supply the pulpit till Deacon Shepard returns from Cambridge in procuring a minister."

According to the vote of July 7, this was Mr. David Parsons, but how to reconcile the fact of his supplying in Westfield during those months, with the account in Judd's "Hadley" of his settlement and ordination in East Hadley, now Amherst, in November, 1739, is a bewildering historical puzzle. According to Judd, David Parsons, Jr., a son of Rev. David Parsons of Leicester and a Harvard graduate of 1729, received a call to East Hadley in April, 1737, which he declined. He preached for some months of 1737 and 1738 in Southampton. In September, 1739, the call was renewed which he accepted in the following terse and original manner: "Sep. 28. Comply'd with the request of the inhabitants of the third precinct in Hadley. Per me, David Parsons, Jun'r." The Boston News Letter states that he was "ordained pastor of the church newly gathered at East Hadley," on Wednesday, Nov. 7, 1739.

It is humiliating to the writer to have to leave such a paradox for his readers to ponder over, and thus make them partners in his perplexity. The conflicting records are given,

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however, just as they stand, and some one may find an easy solution of the problem.

At a church meeting held on Nov. 14, 1740, it was "unanimously voted to send a man to procure a suitable gentleman to come and preach the word of God among the people of Westfield." The terms respectively applied to the layman who was to act as messenger, and the minister sought, indicate the high social standing of the clergy of that day. Immediately following the church meeting at a Legal Town Meeting of the same date it was voted "to joyne with the Church" on the important errand, the same terms being used as those upon which comment has just been made. Deacon John Shepard was the messenger agreed upon by both church and town. He was "directed to take the advice & counsel of the neighboring Ministers & then to repair to ye Reverend Mr. Holyoke ye President of Harvard College at Cambridge & to any other Reverend Gentlemen that are able to give advice and counsel in the affair and so to take other counsel."

The result of that voyage of discovery is set forth by the minister whom Deacon Shepard found, in a much more formal answer than that given by Mr. Parsons to his church. The church book contains the account in his handwriting. Its contrast with modern methods is striking: "After solemn fasting and prayer the Church sent to Boston for advice about a minister and were advised to Mr. John Ballantine, he was applied to and came up & began to preach Dec. 7, 1740.

"Feb. 17, 1741, the Church being regularly warned, met, and unanimously voted to give Mr. Ballantine a call to the work of the ministry among them.

"The Town unanimously concurring with the same May 2nd, 1741, Mr. Ballantine gave his answer in these words, viz.

"Dearly beloved Brethren, Whereas it has pleased the great God, who has all hearts in his hands & turns them as pleaseth him to incline all your hearts to make choice of me, poor & unworthy as I am, to supply that breach which God has made upon you in the removal of your late Pastor, I having revolved things in my own mind, advised with my friends & having addressed the throne of grace for direction accept your call looking on your great unanimity in all that you have

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done relating to me to be a voice of God to me to do so. I henceforward devote my time and talents to the glory of God in the service for your souls, and in promoting to my utmost your eternal salvation & I hope in this I do this in the fear of God, sensible of my own weakness & entirely dependent upon his gracious aid. My dear brethren you cannot but be sensible of the vast importance of the office I am now engaging in & the great charge I now take upon me, even the charge of your souls, I shall be accountable for your blood. You cannot but be sensible of the difficulty of the right discharge of the Pastoral office & beseech you that you strive together with me in promoting the common salvation, be fellow labourers with me. Brethren pray for me, that I may come to you in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ. That I may have all that courage and freedom that may be requisite for a right discharge of my office, that I may be filled with love to God and with zeal for his honor & glory and love to perishing immortal souls, and may at last give up my account to my great Master (who is now sending me into his vineyard to labour) with joy and not with grief.

"This will not be unprofitable for you—follow after the things that make for peace & tend to edify, persevere in the present happy union."

There follows at some length the expression of prayerful longings for their spiritual welfare and usefulness, concluding, "Oh that the whole Earth was filled with God's Glory, that the will of the Lord was done on earth as in heaven.

"Indeed I am your well wisher.

"John Ballantine"

The man who thus accepted the call to become the third Pastor of the Westfield church was of Scotch and English ancestry. The following genealogical line is compiled from notes in the Judd Manuscripts in the Forbes Library at Northampton and those furnished by one of his lineal descendants:

1. William Ballantine of Ayreshire, Scotland, and Hannah Hollard (or Holland) were married in Boston in 1648. They had John b. 1653. David b. 1658. Benjamin b. 1661. William b. 1665, a farmer.

2. Captain John, son of William, b. 1653, member of

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Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. 1682, Captain of it 1703. Married Lydia Barret of Boston. Died April 27, 1734.

3. Col. John b. 1674, Harvard College 1694, member of Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co. 1694. Colonel of Militia. Clerk of Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace. Representative to Boston in the General Court. Married, March 9, 1704, Mary Winthrop, daughter of Adam Winthrop, Sr., who was a grandson of Gov. John Winthrop. They had John b. Oct. 5, 1705, died young. Mary b. Nov. 29, 1712, died young. Lydia b. March 31, 1715, died young. John b. Oct. 30, 1716, Harvard 1735. Mary b. Aug. 3, 1720, died young. William b. Oct. 26, 1724, shopkeeper in Boston, died 1753, unmarried and insolvent. John, the Father, died 1734, will dated Jan. 2, 1734, proved Jan. 27, 1735, leaving a large estate.

4. Rev. John b. Oct. 30, 1716, Harvard 1735. Married July 20, 1743, Mary Gay of Dedham. Died Feb. 12, 1776.

5. Among their children was Ebenezer b. 1756, Yale 1777, a surgeon in the army during the Revolutionary War. Married Mary Osborne. Died 1823.

6. A son of his, Elisha Ballantine, LL.D., b. 1809, Ohio University 1828. Married Betsy Ann Watkins of Prince Edward Co., Virginia. Died 1886. He was for many years a Professor in the University of Indiana.

7. A son of his, William Gay Ballantine, D.D., b. 1848, Marietta College, 1868. Married Emma Frances Atwood 1875, and is a Professor in the Young Men's Christian Association College at Springfield.

A descendant of Rev. John Ballantine in the same generation is Mrs. Jennie Bates Greenough of Westfield.

Among the early records of such portions of his most valuable journals as have been preserved are these items:

"Entered Grammar School, 1724, Mr. Williams, Master. Entered Writing School, 1725, Mr. Granger, Master."

He took his first degree at Harvard in 1735. That was four months before his nineteenth birthday.

"July 6, 1737, 22 had a 2nd Degree. 34 Bachelors. Mr. Cutler, Perkins Gray were Respondents in ye Masters Class. Mr. Hutchinson was Orator in the Bachelors Class. Lysander Elliot, Gay Harrington were Respondents, Oliver, Orator.

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Mr. Hartshorn had a Degree who had neither tarried the time by Law appointed nor would submit to an examination, the only qualifications according to the College Laws.

"I left Roxbury having tarried there one year."

Under date of March, 1737, he notes the death of President Wadsworth, "a truly Godly man, who after he had served God and his generation for a long time died in peace."

In June following appears the entry, "The Revd Mr Edward Holyoke of Marblehead unanimously chosen President of Harvard College."

Later in the same month occurs the item: "The General Court have settled 600£ per annum on the President of Harvard College and have voted 420£ to settle another minister in Mr. Holyoke's stead."

This man, who served as President for thirty-two years, a term exceeding in length that of any of his nine predecessors, and that of any of his fourteen successors, except President Eliot who so recently resigned, was a grandson of Elizur Holyoke, one of Springfield's worthiest pioneers. It was to an uncle of President Holyoke that Rev. Mr. Taylor makes reference in the opening sentence of the priceless church record book, still preserved and cherished. He says, as already quoted in an earlier chapter: "Westfield, then Warronnokee, coming to be an English plantation, had at first Mr. John Holyoake, son to that Godly Capt. Elizur Holyoake, of Springfield, to dispense ye word of life amongst them Ano Dmi 1667 for about half a year."

Thus when Mr. Ballantine took his second degree as indicated above, it was under the Presidency of the grandson of that noble settler of this region, and a relative also of the man, who, though not an ordained minister, had been the first to serve in the stead of one for the benefit of the first handful of settlers of Westfield.

Under date of June, 1740, Mr. Ballantine notes: "Presidents Lady died of throat distemper, Scholars dismist for 6 weeks."

Two months earlier is the entry: "Apr. 12. Died, the Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Bull of Westfield."

How far from his thought at that time must have been the idea that he should ever become his successor in the Westfield church.

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The Committee chosen by the town March 6, 1741, to arrange terms of settlement with Mr. Ballantine, consisted of "Joseph Root, Thos Ingersol, Esq. Capt [John] Gunn, Dea. Shepard, Lieut. Ashley, Ensine Matthew Noble, James Dewey, Ensine [David] Moseley, & Doct. [Israel] Ashley & Samuel Fowler."

The meeting of May 2 has been already noted when Mr. Ballantine gave his formal reply to the call. The terms which had been mutually agreed upon included "200 pounds in Bills of Credit of the old Tenor, or 200 pounds silver money at 28 shillings & 4 pence per ounce as the Bills now go, and his fire Wood, for his sallary from year to year annually so long as the said Mr. Ballantine carries on the work of the ministry with us."

"May 14. Thos Ingersol having been chosen Moderator. Capt. Ashley, Deacon Noble, Deacon Shepard, Lieut Consider Moseley, & John Bancroft were chosen a Committee to Discours with Mr. John Ballantine to know his mind what day will sute him best for his Ordination to be on. The Committee made report they said Mr. Ballantine would leave the matter with the Town to determine the day of his Ordination;" a delightful exchange of courtesies between the new minister and his flock.

The 17th day of June was decided upon and it was voted that "the Charge of supporting the Ministers, Messengers & others that may come to Mr. Ballantines Ordination shall be bourn by the Town."

When the final arrangements for the Council were being perfected, the ghost of the Breck Controversy appeared and threw the persons engaged into confusion. In order to show just how this old ecclesiastical quarrel affected this enterprise of a neighboring church more than six years after Mr. Breck was formerly ordained in Springfield, when the controversy should have been finally adjusted, it is well to quote at length the records as left by Mr. Ballantine:

"At a church meeting regularly warned May 18, 1741. It was voted to choose a Committee to treat with Mr. Ballantine about what Churches to send to, to solemnize his Ordination and to give him liberty to nominate or choose some or all of them, and Thomas Ingersol Esq. Sergt Root

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& Mr. John Bancroft were chosen to inform Mr. Ballantine of it.

"Mr. Ballantine for certain reasons declining to choose any, it was voted to send to the Rev. Dr. Colmans church & the Rev. Mr. Welsteads church in Boston, the 1st, 2nd, & 3rd churches in Springfield, to the church in Northampton, to the church in Sunderland & to the church in Enfield. Deacon Shepard, Capt. Gunn & Thos Ingersol Esq, Lieut Ashley, & Mr. John Bancroft were chosen a Committee to provide for the Churches sent to—Deacon Shepard, Capt. Gunn, Thos Ingersol were chosen a committee to sign the letters to be sent to the several churches to desire assistance in Mr. Ballantine's Ordination.

"Dea. Shepard, Capt. Gunn & Thos. Ingersol Esq. were desired to ask Mr. Ballantine his opinion of Church Discipline and bring it in writing to the Church."

Comparing the list of churches as agreed upon with the list of those which actually assembled to ordain Mr. Breck, we find that those common to the two were Sunderland, and two Boston churches, Brattle Street and the New Brick, the respective pastors of whom were favorable to Mr. Breck.

The letter from the Brattle Street Church was cordial but guarded in its expressions, and Mr. Ballantine fortunately furnished us with an explanation of it in the church record.

"June 7th 1741.

"To the Church of Christ in Westfield.

"Honored & Beloved we salute you much in the Lord.

"It is a great pleasure to us to hear with what unanimity you have chose Mr. Ballantine unto the Pastoral office over you, and it would have been a further pleasure to us to have acted in his proposed Ordination according to your desire, but beside the distance, there are some special difficulties in the way at this juncture which oblige us to pray you to excuse us & at the same time to accept our thanks for the Xtian respect you show us by your letter. We do by these dismiss Mr. Ballantine from his relation to our Church as a brother, to be received into your sacred Body, with our earnest prayers that in him you may long enjoy a precious gift of the ascended Saviour & that there may be the evident

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tokens of the presence of the great head of the Church in the solemnity before you.

"We are your Brethren in the faith & fellowship of the Gospel.

Benjn Colman } Pastors in
Wm Cooper } the name of the Church.

"Boston June 7th 1741."

Immediately following this letter, which it will be noted indicates that Mr. Ballantine had been in its membership, he adds the following interesting explanation:

"N.B.

"The reasons of this church not sending was the difference between the First Church in Springfield and some of the neighboring churches, which has for a long time subsisted, they declaring that they did not concur with that Church.

"Mr. Cooper who was for Springfield 1st Church thinks it would be most for peace if the Ordination were carried on by the Gentlemen that opposed Mr. Breck.

"Mr. Cooper gives this reason in his letter to Mr. Ballantine.

"Then the Church agreed to meet next day."

This interesting side light on the aftermath of the controversy, now published probably for the first time, suggests several inferences. The pastors of the Brattle Street church, though they had triumphed over the opposing faction of the Hampshire Association of ministers, were not inclined to foster a renewal of the bitter quarrel, and in a spirit of christian forbearance and generous diplomacy made the suggestion indicated above, hoping to heal any breach among the churches which might have remained at the time. We may also infer that because Mr. Bull had been in the party of opposition to Mr. Breck, the conclusion was commonly drawn that his church sympathized with him in that hostile attitude. This conclusion may have been erroneous.

There is also strong evidence afforded by Mr. Ballantine's refusal to have any part in naming the churches which should be invited to the council, that he was a man of wisdom and

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of peace, declining to be drawn into the old quarrel, or to do aught to involve his church in its continuance.

The whole affair is certainly an interesting bit of church history in that polemic period now nearly two centuries past.

The sequel is also interesting, and shows how narrowly the church escaped a tragic fiasco in its earnest attempt to secure the orderly induction to office of its chosen pastor, as subsequent records show:

"June 8th they voted to send to the church in Hatfield, Brimfield, Sheffield and Deerfield. At that meeting Mr. Ballantine declared that the Congregational principles are most agreeable to the natural rights of mankind."

What was the occasion of that oracular deliverance does not appear. It may possibly have been prompted by a new sense of appreciation of the fundamental principle of that body of christians, namely, the absolute autonomy of the individual church. If the people eager for ordination could not secure their first choice among the churches, they were perfectly free to send invitations elsewhere.

But the story of that council is not yet completed:

"June 17th 1741.

"All the churches sent to met, except Rev. Dr. Coleman's & Walsteds in Boston, the church at Hatfield & the church of Sheffield.

"The Church met & desired the several Elders & Messengers present to prceed in the Ordination.

"Deerfield Church excused themselves because we said in our letter to them that the several churches with whom they were to act were enumerated and the first church in Springfield being not with them they had no power to act with them.

"N.B. Revd Mr Breck declined coming upon the account of the difference there was between him and the other ministry, but his church being uneasy at his declining & this church still persisting in their desires that he should come, he came & Revd Messrs. Williams, Hopkins, Reynolds & Edwards withdrew, declaring their consent & approbation to Mr. Ballantines Ordination and that the only reason for withdrawing from the Council that they could not act with

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the first church in Springfield—so that the council was made up only of the church in Sunderland, the church of Brimfield & the 1st Church of Springfield, who, after Mr. Ballantine declared his principles as to the fundamental articles of Religion, proceeded to ordain him.

"The Revd Mr Breck began with prayer, Revd Mr Rand preached from 2nd. Cor. 6:10—'As poor yet making many rich.' He also prayed and gave the Charge. Rev. Mr. Bridgman prayed & gave the right hand of fellowship.

"We sang the 100 Psalm and were dismissed with a blessing."

It seems incredible that four ministers of the meek and lowly Jesus, who taught brotherly love and forgiveness of injuries as fundamental principles of His Kingdom, could have acted in so churlish and pigheaded a manner. They included Rev. William Williams of Hatfield, the Nestor of the valley, and Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, the prince of American pulpit orators of early days, the most profound theologian of his day and perhaps of any period of American life yet reached.

Strange indeed are the absurdities and outrages, the injustices and the tyrannies, which have shocked and cursed the world at the behests of warped and misguided consciences.

Mr. Ballantine spreads upon the record no hint of criticism or complaint because of the unbrotherly treatment of his brethren who had given him such a cruel reception when entering what was euphemistically called the fellowship of the churches.

The whole matter at issue respecting Mr. Breck's ordination had been solemnly and clearly passed upon with approval by the General Court and Mr. Breck was faithfully and efficiently serving his Master and his people.

Mr. Ballantine's Journal for the years 1741 and 1742 unfortunately is lost, and there is no entry respecting him on the Town Records from the time of his ordination until Feb. 1, 1743, when a vote was passed that "Doctor Israel Ashley be Impowered to give the Reverend Mr. John Ballantine, in the name and behalf of the Town, a well executed Deed of the Dwelling house, barn and home-lot that was the Reverend Mr. Bull's late of Westfield Deceast, to act as agent of the town of Westfield."

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It is worthy of note that in that house Mr. Ballantine from time to time entertained each of the ministers who had been so obdurate at the time of his ordination. By their friendly visits they surely verified the claim made before the council that their objection and action in withdrawing were based upon ecclesiastical, not personal grounds.

The house presented by the town in February, 1743, was without a presiding mistress for several months. On July 9 the Rev. John Ballantine was published in Westfield to Mary Gay of Dedham, Mass., though he makes no reference thereto in his Journal, but the entries for September following deal quite in detail with a momentous event in his life.

"12th Set out for Boston with Mr. Maudesley, dined at Lambs, lodged at Hinds, Brookfield." That was a good day's trip for a man on horseback, being more than forty miles, but the next day's was considerably longer:

"13th Breakfasted at Sergeants, Leicester, dined at Marlboro, came through Framingham, Sherburne, Natick, Needham, Dedham, lodged at Dedham, at Mr. Gay's.

"16th Rode to Boston with Mr. Gay, lodged at Mr Wade's, returned by way of Milton to Dedham.

"17th Went to Boston, returned to Roxbury, lodged at Mr. Walton's.

"18th Preached, A.M. for Mr. Walton from 1 Cor. 13:8-10."

Turning to discover what this expectant bridegroom chose for his text, it is no shock to find that the opening words of the passage are, "Love never faileth."

"19th Went to Boston, rode to Dedham.

"20th Was married to Molly Gay by Mr. Dexter.

"23rd Went to Boston by way of Milton; bargained with Mr. Trescott for a Chair.

"24th Chair sent to Dedham. Deacon Tinker and Mr Nash came to assist me in bringing home my wife."

The chair to which he refers was doubtless such a wheeled vehicle as Alice Morse Earle thus describes, "The chair so often named in letters, wills, &c., was not a sedan-chair, but was much like a chaise without a top."—(Early Stage-Coach and Tavern Days, p. 258.)

This luxurious article, as then considered, which the gallant gentleman provided for his bride, to make the journey

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less tedious than it would have been on a pillion, though less romantic as well, was not improbably the first vehicle of the kind to be introduced to the frontier town where he was to establish her in his home.

Mary Gay was the daughter of Rev. William Gay, pastor of the church at Dedham.

There is a break in Mr. Ballantine's Journal as preserved, from the time of his arrival home on that tedious wedding trip until January, 1753, a period of ten years. Even the portions which have escaped loss and the ravages of time are of inestimable value. This Journal of a country clergyman sheds much light, direct and indirect, upon the life of New England in his day. Because of his location in a frontier town it lacks much of value and interest which attach to the more famous Diary of Pepys in London a century earlier, and to a less degree to that of Judge Sewall in Boston during a period midway between that of Pepys and this of Mr. Ballantine. Nevertheless, this one of the provincial parson is well worthy of publication in full, which at some time it certainly ought to receive. To any one especially interested in the affairs of Westfield during the period which it covers its value and interest are immense. Not only does it furnish a minutely detailed account of the daily life and activities of the minister of the town, but it is amazing to note the evidence which it affords of the breadth and scope of his familiarity with the general affairs, civil, ecclesiastical and personal, of New England, while often including events and issues of the adjacent Colonies and countries oversea.

It is, therefore, a serious question as to the extent to which it would be wise and justifiable to incorporate its varied details in a work of this character. The temptation which assails the author is in the direction of profuseness, since it seems a pity to deprive the public of a large part of material so uniquely interesting and valuable. That what is furnished will prove to be of such a character is the ground upon which the generous policy is followed.

It begins while he was a student at Harvard, and from that early period extracts will be made.

"Feb. 6. 1737. There was an earthquake about three quarters after four in the afternoon.

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"10. Mr. White ordained at Norton village.

"March. The market down by a mob in the night, they were disguised.

"7. Public Fast. Major Bowler my Landlord died. A very pious man and submissive to God.

"April. Very cold for the season, a very backward Spring and the past winter was a very hard one and many have suffered from the cold.

"11. Cold weather remaining. Capt. Waterhouse from England kept below for the small Pox.

"18. 2 ships arrive from England.

"20. We have Easterly winds for 9 days blowing hard.

"25. Mr. Davenport succeeds Mr. Harwood deceased at Kings Chapel.

"May 6. Died the Revd. Mr. Ward Clark of Kingston in the Province of New Hampshire.

"13. 6 men went out fishing, boat overset. 3 men drowned.

"17. The Rev. William Hooper ordained at Salem. Much cattle have perished this spring. a very melancholy account from the East that they have no corn to put in the ground and the people have to eat clams not having any bread, which has caused fluxes, the people and cattle are so weak that they are not able to work. 6 yoke of cattle have been seen plowing on land broke up last year.

"June 4. very hard thunder and lightening. Capt. Pitman of Salem and a young woman of Boston were Killed by it. There was a violent wind which blew down several trees.

"Revd. Mr. Williams of Weston preached before the Artillery Co. They chose Hon. Richard Saltonstall Capt. Samuel Adams Esq. Lieut. and Mr. John Darrell, Ensign.

"August 4, 1737. Genl Court met, it being prorogued to this time. General Court adjourned to Salisbury. The Commissioners met to settle the line between this Province and New Hampshire. The sickness is very fatal at Marblehead, they say that 20 died of it in a week.

"11. Aurora Borealis. Cool mornings and evenings. Pigeons very plenty."

Reverting to March he makes this entry: "This month died two very old men, Mr. Stoddard of Hingham Æ. 105 and Mr. Ray of Block Island Æt. 101."

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The next entry is a year and a half later:

"January 1739. Mr. John Winthrop installed Hollisian Professor of Mathematics & Philosophy in Mr. Greenwoods room.

"The currency bills of neighboring Provinces stopt. such bills that have been made since last May not redeemable in silver & Gold not to pass.

"People that have had the small Pox are recovered. Town quite clear of it.

"August 1739. Mr. Joseph Mahem chose Fellow of Harvard College by the Corporation in the room of Mr. Sewell made Judge of Supreme Court.

"Oct. 18. Obit Mater mea. Etat. 56.

"Dec. 3. Mr. Timothy Woodbridge Ordained at Hatfield Colleague with the Rev. Wm. Williams.

"March, 1740. At Plymouth two young men were scuffling one having a hot iron in his hand touched ye jugular vein of the other and burned it through and he bled to death in 6 minutes.

"Apr. 6. Revd. Mr. Thos Clap. Windham, installed Rector of Yale College, Conn.

"21. War proclaimed against Spain in Boston, at same time proclamation of Governor to encourage men to join Admiral Vernon in his attempt on ye Island of Cuba."

After the break in the Journal already noted, from its resumption in January, 1753, we have many items of pastoral services and visits of neighboring ministers at the parsonage. On one day Messrs. Williams, Hopkins and Breck dined there, showing apparently that two of the hostile brethren had become reconciled to the Springfield heretic during passing years.

The number of guests at the parsonage during a year is appalling to consider in this day, when the custom of making the parsonage a free public house has fallen into desuetude.

"Apr. 18. Separates, raised a meeting house."

Mr. Bartlett estimates that the number of those dissenters from the established order was at that time from 35 to 40. The general movement in New England of which that enterprise was an outcome and symptom deserves to be treated at some length later. It was for long a very disturbing element

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in ecclesiastical affairs, though never reaching serious proportions.

At the close of 1753 Mr. Ballantine records:

"No of Widows in Town 18
" " Widowers " " 8
" " Adult Separates 38
" " Families in Town 157"

That would indicate a population not much, if any, below 1000, the families in that day having been generally large.

"Jan. 19, 1754. 4 Negroes publicly whipt.

"Mar. 7. Jedediah Dewey set apart for a Teacher of ye Separate company here by Payne Stephens and Frothingham Wardsworth.

[He organized the church in Bennington, Vermont, which he served until his death in 1778.]

"Apr. 10. Benjamin Sexton, suddenly. The first English Male child born in ye town. Ætat 88 years.

"Oct. 3. Mr. Breck dined here, rode with him to hither part of Salmon Brook.

"Mr. Whitfield in Boston."

This was his second visit in this country. The fact of his having preached in Westfield during his former visit, has been noted.

"Nov. 13. Thanksgiving in Conn. Flood made Little River impassible and made great breach in Great River Dam."

Sundry entries at the end of the year indicate his lively interest in current events.

"A mortal distemper at Holliston, from Dec. 14th to January 29th, 47 died, 27 of them heads of families.

"Mr. Goodrich house burned at Pontusuc [Pittsfield].

"A house burnt at Bedford. A girl killed at Hatfield—Thunder.

"A man stood in the pillory for making money, Samuel Taylor whipt at Stockbridge. 30 lashes, and Ebenezer Crowfut 20 lashes and fined 3£ each for digging up an Indian & cutting off his head and pretending they had killed one and cut off ye head from him."

This was during the period when the inhuman practice was observed in this christian Colony of offering a bounty for such a ghastly trophy.

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"April 16, 1755. Association here. Messrs. Rev. Williams, Hopkins who preached, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Breck, Merrick, Gay, Leavit & Morton.

"President Burr & Capt Dwight supt here."

That was the President of Princeton College, the unhappy Father of Aaron Burr.

"June 27. Chaplain at ye Fort at Lake George died suddenly of appoplexy at Weston.

"July 4. Capt. Vails Company of Dedham breakfasted here. I prayed with Capt. Ingersoles Co. at the Meeting house. I dined at Major Ashleys with the officers."

These two officers were both killed, as elsewhere noted, at the battle of Lake George.

"29. Col. Worthington here, Mrs. Hannah Hopkins, Mrs. Sarah Worthington, Mrs. Eunice Backus. 30 dined here, people met in Meeting house for prayer in evening."

Earlier in the week they had met there "to bless God for any token of his presence with our forces and to implore a continuance."

Two prominent citizens died within a few days of each other. Thomas Ashley, aged 65, fell from a cart of hay and was fatally hurt. He was the eldest son of Deacon Thomas Ashley, one of a family of eight children, the youngest of whom was the first Doctor Israel Ashley; Deacon Thomas was a son of David Ashley the settler.

Lieut. Consider Moseley died Sept. 12, aged 80 years. He was one of the wealthiest and most influential men of the town, son of Lieut. John Moseley the settler and foundation man, the last of the five children of the family who were born in Windsor, five others having been born in Westfield.

"Oct. 8. Attended the funeral of Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins."

He had been for many years pastor of the West Springfield church, and was one of the cabal who opposed Mr. Breck's settlement.

"Nov. 18. An earthquake a little after 4, threw down bricks from ye tops of many chimneys.

"Mar. 16, 1756. Went to Springfield, dined at Mr. Brecks. A skirmish between some soldiers & inhabitants, some much hurt. Soldiers apprehended & committed."

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In February of this year action was taken in town meeting looking toward the making of needed repairs in the meeting house which had been in use for thirty years. It was voted "to repair the meeting house so far as to prefer the frame & windows."

A year later, Feb. 7, 1757, it was voted:

"To new cover the meeting house & Glase it & color it, upon condition that Israel Ashley Esqr. & others will be at the cost to build a Belfry at the South End of the meeting house & a Porch before the fore Door & finish it.

"Voted that the Selectmen raise 30 pounds to do the above work.

"Voted to give the Rev. Mr. Ballantine 15 pounds in addition to his salary for this present year."

A considerate spirit is thus shown toward their minister in determining to add to his comfort while improving their house of worship. In copying the Journal Mr. Bartlett states that appended to the page for April, 1756, there is an autograph of Sarah Edwards, the wife of the Northampton minister. The signature was torn from the end of a letter and thus reads:

"Oblige yr Humble Servt

Sarah Edwards."

Mr. Bartlett adds the comment, "the penmanship is excellent," which he surely could appreciate after having nearly blinded himself in patient labors at deciphering obscure and execrable manuscripts.

"May 14, 1756. Sergt. Connor of Newbury, Robert Wyllys of Westfield, David Davis of Rumford, soldiers drowned in Great River at Westfield."

He attended their funerals on the 16th.

On a trip to Boston at end of May, 1757, he saw a negro hanging in chains at Mr. Edwards' bookstore.

The first formal action respecting vagrants taken by the town was on Feb. 6, 1758:

"Voted—That the Selectmen be empowered to hire a house to employ Idle persons in to labor & to appoint a Master to take care and govern all such persons as are or may be sent there by authority to be employed in labor to see that such persons do perform the tasks that shall be enjoyned upon them."

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A committee was appointed for the purpose of investigating the matter, consisting of David Moseley, Esq., Eldad Taylor, Esq., Dea. John Shepard, Samuel Fowler, and Asa Noble.

In March of the year following the matter came up again, so amended as to include impoverished people.

"Voted. To appoint ye house that was Isaac Phelps for a work house.

"Voted. That Joseph Root be a Task Master to take Care and over see ye Idle or poor persons sent there by ye selectmen & be Impowered to keep them to labour & keep accounts."

There certainly is no flavor of sweet charity in that action. Its basis seems to have been purely economic and practical. The willful vagrant and the enforced pauper, however self-respecting, were placed on a common level under the iron heel of a "Task Master." The final clause is to be interpreted as applying to the Master, not as indicative of an obligation pressing upon him to teach his victims the art of bookkeeping. In a summary at the end of 1757, Mr. Ballantine credits the Adult Separates as 37 and the Negroes, all of whom of course were slaves, as 36. That they were generally well cared for is indicated by an entry, Jan. 25, 1759:

"Visited Wm Sackets negro boy Ætat. 11, in a consumption and Dropsy, in great distress and pain, a little while ago firm and strong. Youth and health dont secure from Death. I see from his distress that a sick bed is a poor place to prepare. The lad was dear to the family. They would give much that his life might be spared. Psalms 49:6-9. How sad ye consequences of Apostasy, how foolish to persist in sin.

"26. Caesar, Wm Sackets negro died, how many warnings have youth, how inexcusable if they neglect to prepare on presumption that they will live to be old, earthly enjoyment uncertain.

"His Master depended on his help, vain is ye help of man. Masters should take care of the souls of their servants as well as their bodies. Attended Caesars funeral, when we are dead those to whom we were desirable desire to bury us out of their sight. A very stormy day. In ye grave, secure from storms and then ye weary are at rest, and servants are free from their Masters, death levels all, the lowest are equal to the highest.

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Feb. 1. Visited Mr Israel Noble who has had the lung fever to such a degree that his life was almost despaired of, but through God's goodness was recovered to such a state that he has been able to go abroad, a few nights ago waked up, sweat very freely, complained of a pressure in his stomach, on raising him up, he vomited a quantity of fresh blood judged by ye spectators to be a pint, at ye same time purgd, face very black, stank much, cant be raised up without fainting, his pulse scarcely perceptible. Has a cough but not violent, has met with no hurt. Doct. Pynchon being consulted judged that ye texture of his blood being much broken is extravasated and that though he is not sensible of one part being weaker than another yet judges if he gets well will be [illegible] is afraid of ye putrefaction of ye bowels. Prescribed Rhubarb a large dose of which, not working he prescribed Caena Liquorish, Cream Tartar, judged it necessary that his bowels be cleansed, if Physic should work, he prescribed Elixir Vitriol dropped on Conserves of Roses, a concoction of ye Cortex. Claret wine, pap of wheat bread, rice for food.

"When can we say ye bitterness of death is past. The clouds return after ye rain, when we are ready to say peace and safety, many times sudden destruction, Jer. 8, 15. we looked and no good came, and for a time of health and behold trouble Isa. 64, 3. Thou didst terrible things which we looked not for.

"How heavy is an affliction thus circumstanced, it is like plunging a man again into the sea that had narrowly escaped drowning, and had begun to entertain hopes of living.

"Mr Noble last fall & his wife heard an unusual knocking at their door which began, if I mistake not, about daybreak and continued till sunrise, but could hear no voice, nor see any one though they got up."

Four months later this patient who had so long survived that awful complication of diseases and the more appalling complexity of drastic doses, suddenly succumbed to the inevitable.

"June 5. Visited ye family of Israel Noble, as I have mentioned before has been under long and distressing difficulty & has been again & again brought nigh ye grave, and so far recovered as to attend ye public worship last Sabbath,

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Ante & Post meridian, this morning, being as well as he had been for some time, as he was cutting Tobacco intending to go to Springfield, fell out of his chair & died instantly. When his friends thought him nigh death, he lives—when they thought him recovering, he dies.

"June 6. Attended funeral of Mr. Israel Noble Ætat. 57."

He was a grandson of Thomas Noble the settler, and son of Deacon Thomas. He lived in a house about 20 rods west of the old Noble homestead, which though long unoccupied, and known as "the old Day house," stood near the Tuberculosis Hospital on the north side of the Boston and Albany railroad until a few years since.

"Mar. 16. Lydia, my daughter born about 2 in ye morning. O ye goodness of God in taking us out of ye womb. God confers favors before we ask him—before we can serve him.

"How do women travail to bring children into this sinful world. How should we travail to be born of God. God has given us Lydia. What obligations are we under to serve God, God give us grace to keep us, and to bring up her and our other children in ye nurture and admonition of ye Lord. May ye children not only be blessed, but blessings."

"Apr. 17, 1759. John Ashley Esq. died aged 90, he has been Captain of a company, a representative of the town many years, and one of the judges of the Court. He outlived the expectations of his friends, and even the desires of some of his relation. He was forgotten as one that has long been dead. Very few attended his funeral considering the number of his relatives and the offices he has held.

"18. Widow Sexton aged 80, a separate, went out of the door to-day and in a few minutes was found lying upon the ground dead.

"The papers inform us that the Princess of Orange, the eldest daughter of King George is dead. The King of Spain has been in a strange condition ever since the death of his wife. He is melancholy and refuses to be seen. He has given an immense sum of money to be distributed among the clergy of his Kingdom for praying for the repose of his soul.

"The comet so much talked of has been seen. The measles have been in every house but six or seven in town. Many have died, nine in April, one child lost the sight of one eye."

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Here is a sample of a day's work in the life of a country parson of a century and a half ago.

"April 9. Called up in ye night to visit David Baggs wife —visited Elisha Roots daughter who died while I was there, visited Old Widow Hanchet, visited Old Mr Wadkins, dined at David Fowlers, visited Ebenr Bushs wife sick with ye measles. Supt at Aaron Bushs, visited David Baggs wife.

"June 25. John sick, the Lord spare him and make him a blessing, may the Lord who revived him from ye measles, recover him from ye fever, that will be another obligation to devote him to Thee."

This prayer of Mr. Ballantine's for his third child and firstborn son was abundantly answered, since he reached the age of 84 years, and was a man of very religious life.

Among several young men whom, from time to time, Mr. Ballantine fitted for college, was Nathanael, son of Capt. Pynchon of Springfield. Stories of some kind had reached Capt. Pynchon which made him doubtful about sending his son to take the entrance examinations, but it was finally decided that he should go, and on July 17 Mr. Ballantine started with him for Cambridge.

"20. Examination Day. Pynchon examined & to my mortification as well as his, found wanting—put off to ye end of ye vacancy [vacation]. I took more pains with him than I had done with any, he had construed 8 Orations in Tully, good part of it 3 times, for Virgil he had gone through ye Eclogues, 3 Eneid & had got 50 or 60 lines at ye begining of every Eneid to ye 11th, some part of it 4 times. He had gone through Clarks introduction in Greek, through Matthew, Mark & Luke and entered John, rendered considerable of it into English as well as Latin, parsed 8 verses in a recitation. He could perform tasks prescribed I make no doubt. Was told by one of ye examiners that if he minded his studies in ye vacancy, there would be no doubt of his admission at ye end of it."

Poor Nathanael, with his heritage of culture and efficiency! How dull or how easily rattled he must have been! His worthy but frustrated tutor makes no farther mention of him until he attended his funeral, Aug. 3, 1764.

The repairs in the meeting house, for which the town

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made provision in February of this year, seem to have been characteristically slow in accomplishment, as indicated by Mr. Ballantine's entry:

"Aug. 1. Went to ye meeting house to see ye repairs, drove a nail, as they phrase it."

The journey was not a long one for him, since the building stood on the east corner of Meadow and Main Streets and his house stood on the east corner of Cross Street, almost directly opposite.

A year later an addition was put upon the parsonage.

"Aug. 2. News came to-day that Ticonderoga is taken.

"5. News that Niagara is taken. General Prideaux Killed by the bursting of one of their own shells. Gen. Johnson has the command. 800 men in garrison and 100 prisoners on the way.

"9. Attend meeting at Clark Kings to thank God for the success granted to English arms, and to pray for a continuance of his smiles.

"12. News came of the capture of Crown Point.

"15. Went to Justice [Eldad] Taylors to hear a cause tried: Lieut. Dewey brought a writ of replevin against D. Bagg who had impounded his sheep. Defendent plead he had a right to do so, the plaintiff demurred on the ground of its being too general; defendent abode by his plea, judged good, plaintiff appealed. It was tried by the Inferior Court and judged bad. 'Leave off contention before it be meddled with' 'The beginning of strife is like the letting out of water' The niceties of the law too great obstructions of justice.

"31. The whooping or chin cough prevails in town. Bears are numerous in town this summer and do great mischief in the fields. Squirrels and woodchuchs are very abundant.

"Sep. 6. Mr. C. minister of Billerica discovered to be guilty of intemperate drinking. how such instances tend to bring ministers into contempt. how they wound religion. how aggravated are such sins in ministers. Rom. II, 17-24. Psalm IX. 6

"9. Sunday, a bear was killed in the afternoon. Was it a violation of the Sabbath? *Answer.* If a house take fire on the sabbath men may labor to put it out, if an enemy come among us on the sabbath we may secure him if we have

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an opportunity. These beasts destroy the corn, kill sheep hogs and young cattle, the lives of men are exposed, it seems therefore to be a work of necessity to and no breach of the sabbath.

"17. Called to visit a negro child belonging to widow Gunn.

"*Quere.* Is baptism the privilege of any but believers or the children of believers? From 1 Corinthians 7:14 I infer that if the unbelieving parent is not sanctified by the believing one the children are not entitled to baptism. From Galatians III:14 taking it for granted that the blessing of Abraham was the privilege of circomcising not only children but slaves I infer that believers may give up their servants in baptism.

"*Quere.* might not the servants have been proselytes and thus baptized on their own account?

"It is not said they were. Paul said believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shall be saved and thy house. Acts XVI, 31. which means doubtless that if the parent believed it should bring in some sense his family within the pale of the church.

"*Quere.* May baptism be administered in private? Philip baptized the eunuch privately.

"Oct. 7. Went to Blandford, preached a Lecture, they are in a very decided state about ruling elders. The Presbyterian canons say that vacancies in the sessions shall be supplied by the surviving elders. Mr. Morton and one elder nominated elders, the notice had been given six weeks when Mr. M. proceeded to ordain them. The people imagine their rights are infringed."

It is no wonder that Mr. Morton had much trouble in his church, trying with some Scotch-Irish members to graft Presbyterianism upon a stock of New England Congregationalism.

"Nov. 1, 1759. Benjamin Remmington came to be married after I had gone to bed, got up and married him.

"2. Rev. Mr. Lord of Norwich and wife here with her sister, and Mr. Lords daughter Anne visited us."

In 1720 Mr. Lord married Rev. Edward Taylor's daughter Ann, his eleventh child. The daughter here spoken of, bearing her mother's name, became the second wife of Capt. John Kellogg in 1766.

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Mrs. Lord very probably came with these members of her family to visit her brother Eldad, at that time forty-one years old, the youngest and fourteenth child of Mr. Taylor, and Mrs. Lord's junior by nine years. There were eight children in his family to entertain their visiting aunts and cousins, varying in age from Eldad, twenty-six years old, who then had been married for five years, to Anne, then two years old.

"5. Was at Capt. Sheldons, bought of him 6 Bbls. of Cider at 4 shillings a Bbl.

"9. At Mrs Guns, gave her a Dollar for Primus. bringing 6 Bbls. Cider from Suffield.

"10. My birth day, 1716. I have lived 40 years in this world. Do I live so as becomes one that has had so much time and so many advantages to know my duty—how have I spent this time, have I spent it for God, my great Master whom I am in so many accounts obliged to serve, how great has been God's patience toward me. I am nearer my end, am I nearer to God, nearer to heaven? May I work while it is yet day, for the night cometh when no man can work.

"13. The Small Pox in many Towns, spread by ye soldiers and very fatal.

"23. Rev. Mr. Judd Southampton dined here, also a soldier. 2 soldiers supt here."

An account is given of a Council at Willington, Conn., Nov. 28, when Mr. Gideon Noble, a member of the Westfield church, was ordained. Mr. Ballantine was chosen Moderator and preached the sermon.

"Feb. 2, 1760. Mr. Maxwell of Swanzey dined with us. He has been pastor of a Baptist church, but in the late times of confusion the church left him. He was afterwards installed pastor of a church of the same denomination in Rehoboth, but became convinced in his own mind that infant baptism was a doctrine of the bible, and refusing to re-baptize one who had been baptized in his infancy; he was obliged to leave the church. He is the *thirtieth* child of his father, who had twenty-one by his first wife and nine by his last. He is 72 years old, has not had a liberal education, but served an apprenticeship to a shoemaker in Boston; afterwards, while deacon of a church in Newport, commenced preaching.

"Feb. 10. Attended a lecture at Agawam. Mr. Breck

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preached from Matthew xxiii, 8, after which the pedo-baptists and anti-pedo-baptists brought forward terms of coalescence previously prepared. It was a rare instance of Catholicism. I was well pleased with it. It appears to me quite reasonable that we should hold communion with those with whom we hope to live in heaven, though they differ from us in some non-essentials, as the subjects and mode of baptism. All true Christians are members of Christ. If one of the members of our body should be *imagined* by us to be out of order, or should be really so, should we neglect it or cast it away? Should we not try to recover it? Or, if we had no hopes of that we should make ourselves easy with it. So should Christians deal with each other. Perhaps some things are left obscure by God to exercise the charity of his children. It is arrogance in any man to set himself up as the standard, and condemn or approve others according as they appear when measured by this standard. I disclaim infallibility in myself and will not allow it to others.

"March 18. Town meeting. The non-commissioned officers, being displeased with the proceedings of the last training, showed their resentment by turning out of office all commissioned officers.

"April 28. Saw an account in a Connecticut paper to-day of a yearling calf that weighed 355 pounds. Also a lamb at Guilford had one head, two bodies and eight legs.

"Oct. 22, 1760. The small pox is in many towns and is in one family in this town. Inoculation is practiced in Connecticut, New York and the Jerseys. A new method of treating this distemper is practiced, which renders the disease milder.

"June 11. Orders came to enlist more men, a bounty of £12 offered to each man.

"20. Two vagabond persons, a man and his wife whipt for stealing.

"23. Visited Esquire Moseley who has just returned from Boston, he brings news that the French raised the siege of Quebec, and went off in great confusion on the arrival of the fleet under Lord Colville, leaving their tents standing, their cannon and ammunition in the field.

"26. There is in town a regular officer captured at Quebec

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in April last. He says he was discharged by an order from the British camp. He confirms the report of raising the seige of Quebec and says the French are in a desperate condition.

"July. 22. At Captain [William] Shepards request went to Captain Clapps, prayed with and counselled his company being about to march. Captain C. gave me a dollar.

"Sep. 6. One Neal who calls himself a doctor and has been living about a month with Dr. Smith was publicly whipped for stealing.

"10. News that St. John is taken by the English.

"18. News that Montreal is taken and of the reduction of Canada complete Oct. 9. Thanksgiving through the Province for the reduction of Canada.

"Nov. 13, 1760. Visited Old Mr. Parks & Ensign Parks. Received a 'Johannes' through ye hand of Mrs. Dixon & Mrs. Anne Ingersol, sent me by Capt. Danks from Halifax, may the favor bestowed on me unobliged by me be returned into his own bosom."

The following items of personal reference and service in the pulpit on a Sabbath day are selected from scores of such notes through the years covered by Mr. Ballantine's Journal. They emphasize strongly the thoroughly family character of the church of that period, and the bond of genuine sympathy and fellowship existing among the people of the community. Church attendance was practically universal and habitual.

"30. Preached. Thanks, requested by Capt. Shepard, Oliver Root, and Ozem Sackett, returned from ye War. Prayers requested by Sergt. Isaac Stiles & Wife, that the death of her sister, Adams of Suffield, who hanged herself with a wheel band just having been under disorders of body and mind, might be sanctified.

"James Stevenson prayers for his child burnt. William Sackett & Wife, thanks for recovery from child bearing, prayers desired by widow Noble that Ensign Graves death might be sanctified.

"Dec. 1. I received a letter from Rev. Mr. Breck saying yt he cannot go to Granville because of ye Small Pox at Springfield.

"2. Two men carried from Widow Shepards to ye Hospital broke out with ye Small Pox.

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"3. Fast at Springfield 1st parish occasioned by ye small Pox. Visited Widow Noble who is exercised with fear yt she is infected with ye small Pox by ye 2 soldiers, broke out at her house.

"4. A man carried from Widow Carter's sick with ye small Pox to Hospital. Widow Mercy Ashley gave me a pig.

"7. Widow Margaret Ashley sent me a pig. Eldad Palmer, Lee's child & Hannah Old sick with ye small Pox.

"10. Mr. Eliakim Sacket gave me piece Beef and suet.

"11. Palmer, Lee's child and Hannah Olds were infected by a soldier who had been dead 18 days before he broke out & was not supposed to have ye small Pox when he died. Palmer and Lee's child was disordered on ye 14th day.

"14. Preached. A girl named Wright was carried from Stephen Nobles to Ichabod Lees house, broke out with ye small Pox. was at Doct. Smiths, he was suspected to have ye smallPox. 4 soldiers have died in Town of it. Thanks. Oliver Weller, George Patterson, for preservation in ye summer campaign.

"21. Preached, prayers for Lydia Kelsey and Rhoda Hill both sick with small Pox."

Thus the horror of a loathsome disease was an aftermath of the horrors of war, carried by returning soldiers from town to town and then by the infected inhabitants borne from house to house. The wonder is that annihilating epidemics did not sweep the Province bare of population.

"Jan. 6, 1761. News of the death of King George II, in the 77th year of his age, and the 34th of his reign. He died suddenly. The surgeons who opened his body, judged that his death was occasioned by a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart.

"Jan. 27, 1761. A singing meeting at my house in evening.

"29. People sledded wood for me. Capt. Ezra Clap gave me 2 quarts of Rum. Esqr. Taylor [Deacon Eldad] & Sergeant Fowler 2 qts. Sergt. Samuel Noble 1 qt. Daniel Noble a spare rib.

"31. This month a great fire in Boston by which Faneuil Hall & a number of shops belonging to ye Town of Boston were consumed.

"Feb. 3. 20 Teams sledded Timbers & logs to build me

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a barn gratis, made a supper for those who were so Kind as to help me."

He appends a list of his benefactors in which appears the name of Capt. William Shepard.

"6. A number sledded logs for slitwork for my barn.

"12. An earthquake.

"13. Sent for by Widow Wadkins her daughter supposed to have ye small Pox. went.

"Detained by sickness from public worship. Have not been kept away but one day and a half for 20 years.

"15. Thanks. Ensign Ingersol & wife recovered from child bearing.

"17. Was at Justice Taylors. Capt. Moseley's Negro examined by him for assaulting Mary Shepard ye night before, whipt 28 stripes.

"18. Doct. Smith sent me a loin of veal, Clark Moseley a piece of Pork & Sergt Gillett sent me a sparerib."

Under date of the following day he gives a list of twenty-five men who came to hew timber for his barn and tells of gifts of two legs of pork and two quarts of rum, and other gifts, on the 26th.

"27. Ensign Ingersol gave me 2 qts. Rum.. Elisha Root 1 qt. Erastus Sacket 1 qt. Simeon Stiles 3 Doz. Eggs.

"Apr. 1. My barn raised. The people got ye Timber framed it gratis. made a plentiful supper, sent in much more provisions than was needed. The good Lord give me a thankful heart, let it be a motive to faithfulness. Let not their kindness prove a snare & indispose me to reprove for fear of offending good friends.

"Capt. John Moseley gave me 4 dollars. Luke Phelps gave me a spare rib."

The considerate and generous treatment which his people accorded him is fully attested in his Journal and shown also by the town records. In February, 1759, the town voted to add the sum of £22. 10s. 6d. to his stated salary which had been 200 old tenor. It was explained that the addition made his compensation £70 lawful money besides his firewood.

At the March meeting following he offered prayer and returned thanks to the town for the honorable settlement it had made with him.

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At a meeting in the following May, 1759, "it was voted to set up a New Pound on the ground near Deacon Eldad Taylor's dwelling house where the first meeting house stood."

That vote is of great value, since it has made possible the identification of that important historical site. It is not many years ago that men were living who had been shown exactly where the pound had stood and who had seen the stone posts that marked its four corners. Several years ago the Western Hampden Historical Society placed a granite marker near the spot to perpetuate through succeeding generations a knowledge of it.

"Apr. 15, 1761.

"Association at Westfield, Rev. Messrs. Williams, Reynolds, Breck, Merrick, Leavit, Morton, Smith, Lothrop, also Mr Hooker and the Rev. Mr. Ashley here. Rev. Mr. Merrick preached on the 'duration of Hell torments.'

"May 5. Cold storm ground covered with snow in ye morning.

"7. Sent for to Simeon Ashleys to see a girl supposed to have small Pox, was in doubt about her, sheared the sheep.

"9. The girl at Mr Ashleys proves to have ye swine Pox. John & William [sons] drove ye sheep to Blanford.

"21. Began to cover ye barn. Bought a Wig. 6 dollars.

"June 20, 1761. Mrs. Williams, daughter of Rev. Mr. Williams of Deerfield, taken captive when about 4 years of age, has continued with them ever since, is a Catholic, is married to an Indian. She with her husband and daughter and daughter's husband and child being on a visit to Rev. Mr. Williams of Springfield breakfasted with us as they went along on their journey.

"July 6. Mr. Throop preached at Jonathan Fowlers. He is a trimmer, he tries to please me and the Separates.

"10. Mrs. Williams, her husband, her daughter, her daughter's husband and grandchild dined here on their way back to Canada.

"July 21. Mr Throop came to ask me to preach at Capt. Nobles. He tries to please me and the separates. He had no credentials: I declined. My going would look too much like countenancing him.

"30. Doct. Mather was married in Meeting house."

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That must have been a sensational innovation, being the first record of such an incident.

"Aug. 10. Doct. Mathers house raised. I supt with ye company.

"12. Fast observed by us occasioned by drought, ditched my well next to ye house. Well at ye barn very low—drove ye cows to ye River.

"14. River very low, difficult to get grinding.

"21. A young man killed by a Rattle snake at Farmington. Deacon Merrick's son of Springfield mountain. [The historical basis of the old song 'Springfield Mountain,' of two generations ago among college boys.]

"22. Rained all night and day.

"Sept. 3. General fast throughout the Province on account of the drought, and a fire which has run over many miles of land. By order of the Court of Gt. Barrington, Warham Williams is to stand in the pillory. Carl and one other is to be whipt for making and passing counterfeit dollars.

"Sept. 7. Visited Dr. Smith's wife, who is unusually affected. Her head is turned back and one quarter round, so that her face is over her shoulder, looking up.

"Daniel Fowler licensed to be an Innholder instead of Deacon Taylor who resigned.

"Sept. 12. News reached here to-day of the surrender of Havana to the English, August 11. The spoils are to be shared by the sea and land forces. The share of the general officers is 12,000 pounds sterling. Nine ships of the line were taken at Havana.

"Sept. 24. A young man in Montague shot his father the other day, while hunting. He saw him, dressed in black, at a distance, through the bushes, and took him for a bear.

"Oct. 14. Went to Suffield in a chair."

Very probably it was the one which he purchased in Boston for the comfort of his wife on her wedding journey.

"Oct. 20. George Throop has turned churchman.

"Oct. 29. A lad in Boston fell into the water, sank, and when taken out was to all appearances dead. By wrapping him in a warm blanket and rubbing with fine salt, he was restored.

"21. A number of Turkey Hills people in conjunction with people in South part of Town violently took ——— ———

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wife and set her on a rail and carried her on their shoulders, they set her likewise on a sharp back horse, carried her along hooting at her and ringing cow bells and blowing horns, ye pretense was (adultery) and maltreatment of her husband. O tempora, O mores.

"Nov. 4. We found out on looking over our linnen that was washed this week that 2 shirts of Brother Josephs were stolen, 4 of mine and 1 of my wife's and 3 Handkerchiefs were stolen off the hedge. Some Regulars were in Town last evening. We suspected them.

"5. Brother Joseph set out after the thieves, overtook them at Sheffield, got a warrant from Brigadier Dwight, searched them, found the linnen. The fellows were whipt. He got the linnen and 3 dollars.

"11. Mr. Oliver Noble late minister of Coventry, Conn. lodged here. There was great opposition made to the gentleman's settlement at Coventry & by some unguarded expressions about a black velvet Cape on a white great coat gave such an handle against him as occasioned his dismission from there. Singularity in dress sometimes proves a snare to one that has a mind to be popular. We should dare to be true though we expose ourselves to banter & ridicul—a small spark may be blown up to a great flame. Be careful what you say and before whom. Dont meddle with other people's affairs, by asking impertinent questions, it may lead to bad consequences.

"Dec. 6. Attended Dr. Smith's wife's funeral. As her disease and manner of death were remarkable, so was she remarkable, in her life. She was indicted, on the charge of being confederate with Crocker in counterfeiting dollars, plead guilty, was fined and imprisoned. She previously had declared, under oath, that she knew nothing of it. She was suspended from the church and never restored. She appeared unmoved at the prospect of death and professed hopes of happiness.

"Feb. 15, 1762. Town meeting. The inhabitants of the south part applied to the town to pay George Throop, who has been preaching to them, but were refused because they employed him contrary to the advice of standing ministry.

"March 16. Mr. Throop was warned out of town with his wife."

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Whether or not he heeded the warning, five months later he dined with Mr. Ballantine, and in May of the following year he preached for Mr. Ballantine.

"May 20. Married David Moseley. I asked none of ye guests tho ye wedding was at my house. I did not pretend to do much. Esq. Moseley made a supper, on that account thought it proper to call ye guests, besides I judged it liable to less exception not to invite any than not to invite all.

"22. Notwithstanding my care not to give offense with regard to ye marriage that was at my house, much offense was taken.

"24. Some pretend that we not only did not invite them but hindered their being invited to the marriage. How watchful is Satan for opportunities to alienate people from me. What need of prudence by a minister. That is a most reasonable caution Christ gives, be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves. What care need be taken in ye conduct of every affair, that we be not the occasion of others seeing."

The bride who was the unconscious occasion of that unseemly rumpus in the parish was Lydia Gay, a niece of Mrs. Ballantine, who outlived her husband many years and who has been clearly remembered by people not long gone from earth, as a refined and lovely gentlewoman. Her death at the great age of 93 years did not occur until 1835. David and Lydia Moseley had ten children, the firstborn having been David, the third in line of the name, who was the great-great-grandchild of John Mosely, the settler and foundation man.

"June. 2. Rev. Mr. Forbes of Brookfield and Mr Asaph Rice a missionary to the Indians visited us.

"7. Matthew Noble's house raised, supt at Engsin Nobles. [Matthew, his Father.] We prayed and sung psalms.

"9. My wife d—d of a son, three o'clock in the morning, blessed be God for his goodness to my family. Mrs. Bagg came to nurse my wife.

"June 13. Preached. Thanks for my wife's safe deliverance also James Stevenson's wife. Baptized my child, called his name Winthrop. My 5th child was called Winthrop & was suddenly taken from us. May this serve to remind us of the uncertainty of children and all other comforts, may

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it quicken us to do our duty to our children while we have them, not knowing how soon they may be taken from us. We first lost a Lydia [died Aug. 27, 1749, aged 2 1/3 years] then a Winthrop [died Sep. 23, 1758, aged 4½ years] The repairer of breaches granted us first a Lydia, then a Winthrop. O that he who renews the face of ye earth would give us a new heart. May new mercies beget new love and bring forth new praises. We have dedicated him to God, may we bring him up for God.

"23. Scholars mowed in home lot."

These literary husbandmen were the several pupils whom Mr. Ballantine was fitting for college.

"24. Had ye cholic. Azariah Moseley married to Miriam Parsons, was invited to sup with them, not able to go.

"July 4. Hot. Preached. My wife went out of doors.

"7. Sylva came to live with us."

She was a slave belonging to Rev. William Gay, Mrs. Ballantine's brother in Suffield.

"8. Rode out with my wife to-day.

"One Spring, of Tyringham, having drank pretty freely, got upon a brisk horse and spurred him to make him rear up. He fell over backwards with Spring on his back. He got up and seemed not much hurt. Soon after he was found in the street. Supposing him drunk, he was carried into a house and laid upon the floor. In the morning he was found in the same place dead.

"Sept. 4. Samuel Eaton of Enfield here. Born in Boston. Lived near my father's when a boy. I had not seen him for 30 years.

"Sept. 24. Visited Thomas Murrayfield, hurt by a fall from a horse, coming to public worship.

"Nov. 21. Money makers [counterfeiters] apprehended at Suffield last Sabbath. Have seen the form of oath administered by them to persons when admitted to that wicked society. It, in the most horrid manner, imprecates plagues on themselves if they do not prove faithful.

"Dec. 26. Deacon Taylor thanks. wife d—l—d."

This was Eldad Taylor's last child, the 13th, Eldad himself having been his Father's 14th child. John Taylor, born Dec. 23, 1763, who became the Rev. John, was settled for

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many years at Deerfield and died at the west in 1840, aged 78 years. He was born 120 years after his grandfather, Rev. Edward Taylor, who died in 1729, aged 87 years. Hence from the birth of the grandfather to the death of the grandson was 198 years, as noted previously.

"Jan. 22. 1763. Went to Suffield west road, such drifts could not keep ye road, took a wrong path, found ye right path tho' insensible of it untill I got to Mr. Phelan's.

"25. Mr. Hathaway drank tea with us."

This is the first use in the Journal of this expression, the expression hitherto having been "supt with us."

"26. Visited Capt. Moseley lately returned from Boston, preliminaries of peace signed, several houses & shops burned in Boston. Repaid Col. Moseley what paid for me to London 3/. paid Mr. Parks 1/6 for my half of 3 Magazines for May, June & July.

"Feb. 10. Difficult travelling, people go to meeting on snow shoes.

"Feb. 13, 1763. A beggar belonging to New London lay by the fire. It is difficult to know one's duty to such persons, there are so many imposters. Kindness encourages them. Some get more and fare better than laboring men, which may tempt some to neglect labor and betake themselves to this mean practice. Every town should maintain their own poor, or, if in any case it is necessary for them to go abroad, they should go well recommended. When persons are away from home and reduced to straits, it is plain they ought to be helped, but beggary as a trade is not to be introduced. 2 Thes. iii, 10.

"Feb. 16. Six neighboring ministers have agreed to have lectures at each other's parish once in six weeks, if encouraged by the attendance of the people, and if it does not occasion young people to frolic after it. Exodus xxxii, 6, and 1, Corinthians x, 7.

"March. 2. Great body of snow on Ground more than has been known for many years."

That exceptionally large snowfall marked the winter following the appalling drouth of the preceding summer when days of fasting and prayer were held in many places to avert the calamity. Evidently extremes of weather are no modern novelty.

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"March 16. A sheep in Milton strayed from the flock on the second of January and remained buried in snow till the 31st. A boy on that day, walking upon the snow, fell through into the cavity the sheep had made by its breath. It was alive, but could not stand nor eat, but eventually recovered.

"A sheep in Hingham had 15 lambs in five years, 14 of which lived Ye sheep died this winter with 3 Lambs in herd.

"Mar. 24. Married Nero and Chloe, servants of Capt. Bancroft.

"May. 3. Visited Rev. Mr. Reynolds, siesed ye Friday before with a lethargic disorder, a very threatening case. The Lord spare ye life of this good man. It is a great calamity to have ye Pilot taken away from ye ship in a storm. Enfield is torn by grievous wolves. They do not spare ye flock when ye shepherd is with them. What will they do when ye shepherd is taken from them."

Mr. Ballantine's reference is to the divisive work of the Separates who were active in Enfield and had a church there.

"4. Saw some snow.

"6. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Bethia Noble, wife of Silas Noble of Blandford Ætat 24, her distemper was Consumption. She had such evidences of her happiness that she was waiting to die, even desired death.

"12. Deacon Eldad Taylor chosen Representative.

"26. Capt. Shepard's house raised.

"May 21. Frost last night. Season backward.

"June 20. Visited Deacon Taylor, lately from Boston. Esq. Otis, a representative from Boston, attempted to model the Court. Did not carry his point, and very solemnly resigned his seat—takes it the next day. Col. M. of Rutland, wrung Brigadier B's nose. The Brigadier belongs to the Council.

"Aug. 3. Went with Deacons Taylor & Shepard to talk with Martin——— wife, most scandalously drunk last week.

"9. Peace proclaimed. 11. General Thanksgiving for Peace."

That was the formal end of the series of wars which for almost a century had, with only temporary lulls, raged about the heads of the devoted Colonists. Their Thanksgiving

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must have been sincere, deep and hearty, in view of continuous hardships, losses and terrors from Indian enemies and their no less treacherous and hardly less brutal and cruel French allies.

Yet the period of peace thus heralded and welcomed was destined to continue only about a decade before the flames of the Revolution burst over them and their sister Colonists along the Atlantic seaboard. They did well to make the most of that respite, undisturbed as yet with premonitions of the coming struggle with the Mother Country.

"Aug. 15. My wife and I set out in a Chair for Hinsdale, N.H. Visited Mr Hooker, lodged with Mr. Hopkins, Hadley.

"16. visited Rev. Joseph Ashley, Sunderland, stop^{t} at Capt. Root's Montague, dined at Rev. Mr. Hubbard's, Northfield. Ashuelot river high, rapid. It was with difficulty that we got over. Mr. Smith of Northfield fell in, my saddle bags were on his horse, everything in them got wet. I crossed in a canoe, lodged at Mr. Hinsdales at Hinsdale.

"17. Mr. Bunker Gay ordained at Hinsdale. I began with prayer. Mr. Gay of Suffield preached. Mr. Gay of Hingham prayed before ye Charge. Mr. Williams of Springfield gave ye charge. Mr. Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield prayed after ye charge. Mr. Carpenter of Swanzey gave ye right hand of fellowship.

"Several people fell into Ashuelot River, a pack lost of considerable value, hard showers.

"Rev. Messrs. Gay, Tyler, Haven, each set out to cross Connecticut River. Visited Mrs. Toot formerly Ford, who had been captured by the Indians and her daughter who had been preparing to take ye vow of chastity. Dined at Mr. Hinsdale's, set out homewards, visited Mr. Evans, he accompanied us to ye River, my head swam, was in some danger, lodged at Mr. Hubbard's Northfield, went through part of Falls Town, visited Rev. Mr. Newton of Greenfield, dined at Rev. Mr. Ashley's, Deerfield, visited Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, Hatfield, lodged at Rev. Mr. Hooker's, Northampton.

"20. Dined at home."

That was a sensational journey to take part in the ordination of a relative of Mrs. Ballantine's. Rev. Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield was a native of Westfield, of whose acerbity in

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view of conditions in his parish and outside it, an account has been given already.

It may be well to pause for the consideration of some matters which had been acted upon in Town Meeting to which Mr. Ballantine makes no reference in his Journal, inclusive and minute as its items are.

The custom of holding court alternately in Springfield and Northampton had been observed from the beginnings of settlement, while Springfield had continued to be the shire town. It was natural, however, that with the preponderance of population along the valley in the county which extended so far north of Springfield, an effort should take shape looking towards the transference of the county capital to a point nearer the center of population. A loud echo of that movement is heard in action taken in Westfield Town Meeting, June 3, 1761, Deacon John Shepard, Moderator.

"At this meeting ye question was put to the Town to know if the Town was willing the Shire Town should be removed from Springfield to some other Town up to ye Northward.

"It was voted to ye negative.

"2nd It was voted to chuse a Committee to send their objections against its being removed to David Moseley Esq. our Representative now in Court to offer our objections against its being removed as that we have heard that Col. Partridge and Col. Timothy Dwight have exhibited a prayer to ye General Court that it might be removed to Northampton from Springfield.

"Voted, that Eldad Taylor with ye Selectmen be a Committee to wright to David Moseley Esqr. our objections to be offered to ye General Court against ye Shire Town being removed."

Another matter, quite revolutionary in character, a local sensation, in fact, came up at the same meeting.

"Voted to take all ye long seats in ye body of ye Meeting house and build or make in their places pews."

Opposition to the plan developed at once, as was evidently anticipated, since having appointed a committee to build pews the meeting adjourned for a fortnight. Upon reassembling a motion was made to see if the town would not reconsider the vote about building pews, and was negatived.

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At a meeting, however, held a week later the town refused to vote money for the purpose, and then reconsidered the vote to make the proposed change in the seats.

A case of Yankee prudence is pictured in action taken at a meeting in February, 1762. An article was presented relative to building a cart bridge "over ye Little River, that leads to Ponder's Hollow or at ye Road that goes up to ye hundred acres." It was decided to build the described bridge "provided that those persons which have contributed to said Bridge will give in what they have already done."

An innovation was brought into a meeting held May 17, 1762, John Shepard, Moderator.

"Voted—To chuse a Committee to provide a house, by purchasing of Wm Harrison Church's house or Ezekiel Noble's shop, or by building of a suitable house for ye use of the Town in anything the Town shall have occation for it & also to set a house on any place on ye town land as they shall judge most convenient for ye use of ye town, fully authorizing to act according to ye best of their judgement for ye good of ye town.

"Committee chosen, David Moseley Esqr. Eldad Taylor, Esqr. Nathl Weller, David Fowler & Capt. John Moseley."

Up to that time all meetings of the town had been held in the only public building within its borders, the meeting house in a double sense. What farther action in this important matter was subsequently taken, cannot now be determined, since, most unfortunately, the records are missing from that date for three succeeding years.

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CHAPTER XIX.

The Third Pastor (*Concluded*)

Peace had been declared, and enthusiastically celebrated, but there were still savages in the land who had depraved tastes and brutal habits. Occasionally still a shocking story reached the confines of civilization and was rehearsed with trembling gusto.

Mr. Ballantine was always alert for any fragment of the sensational: "Aug. 30, 1763. See in the newspapers, Sir Robert Davens boiled and eat by the Indians."

Earlier that month he records: "23. Molly went to Springfield to buy wool, wool is 1 shilling 6 pence a pound." When, in the history of the valley, has Springfield failed to draw shoppers to its stores?

"24. My Razors ground by a man who had an apparatus for grinding on a wheelbarrow." Another modern industry anticipated in past ages.

"29. Rev. Mr. Alexander Cummings, one of ye Ministers of ye Old South Church, died 25th inst of a bilious Cholic. Ætat 37.

"September, 1763, 24. Cow hunched me, it is of ye Lord's mercy she did not tear my bowels out, how do ye preservations of every day increase my obligation to serve him. may ye bruise on my body remind me of God's mercy.

"30. Separate Meeting house raised, about 30 rods from ye Old one, by vote of Town Meeting at Suffield.

"Nov. 10. Troubled with a bad cold, speak with difficulty. My 41st birthday. I must decrease, as my outward man perishes, may my inward man be renewed day by day.

"Dec. 6. Mr. King gave 2 Fowls, half a bullock's heart, and 2 lbs butter.

"Capt. Day gave Loaf Sugar, Brown Sugar, Rice, Allspice, Cinnamon, Nutmeg, 5 oranges, 2 qts. Brandy & 2 qts. Rum.

"9. Went to Capt. Days saw ye under Jaw of an Elephant, ye head of a sea Horse, part of ye head of a wild boar, 2 Camelions, saved in spirit. Supt at Capt. Day's.

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"Jan. 1, 1764. Preached. Thanks Sol. Roots wife d—d. Capt. Days horse in a slay took a fright, he was untied by his Gate, run upon Joseph Ashley's slay which was before them & in such a place they could not turn out, broke ye box of his slay, hurt his Mother and Mrs. Cadwell very much.

"11. Association at Springfield.

"12. Bought a Felt Hat at Mr. Churches' 5/4, paid him. Went to Mr. Bliss for ye News Papers, dined at Mr. Brecks. Visited Madam Hopkins in a very languishing state, at Col. Worthington's, stopt at Stephen Nobles [the Old Day House] when returning home.

"Strange woman came in at ye back door of ye Kitchen about 10 in ye evening, no one being in ye kitchen, with a design as I thought to secrete herself there. She not being able to give a good account of herself, I turned her out.

"31. Small Pox in Boston in 14 houses. General Court set at Cambridge & Hollis Hall named with a great deal of solemnity, senate present. Keys delivered by committee to Speaker, by speaker to Governor, by Governor to President.

"Law against innoculation.

"Feb. 12. Great River bridge carried away. Weller's Mill Dam and Mill much hurt.

"Mar. 23, 1764. Concourse of people to see a game of Football for a wager. O tempora.

"Apr. 9. Saw a She Lyon at Landlord Fowlers."

That tavern was what is now popularly known as the Burgoyne House, for some recent years, the residence and segar factory of Mr. Schaefer on Main Street.

"20. Visited Moses Ashely. They had an account of an horrid attempt to destroy ye scholars of Yale College by Poison. The poison was taken by nigh 80 scholars. The effects were excessive vomiting, Convulsions, Fits, swelling, loss of use of limbs. It was supposed ye poison was conveyed into a batch of dough, or into some fat they were melting, by a French woman.

"17. Deacon Taylor Raised a barn. I supt there. sang before & after prayer.

"21. Town Meeting Deacon Taylor Chosen Representative.

"25. Heard from Barrington that a son of Brigadier Dwight aged 20 hanged himself in a barn.

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"31. Frost, beans killed.

"June 27. Preparatory Lecture."

This is his first reference to what became a universal observance in Congregational churches.

"28. Churche's Mill raised. I prayed with them in morning.

"Feare of Sheffield dined with us. He asked whether it was lawful for a man to marry of his wife's sister and whether it was forbid by Lev. 18:14 and whether if a man was married to such an one he ought to put her away.

"July 4, 1764. Visited Eliakim Sackett, in a very dangerous condition, a Tumor on his head, it has struck in at times, he appears in great distress and stupor, has been opened."

Mr. Pynchon, the young student whose failure to pass examinations at Harvard was a ground of serious mortification to his Preceptor, may have been hindered by some physical ailment even when a student in Westfield, judging from the following statement:

"Aug. 3. Went to Springfield. Attended the funeral of Mr. Nathaniel Pynchon Ætat 21. He lived in my house 3 or 4 years. Death has long laid seige to him, he has had a long time to consider his latter end. He was calm and composed under his great difficulty. I hope he hath peace in his end. Was at Mr. Pynchon's after ye funeral, they gave me and my wife a pair of gloves.

"Nov. 1. Pot Ash first made at Westfield. ye business set up by Deacon Taylor & Clark King.

"5. Went to see them make Potash.

"8. Went to see them melt off Potash, it did not all melt this time nor ye time before. Ye cause assigned was ye badness of ye ashes.

"Dec. 4. Visited Capt. Bancroft's Negro—dangerously sick.

"10. Nero, Capt. Bancroft's servant died.

"16. Preached. One of our domestic animals died, our old dog. Prayers Captain Bancroft, that death of his negro may be sanctified &c.

"Thanks. Doct. Mathers wife d—l—d.

"31. Town Meeting, to see whether we should petition ye Genl Court for help about a Bridge over Great River.

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"1765. Jan 26. A man froze to death in Springfield, His name was Symonds.

"Mar. 18. Town Meeting. South part [Southwick] petitioned to be set off.

"22. Ground covered with snow.

"29. Crossed ye River at Kings Meadow [opposite end of Shepard Street] rode the wrong way, was in great danger but through God's goodness got through without any hurt. Blessed be his name.

"May 2. Was insulted by a principal man in Town for a plain sermon delivered last Sabbath against idleness. May none of these things move me. May I be taught whom to fear. May this make me concerned to cut off occasion from them that seek occasion, since so many difficulties in my way. May I be thoroughly sensible of ye importance of casting my care on ye Lord, help Lord for ye godly man ceaseth.

"May 18. Lately had news that one half of Dominica was sunk by an Earthquake.

"20. Town Meeting. Deacon Taylor elected Representative.

"June 13. Informed of death of Brigadier Dwight last Saturday. Chief Justice of County of Berkshire Ætat 63."

Mr. Ballantine attended Commencement at Harvard, his Alma Mater, this year, 1765. His schedule of the exercise is interesting.

"July. 19. Went to Cambridge with Mr. Gay. Went to Meeting House, a great concourse of people. A Latin Oration, syllogistic dispute as usual, English Oration, dined at Mr. Winthrop's. Was at Sir Winthrops chamber in ye Hall, saw a number of my Class. Mr. Curwin, Swift, Smith, Durant, Patesbe. Went to Meeting house, Syllogistic dispute, English dialogue, Valedictory Oration in Latin. Sung an Anthem. A great concourse of people, a long day.

"Aug. 19. Had an account of a great tumult in Boston. Secretary Oliver who had ye care of ye Stamps had his Office pulled down, timbers carried off, and burnt, his windows broke.

"Sep. 7. Disturbances on account of 'Stamp Act' They hang & burn ye distributors of 'stamps' in effigy in divers places.

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"Nov. 1, 1765. Stamp Act in force but not submitted to in consequence of which we are outlaws. We cannot have writs, cannot recover our rights, cannot give or take deeds or bond notes—a Jubilee for debtors. The Governor keeps at the castle, he is treated with contempt and advertised under the name of Peter Haking. Great collections of people to prevent the landing of the stamp paper. General Assembly passed a resolve against the stamp act.

"10. Simeon Stiles family requested prayers that the death of Ephraim Stiles may be sanctified to them. Two months before the deceased died he told his family that his first wife had appeared to him and after that he gave them to understand that he should die soon.

"1766, Feb. 10. Town meeting. Mr. Miller was granted £13 for preaching at South part of Town."

This is the first record of such a grant, a former application of a similar nature having been refused on the ground that Mr. Throop who was acting as minister there had not received the approbation of the ministers. Mr. Miller was probably recognized as orthodox. Side lights on the widespread controversy with the Separates are frequently appearing.

"Mar. 1. Squaw Field Bridge went off.

"24. Rev. Mr. Hopkins of Hadley had his house & furniture & Library burnt & barely escaped with life.

"April. 14. 3£ in money. 4 Bbls. Indian Corn. 1 Bbl. Wheat, 1 Bbl. Ry. Tow Cloth collected for Rev. Mr. Hopkins of Hadley."

The generosity of the Colonists in such cases of distress is evidenced in multitudes of cases. They gave out of their poverty to the more necessitous.

"Apr. 13 News. Stamp Act repealed by a great majority in Parliament on Feb. 8th."

Thus the knowledge of that important transaction was more than two months in being conveyed from London to Westfield.

Mr. Ballantine noted under date of May 26, "Thanksgiving in Connecticut for the Repeal" and not until July 24 does he record. "Thanksgiving for repeal of Stamp Act, thro' ye Province."

These were formal, official celebrations of the momen-

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tous event, but the popular response to its announcement was immediately enthusiastic, expressed by bonfires throughout the provincial towns and general rejoicing.

At a Town Meeting held in April, 1766, a committee consisting of Eldad Taylor, Esq., David Moseley, Esq., and John Ingersoll, was appointed to appeal to the Committee of the General Court "to repair to Westfield, & view the Great River in order to build a Bridge & to report to the said Court."

The devastation repeatedly wrought by that stream in its wild excesses was so great as to discourage the inhabitants in their efforts both to sustain thoroughfares over it and to harness it to industrial uses. So often had bridges been swept away by its floods that the people felt justified in appealing to the Province for help in maintaining communication between the different parts of the town which it separated. The town records for the next three years are lost, and again recourse must be had to the invaluable Journal for items of interest. It recounts a tragic incident in the adjoining Province down the river, in connection with the public rejoicing over the repeal of the obnoxious Act of Parliament.

"May 24, 1766. While the people of Hartford were preparing for a rejoicing at the repeal of the stamp act, their store of powder caught fire which destroyed the house and 8 men were so burnt that their lives are despaired of. 2 were killed instantly, 30 wounded more or less, 6 of whom died.

"31. Attended ye funeral of Deliverance Hanchet Ætat. 72, never married, maintained by ye Town. Unhappy in her temper, provoking in her language, lived undesired, died unlamented.

"Aug. 5. Eclipse of Sun—9 digits eclipsed, ¾ of ye diameter. about as dark as when cloudy. a luminous obscurity.

"19. Visited Aaron Dewey, his daughter and others in that neighborhood, concerned, I fear rather frightened than convinced. The Lord keep them from delusion.

"Sep. 9. Committee of General Court came to town to determine ye place for a Bridge."

This was in response to the action of the town in April voted above.

"12. Mr. Kellogg brought home his wife, supt there."

This was his second wife, Anne, daughter of Rev. Benjamin

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Lord, D.D., of Norwich and granddaughter of Rev. Edward Taylor. Mr. Ballantine notices frequent visits to Westfield which she made with her parents. She was 42 years old at the time of her marriage.

"13. Was at Sergt Samuel Nobles and married his daughter Silence, to Mr. Gideon Shepard."

The groom was a brother of Gen. William Shepard and was a deacon in the Baptist church which was organized in 1784. He died in 1790.

"17. Found ye back door open between 12 & 1 last night. missed a bread cake & some tallow.

"28. Went to Springfield, attended Mrs. Worthington's funeral Ætat. 36. died 25th held ye pall. Rev. Messrs. Breck, Merrick, Gay, Lothrop, had pair of gloves, had prayers at ye Meeting house, large collection of people. Mrs. Worthington died of Dropsy. she had ye character of a virtuous woman, kind to ye poor.

"Dec. 6. Kidney trouble, in pain, relaxed, when ye walls are broken down ye Enemy will soon have a conquest.

"6. Sent for Doctor Mather, every inlet in ye body & every outlet may let out life.

"8. Bridge over Little River repaired." [That was the Squawfield bridge which was carried away March 1.]

"12. Sailors here begging in ye evening."

The January thaw must have set in early in the year 1767, from Mr. Ballantine's account of damage done by the streams.

"Jan. 7. The Bridge by Deacon Taylor's spoilt.

"8. Ensign Parks Fulling Mill very much hurt. Ye stream at Dewey's Mill left ye wheel and runs at ye hither end. Wilcox Mill dam broke.

"9. My son [John] got home this morning from Cambridge, which frees me from much anxiety occasioned by ye difficulty in crossing ye stream.

"12. Viewed ye desolations made by ye late flood. much land spoilt.

"14. Set out for Enfield. was at Rev. Mr. Griswold's. The ice came down so fast we thought it not prudent to go over ye river. Much damage to mill dams &c on Conn. River. A man & son drowned at Middletown. One Hale of Suffield

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fell from a mow and run a flail into his body 6 inches which proved fatal.

"15. Sent for to Zebediah Williams wife in travail in evening, was d—l—d by Doct. Pinchon of Twins.

"Feb. 1767, 18. Was at Jonathan Fowlers, married his daughter Basmath to John Armstrong of Bennington, supt there, talked with some young men who gathered to gether & raised a dead creature on a pole and made a fire under it to show their resentment that they were not invited—they dispersed.

"Mar. 16. Town Meeting. Mr. David Moseley Jr. chosen Treasurer in room of Mr. Moses Dewey, who being reduced it was thought proper to discontinue him. Luke 16: 1-2.

"30. Long seats taken down in ye Meeting house. pews to be put in their place."

Thus the tedious controversy was finally ended.

"Reported that a woman in men's clothes was kept in college Cam—. reported that 15 scholars expelled on that account—afterward that there were but 6 rusticated.

"Apr. 14. Received a letter from my son informing me that 7 were rusticated and 3 degraded for ye disorder mentioned before. When I first heard of ye affair I was concerned about my son, not that I had any special reason therefor to make me think so, but such is ye depravity of ye human nature and the abundance of temptation every where, it made me say it may be my son hath sinned,—was much comforted to hear of his innocency. Lord be ye guide of his youth.

"May 3. Preached, some offended on account of seats & refuse to come and worship with us, some threaten never to come into ye house never.

"14. Town Meeting. Representative chosen David Moseley Esq.

"17. Preached—prayers for Dea. Taylor son sick. Thanks. Wm Churchs wife d ld. John Grays wife d l d. Zechariah Bushs wife d l d.

"22. [Rev.] Mr. Morton & Elder Gibbs here. Ye County Sessions on Mr. Morton's complaint to them ordered his parishoners to pay him 10£ arerages & 60£ per annum during ye time he was their Minister. They gave him but 33£ per

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annum and denied him his wood. [Mr. Morton was at Blandford.]

"23. A negro child belonging to Mr. Parks found dead in ye bed. I prayed in ye family—in first year boy.

"19. I went to ye River to see them fish—bought 2 salmon & 2 Pickerel.

"Aug. 9 Preached—had an ague fit just after I came home —high fever in ye night.

"10. Very ill—high fever in ye night.

"11. better but confined my difficulty is in my left leg part of it swelled & inflamed—can walk with difficulty.

"12—Doct Mather visited me—washed my leg with Camphire & Rum

"Rev. Mr. Breck sends word by Deacon Hitchcock of Granville that his wife is dying.

"Aug. 13—Mr. Brewer of Springfield comes to inform me of Mrs. Breck's death & to desire me to attend ye funeral to-morrow at 12 o'clock. A young hearty sailor comes a begging.

"Sep. 4. A beggar with one arm & one eye, gave him an alms—but was obliged afterwards to turn him out of doors for his saucy and profane talk—to take ye cup out of his hands to prevent a greater degree of excess, his name Jackson. I see something of ye evil of ingratitude in ye mans sauciness to me after I had shown him Kindness, its wonderful God has not been provoked to cast me off for ingratitude to him.

"11. David Ingersoll Sen'r of Barrington had his house burned—set on fire purposely by a Negro woman.

"13 Preached—prayers—that death of Mrs. Amos Sherman of Haddam be sanctified to Widow Ingersoll, Ensign Ingersoll & wife. Capt Clap & wife, Ensign [Elisha] Parks & wife.

"Thanks. Mrs. Ingersoll d—l—d.

"Mrs Sherman died of a Consumption Ætat. 30

"Noah Ford & wife thanks, forgot to mention it.

"15. My Sugar brot from Rocky Hills in a boat to Springfield. Deacon Taylor brought it from thence gratis.

"21 Had ye Cholic. 22. P.M. Set out for Suffield, having got nigh 3 miles a Cart being in ye way my horse started & run back. I fell out of ye Chair, ye horse run back over

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me but through Gods goodness not much hurt. lodged at Noah Parsons.

23 Cholic pains return—had a weary night. 24. Was in much pain. Kept in ye bed most of ye P.M.

"30. Crost our River in a canoe by Wellers Mills.

"Dec. 1 Capt. Clap sent beef. Seth Sacket piece Beef.

"2. Mr. David Moseley sent 2 Fowl. Doct. Mather 2 Fowls Capt Moseley 2 Fowls. Ensign Ingersol 2 qts Rum.

"3. General Thanksgiving. Mr. Gay preached

"Mr. Morton preached at Silas Fowlers [who was the eldest son of Sergt. Samuel].

"Was at Capt [Ezra] Claps and married his daughter to Doct. [David] Shepard"

This brother of Gen. William Shepard had moved to Chester to practice his profession. Margaret his wife lived but little over a year longer, having died, probably in Chester, Feb. 10, 1769. Her handsome tablet of blue slate stands in the old Cemetery very near the grave of Rev. Edward Taylor.

"I went from there to Ensign Wellers and married his daughter to Paul Noble, they gave 6 shillings"

Paul Noble, son of Ensign Matthew Noble, was a soldier in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, and died in 1795. His wife, Hannah Weller, reached the great age of 98 years and 11 months, living until Sept. 7, 1842.

"6. Preached. Prayers. Edward Taylor bound to sea.

"7 Visited Deacon [Eldad] Taylor his son to set out tomorrow.

"1768. Jan. 5. Preached funeral Sermon for David Mosely Esqr. Ætat 63, in ye Meeting House, followed to ye grave by a great multitude of people. Spent the evening at David Moseleys house. They gave gloves.

"9. My sons [John & William] got home from College.

"12. Wm's Horse, belonging in Cambridge got ye Distemper common among horses, a swelling in ye throat, gave brimstone with Rye, smoke Brinstone under ye horse.

"17. Preached—sung twice in Forenoon. singers stood up in ye Gallery. New Tunes—some disgusted went out last singing.

"29. Negro whipt 29 lashes for severely abusing Col. Moseley.

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"Feb. 6. Ruth Weller went home, who came ye 1st to make Garments.

"18 My wife paid Mr. Church for a Hat 30 s.

"Mar. 28. Sent for to visit Aaron Bush's wife, dying. Prayed with her, she died while I was there. Her difficulty was convulsion fits which disenabled her from speaking and impaired her reason. The indolence of many destroys them, but her death was occasioned by hard work. She answered some part of Solomon's description of a virtuous woman. 'Her candle went not out by night, she layeth her hands on the spindle and her hands hold the distaff, she riseth while it is yet night.'

"Apr. 3. Sunday. Sent for by Adnah Sackets wife who hath been in travail since ye first inst. prayed with her. Preached. Prayers. Aaron Bush bereaved of his wife. Widow Mary Ashley of a daughter, Simeon Ashley & wife, and Bethia Ashly of a sister. Thanks Capt. Moseleys wife d l d. visited Sackets wife gave thanks for the delivery [additional proof of the assurance that 'The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much'].

"11. Great convulsions in Harvard College. 3 Classes left College. Tutors made an agreement that no excuse for absence if not given before recitation should avail. Tutor Willard's windows broke. One Whiting was shut up in his chamber ten hours which course led 3 Classes to come off. heard Whiting assert he belied ye Tutors.

"13 Mr. Lord sent me his ½ Century sermon. [Mr. Benjamin Lord of Norwich, son-in-law of Rev. Edward Taylor, often referred to in the Journal.]"

On Fast Day, April 14, Mr. Ballantine appealed for help for a man in Monson whose house had been burned, he gathered "18/11 d Cash & 6 Bbls Corn."

"May 12. Received a letter from Mr. Peter Reynolds informing me of his fathers death yesterday morning.

"13. Went to Enfield, dined at Madam Reynolds. Went to Meeting house. I began with prayer. Mr. Williams preached from 1st Thes. 4:13 or 15th. Rev. Mr. Breck concluded with prayer. people were very desirous to see ye body but it was so much changed it was thought best to nail it up. Followed the body to ye grave. The members of

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the church went before it. Rev. Messrs. Williams, Gay, Graham, Russell, McKinstry & myself held ye Pall. Mr. Reynolds was about 68 years old, hath been in ye ministry about 42 years. He had treasured up a good degree of knowledge, especially in Divinity, he was a judicious preacher, his conversations savery & serious, had a very engaging way of conversing, exemplary for conjugal & parental affection, patient amidst trouble of which he had met with much from an unkind people. tho' he met with much trouble in ye world he died in peace calling on God. Lodged at Mrs. Reynolds.

"May 18. Town met to Choose a Representative. Capt. John Moseley chosen." [He was an own cousin of David Moseley Esq. the late Representative, and had married Hannah, David's sister.]

"July 3. Gerard Pratt's wife of Granville desired me to baptize their child because they were offended with Rev. Mr. Smith for preaching in ye West part of the Town according to vote of inhabitants. I refused to baptize it."

Mr. Ballantine started July 13 for Commencement at Harvard, as was his annual custom.

"20. Went with my wife to Cambridge. attended public exercises, dined at my son's Chamber, Attended public exercises, lodged at my son's chamber, great rout in ye night, some Chambers broken open, attempt to break that where I lay. I thought it prudent to put on my clothes. Some on whom so much is laid out to polish them do what would be deemed mean in ye lowest persons.

"My wife came to Cambridge. Parks admitted."

That was Warham Parks then about 16 years old, who had been fitted for college by Mr. Ballantine. He became one of Westfield's very illustrious citizens, Gen. Warham Parks, prominent in the war of the Revolution.

"Sep. 11. Preached. Lieut Collins [a prominent Separate] held forth over ye River.

"12. One Mr Loring of Boston & Miss Bliss a daughter of the late Rev. Mr. Bliss of Concord crossed ye River at Agawam which was very low, in a carriage & taking a wrong path that led them back to another part of the river where it was deep & supposed they had not crost ye River but a brook. They drove in when ye young woman & ye horse were drowned.

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"18. Mr. Ebenezer Moseley preached. I was so lame I could not attend.

"Oct. 10 Regular Troops in Boston. Province to find Barracks wood & Candles.

"11 Picked Winter apples.

"Oct. 12. Went to Granville. In ye night ye house of Mr. Jonathan Rose took fire & was burnt down. Mr. Rose burnt in it—all that could be found of him might have been put in a ½ peck measure. It's supposed that ye fire was occasioned by a Candle. He was 90 years old, used to lodge in his room alone, got up in night, when ye fire was first discovered his bed was in flames, he was heard to cry for help but none could help him. The goods were mostly lost. The rest of family escaped with difficulty.

"20. Had a load of corn, my part of ye produce of Town land, 20 Baskets of husked corn.

"Oct. 25. Bo't a Salmon—very poor—nothing like Salmon in ye Spring, it checks their increase to take them at this time.

"27. Attended Capt. Clap's funeral. As they were letting down ye Corpse into ye grave ye head string broke—it fell. ye head of ye Coffin broke out, ye lid broke off, they took it up and mended it.

"1769. Jan. 23. Mr. Stickney ye singing Master came to ye town.

"26. Preached a Lecture on singing as a part of ye instituted worship.

"27. Was at singing school.

"Feb. 19. Preached, prayers, that Widow Sarah Dewey's death and Silas Fowler's daughter's death might be sanctified &c."

Silas Fowler was a Captain in Shays' Rebellion, was condemned to death, but afterward was pardoned and removed to New York State where he died in 1813.

"May 7. Preached. sung without reading ye last time. Clark Phelps, Zechariah Bush, Simeon Ashley and their wives and Clark Moseley went out.

"22. Town Meeting—about singing & setting off ye South part [Southwick]. Capt. John Mosely chosen Representative.

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"24. Boundaries Set up between Westfield and South part. Col. Worthington & Lady drank Tea here.

"25. Was at Noah Loomis & married his daughter to Benjamin Dewey, received 6/

"Mr. J— J— buys a horse of a stranger for 8£ which appeared to be stolen, he was obliged to surrender & loose his money.

"Jan. 6. Was at Bohan King's shop."

Mr. Bartlett says: "Bohan King learned his trade of Hatter in Northampton, which business he carried on in Westfield for 40 years, until he became too old. He died in 1823 aged 80 years. He had a large family. His wife was Thankful Taylor, daughter of Deacon Eldad Taylor. He built in 1782 a house now standing on Church Street, the original location of which was on the corner of Main and School Streets." It was moved to make place there for the Methodist church, later for many years occupied by the postoffice and still by stores and offices.

Mr. Ballantine notes the death of President Holyoke of Harvard, June 1. "He gave me 2nd Degree ye 1st Commencement he officiated. President of ye College 31 years."

"Sep. 4. Comet appears."

A significant event in the life and home of Mr. Ballantine was the marriage of Mary, his firstborn child. The generous provision made by his people for the parsonage festivities is indicated by the following list of gifts received on the day before the wedding.

"Oct. 16, 1769. Mrs. Parks 1 Gallon Rum. Capt. Moseley 2 qts of Rum. Deacon Shepard a Breast of Mutton, Mr. Bildad Fowler, a Loin of Mutton, Mrs. Clap 1 qt Rum. Thomas Root 2 qts Brandy, Mr. Matthew Noble Flour & Suet. Ensign Noble, Butter, Clarke King a pig, Ensign Ingersol 2 qts Rum, Mrs. Margaret Ashley a Loyn of Mutton, Mr John Kellogg, Cranberries, Mr. Seth Sacket Cranberries, Mr. David Mosely a Pigg, 3 Fowls & Suet, Mr. Nathanael Weller, Piece of veal & suet. Ensign Weller apples, flour & suet, Mr. Ford cabbage & potatoes. Mr. Stephen Noble 2 Fowls & Pork, Deacon Root 2 qts Brandy.

"17. Married my daughter to Capt. John Ashley. Mr. Gay made ye last prayer in ye Meeting house. I gave a

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general invitation, some stayed away because they thought some had a more particular invitation, some stayed away because they thought there would be too many for comfort. Capt. Ashley gave me a 'Half Johannes' [$4.00 gold coin] which I gave to my daughter.

"18 A number from Sheffield dined here. My daughter set out for Sheffield with her Consort accompanied by two brothers. Lydia Gay, Molly Morton, & Messrs. Root, Dutcher, Fellows, Mr. David Mosly, Doct. Shepard & Moses Ashley also a number went with them as far as Shepard's" probably Doct. David Shepard's at Chester.

"Ye Company that went to the Mountain supt here.

"23. Mr. David Mosely returned from Sheffield. Our folks got up well & seasonably."

The relations between that new settlement in the Housatonic valley and Westfield were naturally very intimate, Sheffield having been settled by people from here. The groom on the occasion was a descendant of one of the oldest and most prominent Westfield families.

The New England progenitor of the family, Robert Ashley, coming from England located first in Roxbury and thence moved to Springfield among the earliest settlers there. His oldest son, David, born in 1642, was among the earliest settlers in Westfield, having had land granted to him in 1667, two years before the town was organized, and until his death in 1718 he was one of its most prominent citizens. His second son, born in 1667, became Deacon David. The next son, John, born in 1669, married for his second wife widow Mary Sheldon, who was the daughter of William Whiting of Westfield and his wife Mary, a daughter of Col. John Pynchon of Springfield. They had two sons, the elder of whom, John, born in Westfield in 1709, moved early in life among its first settlers, to Suffield and established himself as a lawyer, becoming Judge John Ashley, and was a Colonel in the militia. His daughter Jane married Doct. William Bull, son of Rev. Nehemiah Bull of Westfield. Judge Ashley's only son was John, the third of the name in successive generations. He was graduate from Yale College in 1756. For his second wife he married Mary Ballantine as narrated above. He became prominent as Major Gen. John Ashley in the war of the Revo-

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lution. Their granddaughter, Jane Pelletreau Ashley, became the wife of Hon. William G. Bates of Westfield.

During January, 1770, Mr. Ballantine records the reception of seventy-seven loads of wood, his annual supply having been an essential part of his salary, and besides he received sundry gifts of provision and four quarts of rum.

On Sunday, Jan. 28, he speaks of Lieut. Collins, a well known Separate preacher whose home was in Westfield, "held forth at Sergt. Samuel Nobles." On the following day he was visited by his daughter and her husband Capt. Ashley from Sheffield.

"Feb. 12. 2 sleighs came for my daughter's goods.

"14. Capt. Ashley & wife, John & Wm Throop, slays with goods, set out for Sheffield.

"27. Set out for Pittsfield with Deacon Root, Thomas Root, & Desire Root, had a shoe set on my horse at Bemans shop, baited at Blanford, at Pease's, at Messingers in Becket, at Foots in Hartwood. Was at Ensign Roots, Pittsfield, lodged at Mr. Allens with Rev. Mr. Welch of Williamstown. He tells me there is a warrant to arrest Jedediah Dewey of Bennington for a riot, a reward offered.

"28. Went to Mr. Graves, attended ye Court, returned to Mr. Allens, visited Nathanael Phelps, lodged at Mr. Allens with Mr. Caleb Strong of Northampton.

"Mar. 1. Left Pittsfield with Caleb Noble, dined at Rev. Mr. Wests Stockbridge, lodged there.

"2. Dined at Col. Ashleys & lodged at Capt. Ashleys Sheffield."

On the 5th, after enumerating various visits, Mr. Ballantine makes a reference to the Boston Massacre, written between the lines, "The Soldiers abuse ye inhabitants. 4 killed, some more died."

After having visited at several places, and having been entertained at a dinner party at his daughter's, the wife of Capt. Ashley, he returned home, reaching there after an extended and interesting trip through the recently settled Berkshire region, March 8, having been away nearly a fortnight on a trip which must have been a memorable one. The Mr. Allen at whose house in Pittsfield he visited became famous as the fighting parson who led his people to the Ben-

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nington battlefield. It was also Mr. Ballantine's first visit at the home of his daughter.

"Apr. 27. Jedediah Dewey of Bennington, who separated from the church, visited us.

"29. Jedediah Dewey had a meeting over ye River.

"May 6. Preached. A number of young men went out of ye Meeting house occasioned by a fire in ye woods. Read ye last time of ye singing occasioned by many going away.

"10. Richard Falley raised a house.

"12. The Selectmen agreed with my son John to Keep ye school. Aaron Weller & Gad Kellogg made Garden fence, waited on Rev. Mr. Lord at Mr. John Kelloggs." It will be recalled that the wife of Mr. Kellogg was the daughter of Mr. Lord, whose wife in turn was the daughter of Rev. Edward Taylor.

"14. My son began to keep school and to board with me on ye town's account.

"22. Town Meeting. Ensign Ingersoll chosen Representative.

"July 15. Some expectation of Rev. George Whitefield but it fails. I preached.

"Aug. 2. My daughter Ashley delivered of a son.

"9. Men at work at County Bridge to bring it back to its place from which it departed in ye flood last winter.

"Nov. 8. Went to Springfield at ye desire of Mr. Sheldon, dined at Mr. Lothrops, there were there Rev. Messrs. Breck, Gay, Griswold, Potter.

"Question put—Whether Mr. Elijah Fitch being baptized by a Lay Preacher, would be a bar to our having fellowship with him as a minister. It was answered, we approve not of lay baptisms, look on it as an unhappy circumstance, but inasmuch as he hath a sense of ye obligations of it, is admitted a member of a regular Church, & hath been approved by regular Ministers, we think if he is regularly introduced it ought to be no bar to communion with him."

Early in October Mr. Ballantine speaks of a case of murder in the Springfield gaol, by a man named Straw. Dec. 12, is the entry, "Straw in his wifes clothes let out, retaken," which evidently was a bold, though unsuccessful attempt to escape, when the day appointed for his execution was very near.

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"Dec. 13. Wm Straw executed at Springfield for ye murder of Edward East. Rev. Mr. Baldwin of Palmer preached from Romans 1: 5. Rev. Mr. Breck prayed at ye Gallows—great concourse. Justice of his execution disputed by some. He asserts his inucency. In support of him it is said that the wounds given to East were not mortal, that he was an insain man & thus thought that if he had not received any blows he would have died. It is said that he was not seasonably taken care of, but neglected for a long time after his hurt, but supposing that ye wound was mortal it does not follow as there were two with him that Straw gave the wounds. The witnesses which fix ye charge on Shaw might be mistaken as they were in another apartment, could see nothing. They determined from the difference of the voices. The witnesses infamous.

"Dec. 6. General Thanksgiving. I preached, sung 4 times. Zechariah Bush, Senr much offended at our present way of singing, entertains Lieut. Collins a lay preacher & goes to hear him preach.

"20. One Ichabod Jones lodged here—he is said to have a considerable estate but makes no use of it. Rides about ye country, lives on ye charity of ye people, says he is sick but travels in all weathers, in all ways, there is an appearance of religion.

"Jan. 8. 1771. Married Bohan King to Thankful Taylor." [She was the seventh of thirteen children of Hon. Eldad Taylor.]

"Feb. 27. Flood. Wellers Dam brok. Bridge on Simsbury road carried off—other Bridges hurt.

"Mar. 10. North East storm. Preached—prayed for Capt. Moselys child, visited Capt. Moselys infant—difficulty occasioned by putting a teaspoonful of vitriol into its mouth by mistake.

"Apr. 6. Attended funeral of Capt. Moselys negro's child—1st year" [probably the one mentioned as a sufferer from accident, Mar. 10].

"30. Superior Court set 1st time at Northampton. Lawyer Fowler hath my horse to go thither.

"May 28 Samuel Fowler brought home his wife to whom he was married ye 16th I was at his house."

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The following records appear on Mr. Samuel Fowler's family bible, published in Cambridge, England, 1769.

"On the 16th of May 1771 I was married to Miss Elizabeth Dwight of Springfield the delight of my Eyes—

"On the 11th Decr. 1786 was again married to Miss Jemima Lyman of Northampton equally agreeable."

He became Hon. Samuel Fowler, a distinguished citizen and patriot, one of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety during the war of the Revolution. His son James was also a prominent citizen, whose house was the building now occupied by the Westfield Atheneum.

"28. Hard frost.

"June 2. Public worship interrupted by cry of fire needlessly.

"18. Received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hooker desiring me to come to Northampton to assist him in examination of Mr. Huntington.

"19. Rec'd a letter from Rev. Judd [Southampton] to ye same purpose. Ordination deferred.

"Set out for N. Hampton, dined at Mr. Judds, met a number of Ministers there, examined Mr Huntington, gave him testimonials agreeable to a law of ye Province which makes void all Taxes in favor of a Minister not educated or graduated at a College, except he have testimonials from major part of ye ministers of ye County where he settles.

"July 26. One Gilbert took away 2 Bbls Shad left here by Dumbleton, left 4 dollars.

"Aug. 9. Rev. Gideon Noble of Willington, Conn. preached the funeral sermon of his Father, Ensign Mather Noble, I followed him to the grave and went back with the mourners."

It will be recalled that Matthew Noble was one of the committee that went after Mr. Ballantine to bring him to settle as pastor of the church. During the thirty subsequent years he was a close personal friend of Mr. Ballantine, he with Deacon Eldad Taylor and Doctor Samuel Mather were pillars upon which Mr. Ballantine depended for support, counsel and cheer under the strains and perplexities of his long pastorate.

"17. Ebenezer & Winthrop [his sons] went to Mr. Mortons [Blandford] to fetch cow & calf.

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"Samuel Dumbleton here, gave him 24 shillings & 2 farthings received for his Shad.

	£	s	d	
1 Dollar	0	6	0	
1 Crown	0	6	8	
3 half crowns	0	10	0	
1 Pistereen	0	1	2	2
3 Coppers	0	0	2	
	1	4	0	2 farthings

"Sons returned without ye cow.

"Sep. 4. Samuel Eaton of Enfield here, born in Boston, lived near my Father's house when I was a boy, my playfellow whom I have not seen for 30 years.

"9. Went to ye parsonage land, the mowing land very much rooted by Hogs, that rule little minded. Phil: 2-4- Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on ye things of others. People that would judge such things intolerable seem not to care what hurt their Creatures do.

"13. Mr. Eldad Taylor of Becket here—gave him & wife a certificate that they had made a public profession of religion.

"23 My son William set out for Dedham to keep school there.

"Oct. 21. My son John set out for Amherst to keep school.

"Nov. 1, 1771. Rec'd Bbl of Sugar from Hartford, freight from Boston 2/6, Storage 10d, Carting 3/—the whole 6/4. gave a dollar to Capt. Shepard to give to Jonathan Shepard who brought it up. Paid Deacon Taylor 10 lbs. of Sugar borrowed of him.

"Dec. 19. Was at Ensign Parks. She gave me two screws with brass heads to hang clock.

"30. Snow. They bring wood. 73 loads bro't.

"31. 13 Loads wood brought.

"1772. Jan. 1. Preached Preparatory Lecture. Church dont approve of N. W. making a confession before them only.

"2. Had endeavours to persuade N. W. to make a confession before ye Congregation, ineffectual. A. N. strengthens him.

"5. Preached—prayers, A. King that death of Peter

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[his slave] may be sanctified to him for his spiritual & everlasting good Ætat. 60. A separate.

"16. Town Meeting to choose a Committee to adjust debts & to see whether will seat ye Meeting house. My daughter Ashley & child came from Sheffield with Mr. Azariah Root.

"Committee chosen to seat ye Meeting house.

"26. Ye Crust on ye snow will bear a man, will not bear a horse, makes it difficult travelling.

"Mar. 9. Town Meeting. I prayed in ye meeting house. Selectmen same as last year, except Mr. David Mosely in place of Mr. Zechh Bush.

"20. Mr. Noah Parsons of Durham lodged with us, a young gentleman who hath rec'd a liberal education, a good scholar. Tutor, but is now gloomy & melancholy.

"Apr. 7. Ensign Ashley & Brother went from our house to Hartwood [Washington] in a slay.

"12. Preached. Stevenson sung, numbers offended, went out.

"24. Singers met here in evening, proposed to me a particular metre for the Sabbath, did not determine.

"26. Preached. Singers staid away. I expected we must have omitted singing for want of a Chorister.

"May 3. Preached. Singers took their seats.

"4. Lame. John Graves of Southwick bottoms chairs here.

"25. Went to Meeting house to hear them sing.

"27. Election Day. Rev. Mr. Lothrop dined here. Singing Lecture. Mr. Lothrop preached very well attended.

"Tunes sung. Dalton, Landoff, Stevenson, 15th Psalm Tune, 2 Anthems. The whole service performed with decency and to general satisfaction.

"June. 1. Multitude of Caterpillars here, some Orchards stript of leaves, they come to ye houses.

"5. My son William returned in a Stage Coach [from Boston] to Springfield, fare 33/. hired horse from Springfield.

"22. Visited John Lee's child & Russell Dewey sick at Mr. Fords."

Much more will be learned of Russell Dewey, at this time 17 years old. He fought at Bunker Hill and was a soldier

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through the Revolutionary War, dying at the age of 72. General William Shepard married his sister Sarah.

"23. Cloudy. Was at Mr. David Moseley's, paid him 30/ for 10 Gals. Rum. Rev. Messrs. Jones, Baldwin, Strickland and Mr. Jones son dined here.

"30. Cromwell Oliver a free Negro here, of Rutland, owns land at Murrayfield [Chester], tryed to buy, could not agree.

"July. 14. Thunderstorm in P.M. Hail did great damage at Southwick & Salmon Brook, Windows broke, Gardens spoilt, grain also. A Robin run under a Turker for shelter. A horse run into a house upon the door being opened.

"Aug. 7. Josiah Parks makes a complaint of some lads breaking windows fences & other mischief.

"8. Sent for in the evening to Deacon [Joseph] Roots wife in a fit, prayed with her.

"Sharp lightening. 15 sheep Killed by it over Little River.

"16. Preached. Thanks. Ensign [David] Weller for Gods gracious appearance for him when his life was in danger.

"28. Mr. Jonathan Judd Jr. [Southampton] dined with us. [Mr. Judd was an intimate friend and often in his Diary refers to Mr. Ballantine.]

"30. Preached at Springfield 1st parish. Mr. Church preached at Westfield.

"Col Israel Williams spent evening at Mr. Brecks. I lodged at Mr. Brecks. [Col. Williams of Hatfield had been for many years one of the most prominent and influential men of the Connecticut River Valley, commander of the Militia of the western part of the Colony during the French and Indian War.]

"31. Rev. Mr. Smith of Granville here.

"A Susquehannah man well mounted with Velvet Jacket &c brought a paper setting forth his shop was broken open, begged.

"Sp. 2. Mr. Edward Taylor gave piece Venison.

"4. Mr. Crosby, missionary dined with us."

The remainder of the Journal for 1772 is lost.

"1773. Jan. 11. Received a letter from Col. Ashley & his son. my daughter d—d of a son the 4th, about 6 in the morning."

This boy became Major William Ashley, who was grad-

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uated from Harvard in 1793. His later life was spent as a gentleman farmer, looking after his large estates in Sheffield, where he died April 26, 1849. The following obituary appeared in a Sheffield paper: "Major William Ashley died at his residence on the 29th ult. at the age of 76 years. Major Ashley, the son of General Ashley who commanded in the Shays' insurrection in Berkshire County, and the grandson of Col. John Ashley, formerly one of the Judges of the old Court of Common Pleas, and one of the original settlers of Sheffield. His Mother was a daughter of the Rev. John Ballantine of Westfield, Mass. Major Ashley was educated at Harvard College, and after his graduation devoted himself to the care and improvement of his estate. In all the transactions of life he has been distinguished, by his just dealings, his rigid integrity, and his conscientious regard to duty. By his death the poor are deprived of a generous friend, to whom they never applied in vain, the community of a highly respected and valued citizen, and the church of a sincere Christian."

It is gratifying to consider such a tribute to the grandchild of the honored pastor of the Westfield church. Major Ashley was in that respect of character no exception to the descendants of its successive pastors, from the beginning of its history, and may this noble record be maintained through all its generations to remotest ages!

"13. Went to [West] Springfield. Mr. Lothrop & I went to the River, but the Ice came in such quantities we judged it imprudent to cross, returned to Mr. Lothrop's, dined & lodged there. Association was to have met at Rev. Mr. Williams [Longmeadow].

"16. Sally Noble, tailor, worked here.

"Apr. 7. I was witness to Deacon Taylor's will yesterday. He desired me if I outlived him to tell his children that he did not give his daughter Ashley much because there was danger of its being taken by Officers. He would therefore have his other children be kind to her.

"21. General Fast in Conn. I preached at Turkey Hills.

"The new way of singing opposed, hardly any singing, a meeting of ye singers at Bro. Gay's. It is a pity that singing in God's house should be so poorly, when there are a number of good singers in the place.

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"22. Was at Deacon Shepards, at his son Johns, Married his daughter Lucretia to David Sacket. Lucretia has just entered her 16th year. Received 6/-

"28. Preached before the Association at Rev. Mr. Brecks meeting house, lodged at Mr. Brecks.

"29. My son John examined & licensed to preach. Dined at Mr. Brecks. Preached a lecture to Mr. Lothrops people, lodged at Mr. Lothrops. Was at Mr. Stebbins, bought a salmon, dined at home.

"May 5. Planted Springfield Hill. Company met to quilt.

"6. Company to quilt.

"11. Town Meeting. Capt. Mosely chosen Representative.

"16. My son John preached his first sermon at Murrayfield.

"20. Doct. Young of Boston here. The Line settled between New York & Massachusetts, for which purpose commissioners met at Hartford last week.

"21. One Paris of Greenwood here. One Curtain of Pittsfield, a mendicant. A man & woman begging, whom I asked to eat & drink & gave small matter of money to them, very much abused by ye man, how evil did I think it. This should lead me to think how evil it is to sin against God the great benefactor.

"June 1. 1773. I visited Tirzah Holcombs very sick. She desires to be baptized, wants to be baptized directly, afraid she shall not live till the Church meets. She hath been convinced of her duty in this respect but neglected it hitherto.

"Exod. 4:24-25 And it came to pass by the way in the Inn the Lord met him & sought to slay him, then Zipporah took a sharp stone & cut off ye foreskin of her son—so she let him go. Discoursed with her, prayed with her.

"2. Visited Tirzah Holcomb & Widow Margaret Ashley.

"3. Visited Tirzah Holcomb.

"4. Prayed at the funeral of Abigail wife of Benjamin Sexton Ætat 52 a Separate. [Benjamin Sexton was the son of the first man born in Westfield in 1666, who died in 1754. His funeral was attended by Mr. Ballantine.]

"5. A Frenchman dined here.

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"6. Preached. Prayers. Tirzah Holcomb sick, visited Tirzah Holcomb. She made a profession of Religion, owned the Covenant, was baptized in bed.

"Eliakim Marshall a Separate held forth over ye Little River at Benj Sextons.

"12. Frost lost nipt the plants in garden which it hath not done before this Spring, raw & cold.

"14. James Nimocks mowed head of meadow lot & Garden. 2 Beggars here to-day, one born in Bristol England, sailor fell from Round Top. The woman had ye store burnt with goods of value 900£."

[Thus in colonial times the country minister was made the prey of plausible suppliants for alms whose successors from generation to generation have haunted the parsonage doors, and too often alas, not in fruitless quests.]

"22. Prayed with the company who were to raise the Southwick Meeting house. Spent ye day there. Supt at widow Fowlers. The Frame finished.

"28. Many stalks killed by a worm among my Rye.

"Aug. 5. Ensign Weller gave qt Metheglin.

"7. My son William came home. Sir Parsons with him his classmate. They were both examined & licensed to preach this week.

"10. Doct. Anthony Yeldal set up a stage, on it 2 lads entertained ye spectators by walking on their hands & by various feats of activity. The Doctor harangues on what he can do, ye terms on which he doth anything, the way he goes on in. He harangues on the virtues of certain Medicines he hath to sell. There was not a large collection of people. He is to appear on 5 Tuesdays.

"17. Went to Southwick. Attended Public worship. Rev. Mr. Strong of Salmon Brook preached from Psalms, 8.: ult. 'All my springs are in thee.'

"I baptized a child, gathered a church there.

"Sep. 1. Preached preparatory Lecture—storm, hail, rain, dark cloud scared some.

"7. Doctor Yildals stage set up. Walk on wire. Many spectators."

Aug. 16. Mr. Ballantine wrote to President Locke, and his son William went with the younger son Ebenezer to Cam-

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bridge for admission to college, the two elder sons John and William having been graduated there. Ten days later he records: "My sons returned. Ebenr not admitted, examined Ephesians, studied only in the Evangelists."

"Sep. 6. My sons John & Ebenr set out for New Haven.

"11. My sons returned from New Haven. Ebenezer freely admitted.

"13. Son William returned from Turkey Hills where he preached yesterday ye first time.

"26. My son John preached at Westfield.

"Oct. 21. Fast at Southwick preparatory to Ordination. Rev. Mr. Strong preached A.M. from Luke 16:12-23 I preached P.M. from 2 Cor. 2:16.

"26. Went to Southwick. Council formed. J. Strong, Scribe. Examined Mr. Forward, approved him, distributed ye parts of ye Service.

"27. Rain A.M. Mr. Abel Forward Ordained—Rev. Rufus Hawley of Northington began with prayer. Revd Justus Forward preached from Rom. 10:15 How can they preach except they be sent. Rev. E. Gay prayed before Charge. I gave the Charge. Rev. J. Graham prayed after ye charge. Rev. Jedh Smith of Granville gave right hand of fellowship—sung 132 Psalm.

"31. Preached Messrs. Lyman & Hunt of Northampton attended. Prayers that death of Isaac Sacket may be sanctified to Ezekiel, Adnah & David Sacket & their Wives, also to Danl Sacket, Deacon Shepard & their Wives.

"Thanks. Joseph Ashleys wife d—d. and Gad Deweys wife recovered.

"Attended Isaac Sackets funeral, age 70, people met at Deacon Shepards.

"Nov. 3. Visited and prayed with Mr. Samuel Noble dangerously ill.

"4. Visited Sergt. Samuel Noble, prayed, died while I was there Ætat 51st year.

"An hearty strong man he was at the ordination last week at Southwick, was taken ill in the night after, proper means were neglected for want of a skilful Physician. The distemper was Pleurisy in the breast.

"He was one of ye Selectmen, hath been chosen several

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times to that Office. He made a profession of religion and was admitted to the watch care of the Church—had some of his children baptized. Joined with ye Separates, very rarely met with us for worship.

"5. Rain in night. Sergt. Noble was buried. A Separate Baptist held forth.

"7. Preached. Prayers. Samuel Noble. Grace Noble. Gideon Shepard & Richard Nimocks and their wives that the death of their Father may be sanctified to them. Capt. Asa Noble, Jacob Noble & Enoch Holcomb and their wives that their brothers death may be sanctified to them.

"Dec. 1. Miss Molly Gelston of Long Island and Miss Jenny Strong of Simsbury visited us.

"Dec. 14. Cloudy. Bought 16 lbs. Tallow of a Granville man. paid 8/.

"15. Great disturbance about Tea shipt by the East India Company.

"17 Mr. Samuel Fowler gave a piece of Venison. So warm people plow.

"19. 3 inches of snow. 1 slay at Meeting house.

"21. People in and about Boston will not suffer ye Tea to be landed.

"26. I preached. A great flood, damage done to Bridges & Dams, no crossing Great River, nor Little River at Deacon Taylors. County Bridge destroyed, much damage done to lands and roads.

"29. Mob cleared the ships of Tea."

From that date to May, 1774, there is a break in what has been preserved of the invaluable Journal.

"May 30, 1774. Governor Gage negatived 13 Councillors among which are Hon. James Bowdoin, Samuel Dexter & John Winthrop, Esq.

"31. Go to Blanford, attend ye Council, dine with the Presbytery at Pease's, attend P.M. Lodge at Mr. Mortons.

"June 1. Attended ye Presbytery. Mr. Patrick silenced, dismist for scandalous intemperance. Dined with the Presbytery, returned

"Boston blocked up by English men of war. Vessels may come in, the vessles that have not got in their lading have 14 days allowed them, after that none to go out, except those

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that bring Provisions & Fuel, on pain of forfeiture of vessel & Cargo. The siege not to be raised till they have satisfied the East India Company for their Tea & the duties may be peacefully Collected, or till we believe the doctrine of non-resistance & passive obedience.

"Pitcher & Rudd dig the cellar.

"2. Married Benhadad Negro & Dolly, mullatto. Received 6/-

"7. General Assembly to meet at Salem by adjournment. General Assembly of Court take under their protection a third part of Southwick, which will very much weaken if not ruin ye district.

"8 Fast at Hartwood [Washington].

"11. My son Wm goes to Hartwood. My son John goes to preach for Rev. Mr. Smith of Granville.

"14. Set out for Hartwood with my wife, son John & Esqr. Taylor. baited at Peases, Blanford, dined at Rev. Mr. Huns, Becket, lodged at Mr. Foots, Hartwood.

"My son examined, approved by all but Mr. Keep who dissents because he (Wm) holds that unregenerate men may partake of the Lord's supper.

"15. My son William ordained Pastor of the Church at Hartwood.

"Rev. Mr. Whitman Welch of Williamstown began with prayer. I preached from 2nd Cor. 2:16 Rev. Adonijah Bidwell prayed during imposition of hands. Rev. Ebenezer Gay of Suffield gave the charge, Rev. Mr. Zadoc Hunn of Becket gave right hand of fellowship. Rev. Mr. Allen of Pittsfield made the last prayer. Sung the 132 Psalm, dismist with a blessing. Showers.

"Council dined at Mr. Foots, lodged there.

"20. Was at Ensign Parks lately from Boston. Regulars encamped on ye Common.

"24. Was at Capt. Moselys returned from Court which was dissolved last Saturday. Congress agreed on Commissioners chosen, Hon. James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing Speaker. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Payne, Governor Gage refuses to concur, to sign a warrant to get money out of the Treasury.

"Recommended to the Several Towns to raise 500£ to

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pay by 15th of August. Westfield's part of it is forty shillings. 40/-" [This amount was unanimously voted at Town Meeting, as will appear.]

"30. It was proposed that this day be kept as a day of Fasting & prayer. On account of the difficulties we are involved in by ye late oppressive laws. It having been concurred in by ye House of Representatives as seasonable. The Governor declined issuing a Proclamation though desired by both Houses. The House did not pitch on a day but left it with the Ministers. Boston Ministers having proposed July 14th to be kept as a Fast & published ye proposal, for the sake of union when we came to know ye proposal we postponed our fast to that day.

"Sep. 12. Visited Doct. Ashley, who lately brought home his wife. They were insulted by some sons of Belial after I came away."

This was the second Doctor Israel Ashley; his bride, "Miss Molly Gelston of Long Island," had spent a few days at the parsonage with a friend from Simsbury in December, 1773. A grandson of these contracting parties was the Hon. William Gelston Bates, whose grandson now bears the name of Gelston. It was common for those who were not invited to weddings or wedding parties, a hundred years ago and more, to show their resentment by riotous and shameful acts, in which persons of much respectability were wont to engage.

In a few days after there was a public fast, in view of the distressed condition of the country. Mr. Ballantine, in his sermon on fast day, mentioned the conduct on the aforesaid occasion as among the sins of the people, that ought to be lamented. He did not introduce it into his sermon not because it was a species of iniquity, nor because the conduct on that occasion was more shameful than on any other, but because the evil called aloud for a remedy, and the occasion furnished a suitable apology for taking notice of it from the pulpit. The practice soon went into disrepute. The following is an extract from the sermon in which the affair is mentioned:

"One thing more I am constrained to notice, and that is a late instance of riotous behavior among ourselves. I mean the outrageous insult to a newly married couple. It is so manifest an evil that nothing need be said in proof of that

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point. Your consciences, before this time, must have convinced you of what incivility, what rudeness, nay, of what barbarity you were guilty on that night, by conduct that bid defiance to the laws of God and man. One might have feared such treatment had they lived among savages and barbarians, but who could have expected it in a civilized country, where there are such good and wholesome laws, and where the light of the gospel shines? Who could have expected it from friends, relations, neighbors and acquaintances? What can be the reason they weary themselves to commit iniquity? The want of an invitation to a party of pleasure cannot justify such an outrage. The gospel requires us to be kindly affectioned one to another; to be courteous. How contrary was that conduct to the gospel. I am very sorry that the heads of families should be left to such folly. They have peculiar reason to be ashamed. Says the apostle, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, but when I became a man, I put away childish things.' It is a disgrace for men to act as children. Should your children live to grow up, could you approve of such conduct in them—would it not shame you? Would it not involve you in difficulty? How could you reprove them without condemning yourselves? My friends, it is a regard for your souls that has directed this reproof. It is given in this manner in obedience to a divine command. Those that sin rebuke before all, that others may fear. May this rebuke have this effect, that all may fear and do no more so wickedly."

"13. Attended the funeral of Jonathan Fowler who had almost completed his 89th year. He was a virulent opposer of Ministers, differed from every one and he made a great deal of disturbance in his family for some years past by his provoking tongue. His wife & son have impatiently waited for his death. He lived undesired & died unlamented."

Mr. Ballantine, as has been abundantly proven, had a way of saying just what he thought in what was then the privacy of his Journal. The fact that the above characterized Jonathan Fowler, a grandson of Ambrose the settler, was a Separate and opened his house for meetings of that disturbing element in the community, may account in part for Mr. Ballantine's uncomplimentary remarks. Still, according to invariable custom, on the following Sabbath he prayed for "Hannah

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Fowler bereaved of a husband & Luther Fowler bereaved of a Father."

"19. Was at Fally's shop & paid for grinding a Razor & scissors.

"29. Military Co. set up. Choose officers.

"30. Town met to Choose Representatives. Capt. Mosley & Ensign Parks chosen.

"Oct. 11. Provincial Congress at Concord. [The above Representatives, Moseley and Parks, were in attendance as noted in another Chapter.]

"12. Was at Ichabod Comstocks, dined at Rev. Mr. McKinstrys, began with prayer, Rev. Dr. Williams preached A.M. Rev. Mr. Breck prayed. I preached P.M. I lodged at Mr. McKinstrys.

"13. Dined at Rev. Mr. Lothrops, visited Mr. Thos Noble." [That was on the way home from West Springfield, at the Noble homestead later known as "the old Ambrose Day house."]

"19 My horse dropt down dead in the street tackled in Cart, opened him, a bunch of Botts in his pipe.

"20. Enoch Holcombs house burnt down. shavings in the corner, husks on the floor, but little saved, people had gone out to work.

"Dr. Langdon installed President of Harvard College 14th inst.

"21. A sergt. who had been broke plotted to destroy the Magazine of the Army, discovered, sentenced to be whipt 1000 Lashes received at different times

"Nov. 8. Mr. Benj. Lord Junr from Norwich here. My son Wm goes to Turkey Hills & Suffield. Rev. Mr Lothrop & Mr. Morton dined here. Was at Doct. Mathers.

"9. My son returns.

"10. Mr. Smith of Hadley here."

End of Journal

Somewhat more than a year after those closing words were written in the Journal their noble and devoted author closed his useful ministry in the Westfield community, Feb. 12, 1776, the birth year of the Republic. Had he been spared a few years longer how he would have exerted his

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ripened powers to promote the interests of that significant experiment in nation building!

In his funeral sermon, Rev. Joseph Lathrop, D.D., of West Springfield extolled the virtues and abilities of the man who had been so eminently useful during his ministry in the frontier town for thirty-five years. In the course of it he said, "Without detracting from the merits of any minister, it may be said few have supported so amiable and unexceptionable a character both at home and abroad as Mr. Ballantine. His conversation was ever such as became a christian and a minister: agreeable, useful and edifying: free from austerity and affectation. His moral character was unstained. He breathed a spirit of benevolence to mankind: he was a lover of peace, given to hospitality, meek and condescending in his deportment, and easy of access to all. He was ready to oblige, a sincere, faithful, unwavering friend, open artless and undisguised, tender of others' character and an enemy to slander and detraction. His sermons were composed with a richness of sentiment, a pertinence of diction and a natural arrangement of thoughts often enlivened with beautiful and striking imagery and ever pronounced with an effectiveness and earnestness that bespoke a soul deeply impressed with the weight of solemn truths he delivered to others. * * * In a word, he was a good and faithful minister and I am persuaded that none who have been acquainted with him entertain one uneasy doubt, but his soul was formed to the spirit of that divine religion which he preached and is now gone to rest with that Savior whom he served in the gospel." (Quoted in Westfield Journal, Sept. 23, 1834.)

Mr. Ballantine preached a sermon on May 28, 1758, to a company of soldiers from Westfield, and Capt. Ball and Lieut. Bancroft about starting for Canada. His text was Exodus 17: 9: "And Moses said unto Joshua, Choose us out men, and go out, fight with Amalek: to-morrow I will stand on top of the hill with the rod of God in mine hand." An outline of the sermon as quoted in the Westfield Journal, Oct. 7, 1834, shows its applicability to soldiers of every generation and every national campaign.

"1. War is lawful. To engage in war is no violation of the command to love our enemies. The Judge pronounces

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the sentence of the law upon the criminal and may feel pity in his heart. Soldiers should not fight with brutal rage or malice, but like angels should go forth to execute the wrath of Heaven.

"2. Fit means are to be used against an enemy.

"I. Courageous men must be chosen, and the people must be concerned to know the difference between good and evil, and the particular sin for which the present evil comes. II. They should engage to refrain from all sin and exert themselves to suppress wickedness among others. III. They should hold up their hands and thus engage to contend not only against the practice but the love of sin.

"3. Moses going to the top of the hill and holding up his hands is expressive of his earnest prayer for the success of the army. It is reasonable that we pray for soldiers if we consider I. That the calling of a soldier is dangerous. They have long marches, have to cross lakes and rivers, meet with bad companions and are exposed to sickness. II. That they are exposed to numerous temptations. III. That they go to defend us."

The following was addressed particularly to the soldiers: "Despise not this good land, despise not these privileges, think them worth fighting for. Shall Frenchmen, subjects of an arbitrary power, whose bodies and souls are slaves, their bodies to the King and their souls to the Pope, shall they so exert themselves and will not New England men? I do not wish our army to treat them barbarously or cruelly, but I do heartily pray they may subdue them. If you wish to succeed, go forth in the name and strength of God; carry not your sins with you. Let me entreat you to guard against profane swearing: I fear you will have many examples of it where you are going: keep from it: its being fashionable does not justify it. Beware of intemperance: it will enfeeble and dispirit you and expose you to a great variety of evils in this world and misery in the next. Be not bantered out of your religion: be not ashamed to appear religious, though you may be laughed at as precise."

The following Westfield men were among those who belonged to the army in that final campaign for the conquest of Canada: Aaron Ashley, Peleg Comes, Stephen Ward, Enos Loomis, Nathaniel Church, Joseph Barker, Stephen Sexton,

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William Patterson, Benjamin Pike, Samuel Johnson, Moses Root, Zenas Noble. (Quoted in Westfield Journal, Oct. 7, 1834.)

In an old account book of Datis Ensign there are some very interesting items relative to the mill at Little River, the weather, family and other matters, justifying sundry quotations therefrom.

"1761. June ye 4 I Datis Ensign came with my family to Westfield to live in the 32nd year of my age.

"1763 May 20th There fell a considerable snow which I believe if it had not thawed as it fell would have been 4 or 5 inches, which continued on the ground to May 21, about 9 o'clock in the morning. The ground froze under an apple tree in my garden where there was no snow about half an inch thick.

"1763 Nov. 2nd. The Grist Mill that stood on ye 2 mile Brook was torn all to pieces by water and wholy demolished, and Nov. ye 7th we began to rebuild it again.

"1764 In Feb. the Mill was rebuilt and went again.

"1765 May ye 8th Snow fell 2 inches deep.

"May ye 18th 1772 The fisherman on the Little River side catched 2130 shad in one day at three hauls which came to £18.11s.8d.

"Doctor John Jones to shaving 25 times in 1764 & 1765 & 1766—4s-2d.

"An account of the births of my Honord Father's David Ensign's children.

"He was born in Hartford and so were all his children. He died there Dec. ye 4, 1759 in ye 71st year of his age.

1.	Abigail,	Mar. 22, 1710	
2.	Hannah,	Feb. 19, 1712	
3.	Zerviah,	Dec. 29, 1713	
4.	David,	June 12, 1716	Lanesborough, Mass.
5.	Eliphalet,	April 29, 1718	
6.	Sarah,	Feb. 19, 1727	
7.	Datis,	Sep. 22, 1729	Came to Westfield 1761
8.	Jerusha,	May 25, 1731	Died 3 weeks old
9.	Ezekiel,	Jan. 21, 1733	
10.	Solomon,	May 19, 1738	

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Children of Datis Ensign, born

1. Datis Jr. June 20, 1752, md. Abigail Woolworth, Pub. Nov. 14, 1779.
2. Lucretia, May 7, 1754. Died Aug. 25, 1756.
3. Isaac, Feb. 24, 1756. Md. 1st Sarah Pitt. 2nd Lydia Noble.
4. Lucretia 2nd, Jan. 1, 1759
5. Sarah, Aug, 22, 1760. Md. Thomas Ashley, Jan. 16, 1783.

[Thomas Ashley, son of Simeon, born, Oct. 12, 1757]

Datis Ensign Sr. died Nov. 11, 1788, aged 58 years. His widow died Apr. 22, 1814, aged 83."

The following is a partial copy of an undated Deed: "To all people, &c. &c. Know ye that I Datis Ensign of Westfield Mass. &c. &c. for and in consideration of £1000 to me in hand well & truly paid by Datis Ensign Jr. and Isaac Ensign do grant and convey to them their heirs & assigns forever one tract or mesuage of Land lying in Westfield & over the Little River & that place that John Jones possessed and is Butted and bounded as followeth viz. North on the County road that leads from Westfield to Suffield, East on Zadoc Martindale, Southerly on John Ingersoll partly & partly on Aaron Deweys heirs, & West on Jonathan Ingerson's heirs with one Mansion house & Barn standing on said premises &c. & also one Fulling Mill standing on the Brook called the Two mile Brook and near the Grist Mill that is known by the name of Baggs Mill &c. &c."

An approximation to the date of the above Deed may be inferred from a record on a loose slip of paper:

"Westfield Feb. ye 18th, 1779.

"We whose names are underwritten Do promise to pay the Respective sums thereto annext in labor or something that shall answer toward building a Saw Mill, to be paid to the Ensigns provided they build a Saw Mill on the Brook called the Two Mile Brook on the road that leads from Westfield to Suffield and near their Fulling Mill.

"N.B. To be paid in the old way."

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CHAPTER XX.

The Seven Years' War

The Peace of Aix la Chapelle, which ended King George's War in 1749, was but a hollow truce which left the question of boundaries between the French and English on this side of the ocean to a Commission. While that was holding protracted sittings in Paris the wily French were pushing their traders and forts along the lakes and down the Ohio, crowding the English into narrow territorial limits along the Atlantic seaboard. They in turn were attempting to hold their possessions in New England and New York. What is known as the Seven Years' War was not formally declared in Europe until 1756, but in America hostilities had then been maintained for two years. They began in May, 1754, when in the valley of the upper Ohio Major George Washington, then twenty-two years old, under commission from Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia, after a sharp skirmish captured a detachment of French soldiers under Jumonville. It was not only the first engagement of that long war, but it was more notable as the first fight in which that young officer engaged, who was destined to become one of the world's great military leaders. In a letter to one of his brothers written while the flush of battle was still on him he said, "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." (Irving's Life of Washington, Vol. I, p. 111.)

In June, 1754, under orders from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the several Governors, seven in all, of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the four of New England respectively, sent commissioners to Albany to negotiate with the New York Indians and secure them as loyal allies. It has been spoken of as "a body of men who for character and ability had never had an equal on the continent," and was the first Colonial Congress.

Franklin was the leading spirit of the Congress, and turning from Indian affairs to the more vital matter of some form of effective union of the Colonies, he suggested a plan that

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became famous. It was, however, rejected by the Crown because it gave too much power to the Colonies, and vice versa. Neither side was willing to concede as much of its prerogatives as the plan exacted. The rough woodcut, an early cartoon, which had lately been published in the Pennsylvania Gazette, gave warning which still demanded public attention and action. It represented the several Colonies under the form of a snake cut into several pieces, with the motto, "Join, or die."

In that same month of June, Governor Shirley issued orders to the towns of Massachusetts to lay in a stock of ammunition and to prepare to defend themselves. He made Col. Israel Williams commander of all the Hampshire forces raised for its defense, and commissioned Elijah Williams of Deerfield as Major. Under him the line of northwestern forts was strengthened. Major Elijah Williams was also appointed as Commissary, and Deerfield was made the depot for the frontier supplies. Early in September Col. Israel Williams wrote to Secretary Willard, giving sundry items relative to the conditions of affairs in his territory:

"The people of the new settlements have generally withdrawn; some few have shut themselves up in poor forts and palisaded houses. * * * What Fall-town people could not get into Lieut. Sheldon's fort, are withdrawn. * * * Some remain at Charlemont & are picketing a house & some of the inhabitants remain. * * * Pitsfield is deserted. * * * 6 Indians seen at Southampton yesterday."

Sept. 12 he wrote Gov. Shirley: "It is open war with us & a dark and distressing scene opening. A merciless miscreant enemy invading us in every quarter." Fuller details of that letter will be given later.

His alarm was due to the capture of eight people at No. 4, a few days before the date of his letter. Because of the alarm occasioned by the sight of the six Indians in Southampton, Rev. Mr. Judd records in his Diary that he "rid to Hatfield and obtained orders to Major Hawley for 10 soldiers." They were sent from Northampton and marched to Mr. Judd's house, the only fortified one in town, put it in a good state of defense, and made their headquarters there for three months. The people may have been made unduly nervous by an alarm

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during the time of worship on Sunday, Sept. 1. Mr. Judd entered an item in his Diary on that day, "The assembly broke up in sermon time by a gun shot at a bare," and added the next day, "The scout came in who went out yesterday; people began to move together." He does not say whether the scout discovered the "bare" or whether the bullet shot at him found a vital spot.

There seems to have been considerable indignation on the part of Major Hawley against his cousin Col. Williams. In a letter addressed to him under date of Oct. 3, Major Hawley suggests that there should be a conference on military affairs "for ye defence of our people on ye west of Connecticut river," in which Col. Israel Williams, Col. Oliver Partridge, Major Ephraim Williams, and himself should join. With some bitterness he protests that Col. Israel and Major Ephraim devise such schemes as they "think proper, and labur it with ye Governor and he also with ye whole Court." While "Col. Partridge schemes something different perhaps, which he will labour with the Governor and House. I am privy to neither scheme, and perhaps ye first of my hearing thereof should be in ye House." He later took an active part in the organization of the Hampshire County Regiment.

It is not strange that the arbitrary methods of "the river gods," as they were sneeringly termed, should have provoked jealousy and criticism even among themselves. The term was applied to Joseph Hawley of Northampton, Israel Williams of Hatfield, and John Worthington of Springfield, men of commanding influence and consummate ability, who bore great civic responsibilities and were of immense service to the county and the Colony in later colonial times. That they were often arbitrary and dictatorial, and aristocratic rather than democratic in their spirit and habit, is not a serious indictment, since they rendered great benefits through their private and public efforts. In some respects they were prototypes of the modern "boss," but not in his most hateful features of greed and graft. Men of the type of these leaders during the middle of the eighteenth century, including Col. Oliver Partridge, and those of the previous generation, Col. John Pynchon, Col. John Stoddard and Capt. Samuel Partridge, were shaping affairs, of their own towns not only, but

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of the communities round about, and of the young nation just emerging from infancy. Though there was at this era a great dearth of capable military captains in New England, the number of men efficient as civic leaders in the various towns of this Colony is very remarkable. They wrought nobly and well, and subsequent generations have abundant reason to rise up and call them blessed. Westfield was no exception in this respect, though her public spirited citizens of that age have not come so conspicuously into view on the pages of recorded history. They were instinct with the same spirit that ennobled and energized the Pynchons, the Hawleys, the Williamses and the other civic notables of that epoch.

While New England was maturing men who should impress themselves upon the life of the nation which was destined to play so important and beneficent a part in the world's affairs, the rulers on the two thrones which were so vitally related to its destinies were intriguing and maneuvering for any possible advantage to be gained in this distant hemisphere. While the travesty of peace was maintained, and the people upon our frontiers were praying that it might become a matter of fact as well as of form, England, on the one hand, was starting hither two regiments of 500 men each under Gen. Braddock, and France, on the other hand, was preparing to dispatch eighteen ships-of-war with 3000 men, in six battalions, under Baron Dieskau. The two commanders were tried veterans of many campaigns. Each sailed, ostensibly, to reinforce garrisons which had been respectively depleted by the natural waste of war and disease, but each sailed also with secret orders to assume at once the aggressive, while the semblance of peace should be maintained. It is amazing what crimes against cardinal principles of righteousness can be committed with unblushing effrontery under the casuistic justification of the necessities of war. The English were to attack Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio, and the French were to assault Fort Halifax, one of two forts lately built upon the Kennebec. The English claimed that Fort Duquesne was within the bounds of their own territory, while the French had not even that shred of an excuse in making an inroad during a period of technical peace. Note has been made already of Indian depredations in the valley during the sum-

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mer of 1754, even as near to Westfield as the adjoining town on the north, and the warning issued by Col. Israel Williams to the several towns to put themselves into a state of preparation for defense. As early in 1755 as Feb. 10 he ordered Capt. Ephraim Williams and Capt. Phineas Stevens to raise each a company and build a fort at the "great carrying place" on the Hudson, where the village of Fort Edward now stands, to provide for the protection of stores to be gathered as supplies for a proposed expedition against Crown Point. During the summer many persons in the upper parts of the Connecticut River Valley were killed or captured.

In April, 1755, there was an important conference of Governors at Alexandria, called by Gov. Shirley to consult with the newly arrived Gen. Braddock. Washington was present, soon to be made an aide of Braddock, while William Shirley, the Governor's son, was his secretary. An extensive and comprehensive plan of campaign for the year was formulated, looking toward the expulsion of the French from English territory, and the capture of a fortress on the border. It was to execute four distinct campaigns at widely separated points. Braddock with his two regiments and such provincials and Indian allies as could be gathered was to strike through the wilderness and over the mountains to Fort Duquesne. Shirley, who since the former war had held the rank of Colonel, and unknown to all the officials in the Conference was soon by the death of Braddock to be made Commander-in-Chief, was to lead two recently formed regiments, Pepperell's and his own, against Fort Niagara. Lieut. Col. Monckton, a regular officer, was to lead a body of New England troops to capture Beausejour, and complete the subjection of Acadia. Col. William Johnson, because of his potent influence over the Indians, and his prominence in military affairs in New York, was to command such provincials as could be enlisted in New England, New York and New Jersey, against Crown Point, the key of Lake Champlain, and the recognized highway connecting Canada and the Provinces.

Theoretically this plan was magnificent and of brilliant promise, and had it been successful at all points would have crippled greatly the French power on this continent, but the results of it are pathetic. The failure of two of the campaigns

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brought successive shocks of disappointment to the popular heart, amounting, after Braddock's defeat, almost to despair. Parkman sums up the results as follows: "A disastrous rout on the Monongahela, failure at Niagara, a barren victory at Lake George, and three forts captured in Acadia." The appalling disaster at the forks of the Ohio was due to the prejudice and pigheadedness of Braddock. Had the expedition been under the command of Washington, who, though but a young officer and with little martial experience, had been a ranger through those forest fastnesses and knew something of the essential rudiments of backwoods warfare, and moreover had energy and alertness which would have forbidden such waste of time in reaching the point to be attacked as Braddock allowed, who can say whether the issue might not have been the very reverse of what it actually was? He was so impatient of the snail-like advance of the body of selected troops after having left the heavy baggage and much of the artillery at Fort Cumberland, that he wrote to his brother, "My hopes were brought very low indeed when I found that, instead of pushing on with vigor without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole hill, and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in going twelve miles."

The task attempted was certainly a herculean one, transporting supplies, ammunition, equipage and artillery more than a hundred miles from Fort Cumberland, through the virgin forest, along a narrow pathway where the primeval trees had been but just removed. The line of march often extended four miles. It has been said that "It was like a thin, long, party-colored snake, red, blue, and brown, trailing slowly through the depth of leaves, creeping around inaccessible heights, crawling over ridges, moving always in dampness and shadow, by rivulets and waterfalls, crags and chasms, gorges and shaggy steeps."

It was a more stupendous task than would have been a similar campaign from Westfield to Albany. Had Col. Williams's regiment with its Westfield company, and another regiment of equal size, been ordered to that undertaking, instead of marching unencumbered with heavy impedimenta over that road en route to Lake George, it would have experi-

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enced some of the difficulties which Braddock's men knew, yet the road would have been far less rough and the heights to be crossed would have been far less lofty.

Braddock had to cross the watershed between the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico, without accurate knowledge of the easiest grades and the least rugged trails.

As it resulted, the disaster which cost him his life and his reputation, cost the Colonies dear, for Dunbar, left in charge of the rear guard and the supplies, destroyed provisions, ammunition and cannon, and hastened with the panic-stricken fugitives to Fort Cumberland, leaving the frontier open to Indian incursions which burst upon it in "a storm of blood and fire."

Before starting for his momentous conference at Alexandria Gov. Shirley sent the following letter to Col. Williams:

"Boston, 29th March, 1755.

"Sir, I am setting out on my journey to meet with General Braddock. Must entreat your favour and assistance in settling the Officers for a Regiment to go ag'st Crownpoint, the Regiment to consist of 500 men with ten Captains, ten Lieutenants & ten Ensigns, including field Officers: it will be a great pleasure to me to have Majr Ephraim Williams engage as one. I can't be content without having the Officers of one Regiment from your parts. Major Hawley is coming up to settle the affair with you, who will bring all necessary papers with him.

"I am with Truth & Esteem, Sir,
Your Most assur'd Friend and Servant,
W. Shirley.

"To Israel Williams, Hatfield."

Very soon afterward, Ephraim Williams received his commission as Colonel of this new regiment, and engaged with others in raising, each for himself, a company. It had come to be the custom for the Colonel of a regiment to be at the same time at the head of one of its constituent companies, with the additional emoluments of a Captain.

Sheldon gives a list of the staff officers with the monthly pay of each appended:

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"Colonel Ephraim Williams, Deerfield and Hatfield	£12.16.0
Lieut. Colonel Seth Pomeroy, Northampton	10.13.4
Major, Noah Ashley, Westfield,	9. 1.4
Surgeon, Thomas Williams, Deerfield	10. 0.0
Surgeon's Mate, Perez Marsh, Hadley,	5. 6.8
Chaplain, Stephen Williams, Longmeadow,	6. 8.4
Commissioner of Hospitals, Eleazur Burt,	5. 0.4
Adjutant, Philip Richardson,	2. 2.8
Armorer, John P. Bull, Deerfield,	2. 0.0"

The Lieut. Colonel, Seth Pomeroy, was the man who from making and repairing guns at Northampton had gone to fire them at the enemy at Louisburg, and to keep the valuable Journal which gives so many interesting details of the siege and capture of that stronghold, besides writing letters to his wife which supplemented and enlarged upon the incidents of the Journal.

Major Noah Ashley belonged to one of the most influential families of Westfield. He was born June 15, 1704, grandson of David Ashley, the settler, and son of Capt. John Ashley and his wife Sarah Dewey, daughter of Jedediah, one of the three notable brothers of that name. Capt. John Ashley married for his second wife widow Mary Sheldon, born in Westfield, Aug. 19, 1672, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Whiting and his wife Mary, who was the daughter of Col. John Pynchon as already noted.

Westfield gave of her best in this Seven Years' War which Edward Everett called significantly "the school of the Revolution." The town was getting into training for larger gifts of life and treasure in the more expensive sacrifices of the longer and fiercer struggle which was to be begun a brief generation thence.

Just when Capt. Ingersoll's company and Major Ashley marched from Westfield, we have no means of knowing. A brief but interesting Journal of Capt. Elisha Hawley, son of the second Joseph Hawley, and only brother of Major Joseph, has for its initial item the following:

"June 26th 1755 set out from Northampton for Albany in order to proceed in the Expedition against Crownpoint, road to Westfd and Lodged there."

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His company started shortly before him and were at Greenbush when he arrived on Sunday the 29th. Lieut. Col. Seth Pomeroy started a few days later as his longer and fuller Journal records.

"Northampton, July 1, 1755.

"Tuesday, set out from home to the Expedition to Crown Point. Arrived at Westfield, lodged at Clapp's Tuesday and Wednesday night."

He may have had some affairs of the regiment or the Westfield company to attend to which kept him there over Wednesday. He spent the next night at Stockbridge and Friday night at "Cantuhook" [Kinderhook] and reached Albany at noon on Saturday. The daily travel of these two men is thus seen to have averaged about thirty miles.

Pomeroy, under date of July 10, says: "Governor Shirley came to town with several officers and two companies of soldiers for his army. At his arrival the cannon in the fort was discharged, the field officers that were in town waited upon the Governor and drank a glass of wine with him." Major Ashley may have been included among them.

On the following day they were invited to dine with the Governor and General Johnson. "Saturday, the 12th, I dined with Maj. General Lyman at Col. Rensalers."

It is interesting to note that they were probably entertained on that day by the man who ten years later erected the magnificent Manor-house which until recent years was one of the show places of Albany, standing in the northern part of the city. It was finally in 1894 sold to the Sigma Phi Fraternity of Williams College, carefully taken down, removed to Williamstown and set up in its original form, minus the side wings, far back from the street on the lot next east of the Congregational Church, and has since been used as a Lodge, and the headquarters of the fraternity.

The two Journals of these officers are of peculiar value because they contain private personal records of the movements and activities of the Hampshire regiment of Col. Ephraim Williams, with its contingent of Westfield officers and privates.

They both refer to a case of martial discipline, which shows that at least one heroic attempt was made to keep that

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Continental camp free from the breach of the third commandment which made the army in Flanders proverbial.

Capt. Hawley says, under date of Aug. 6, "this day one of our army was whip'd for the most vile Cursing & Swearing." Pomeroy adds important details, "100 lashes and drummed out of the army with a rope about his neck, and ordered to be sent to a convenient place, there to be kept and placed till the Crown Point expedition was over." As his name was Bickenstaff we may conclude that he was not a Hampshire man, but may have belonged to one of the other Provinces, and that he was punished so severely, either by singling him from many offenders to make his penalty an awful warning to others, or because his offense was particularly outrageous. Col. Williams wrote to Col. Israel Williams at Hatfield, under date of Aug. 16, "I beg your prayers for us all & me in perticular. We are a wicked profane army, more especially New York troops & Road Island, nothing to be heard among a great part of them but the language of hell. I assure you Sr if ever the place is taken, it will not be for our sakes, but for these good people left behind."

On the other hand, a private letter of one Johnson says, "Prayers have a good effect, especially among the New England men." William Smith of New York wrote, "Not a chicken has been stolen," showing either remarkable restraint on the part of the campaigners or a strange dearth of poultry in the neighborhood. The Massachusetts Archives show that its troops at least had sermons twice a week, daily prayers and frequent psalm-singing. Private Jonathan Caswell of that Province wrote to his Father, "Prayers among us night and morning. Here we lie, not knowing when we shall march for Crown Point, but I hope not long to tarry. Desiring your prayers to God for me as I am going to war, I am Your Ever Dutiful Son."

While at Stillwater, employed in getting up stores for their expedition, Pomeroy notes that on Sunday, July 27, Mr. Williams preached. The following Sunday they were on the march, reaching Fort Nicholson, or the great carrying place, just before noon. On Aug. 10 Mr. Williams preached "both fore and afternoon." A week later the Journal records, "Sabbath day, 17th 1755. A fair day. So much business

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this forenoon that no sermon. Met at 11 o'clock, sang and publicly prayed. Orders given for a meeting 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Just after we met and began prayers news came that the wagons were attacked by 300 Indians."

Two weeks later he says, "Sabbath day Aug. 31, 1755. A fair day. In the forenoon Mr. Williams preached a sermon to Indians by Interpreters. In the afternoon one to the English in the camp, at 5 of the clock, a Mr. Newell, a young gentleman in the Rhode Island Government a chaplain of Capt. Babcock's preached a very good sermon from Christ's sermon on the Mount, 'Love your Enemies.' " It certainly was a strange text to choose for that place and hour, just a week and a day before the tragedy of the "bloody morning scout" on ground but a short distance south of the camp at Lake George. The text had a fair and notable illustration in the preaching that forenoon to the Indians by Mr. Williams, then a venerable man, who forty-one years before had been carried captive from Deerfield to Canada. He must have learned to love his enemies in the long interval between the horrors of captivity and this day when facing another attack from the same Canadian tribes, and the same French invaders, as had made him suffer the horrors of captivity in boyhood.

On the Tuesday previous to that Sabbath of three sermons, Pomeroy records, "Orders given to march with about 2000 men, and a number of waggons to carry cannon and stores. We set off about 4 of the clock in the afternoon, 6 or 8 cannon fired at our departure. We proceeded a little above the falls which were about four miles. There encamped with our army under hemlock and bush shelters.

"Wednesday, 27th. A fair morning. We set out with our army ½ an hour after 7 o'clock in the morning went on about 4 or 5 miles then stopped, eat pieces of ham broken bread and cheese, drank some fresh lemon punch and the best of wine with General Johnson and some of the field officers, we staid about an hour and then marched on slow for the road was not clear, but a large number of hands clearing before the army.

"Thursday, 28 Our army encamped at a good brook about half way from the carrying place to the lake: a small

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party of Indians went off to hunt a little above last night; they killed and brought in 3 deer; they gave me a thigh of one on which I supped and breakfasted next morning with a good appetite. Set out about 8 of the clock with our army having early sent about 400 men to cut our way; about noon stopped and dined with General Johnson by a small brook under a tree; eat a good dinner of cold boiled and roast venison, drank good fresh lemon punch and wine, we came to the lake about 4 of the clock."

That point "about half way" was in the region of Glens Falls, where Cooper, in his Leather Stocking Tales, locates a fight with the Indians of his great scout and backwoodsman, Deerslayer.

During that leisurely march of the little army to the head of Lake George, while the men toiled arduously to make a road for the cannon and baggage, the officers, at least the higher ones, seem to have enjoyed a kind of cheerful picnic on those late summer days, though bloody work and cruel havoc were so soon to test their mettle. Well was it for those noble patriots that the hardships necessarily incident to a campaign in the wilderness could have even such small compensations, in bread and cheese and venison, washed down with lemon punch and the best of wine, though, perhaps, as to this last, even a homely vintage, in the circumstances, might have been glorified into veritable nectar.

The slow progress of the expedition may have been inevitable, due to the tardiness with which means of transportation could be secured, as in Virginia when Braddock was trying to move his forces to Fort Duquesne, still it seemed inexcusably slow to Doctor Thomas Williams, brother to Colonel Ephraim, and Surgeon of the regiment.

Under date of Aug. 17, in a letter to his wife, he says, "It seems if we drive on (not Alexander like) we may possibly see Crown Point this time twelve months. It is a fortnight this day since I came to this place, and was in hopes that ere this time we should have advanced to the other side of the Carrying Place, but the old proverb is 'great wheels move slow,' I wish it may be sure; am pretty certain of a long expedition, and I cant say I dont fear a fruitless one. We know not yet which way we are like to proceed, as the country

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has not yet been sufficiently reconnoitered, at least so as to give us satisfactory intelligence, notwithstanding we had about eight days ago 300 men at work cutting the road to Fort Ann supposing we should go by Wood Creek, and in two days they cleared a road thirty feet wide about eight miles, or two thirds of the way to Wood Creek, but now that is stopped and forty picked white men, with three of the General's Indians are gone to view that whole country, in order for us to find out the best way for us to proceed. Captain Taylor of Hartford, a vigilant, active, good officer, goes ahead. Captain Burke is also this day going with the ten picked men, and three of the General's Indians to Lake St. Sacrament [the French name of Lake George, changed from the Indian name Lake Horicon], to view that road. With submission to the general officers, I must think it a very grand mistake that the business was not done two months agone, but so it is, and impatience will only add to the difficulty. I endeavor to keep myself calm and quiet under our slow progress and wait God's time to order all events, trusting he will yet appear for our help and his own time favor this our cause which I believe to be just and good."

From the Carrying Place, where they remained so long in camp, building a fort and gathering material, it was about equidistant to the head of Lake George, somewhat west of north, and to the navigable waters of Wood Creek, flowing north, into Lake Champlain, to each of which points Indian trails led. The openness to attack of the "drowned lands," in the neighborhood of the head of Lake Champlain, finally determined the officers to take the other route.

The delay of which Dr. Williams complains was of a piece with the earlier delay and confusion incident to the organization and advance of Col. Williams's regiment. In the first month of summer Col. John Worthington of Springfield wrote to Col. Williams complaining of affairs and indicating that Westfield was at that time an important rendezvous of the Hampshire force then gathering.

"Sir, I rec'd yours by L'u't Taylor. Am very much oblig'd to you for your care in the favours I ask'd of you.

"Leut Taylor informs the officers here that the present design respecting the soldiers is that they march to West-

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field on their tour to Albany & be muster'd & receive their residue of bounty, wages &c, there at Westfield. This Sr gives them uneasiness, very considerable, & if orders peremptory are given for it I am very sorry, & I may Sr say it to you tho not to them that tho I am all submission to the wisdom of our Fathers (if their Wisdom is in it) yet that this must needs be misjudged. The soldiers ought in all reason to have been muster'd ten days ago, & to have known certainly who would be accepted & who not, that such as were accepted might have had their money to have furnished themselves wh necessary cloathing &c for their march, & to have provided to have left their families (such as have them) provided for at home, for many such there are who depended on their money to do these things, & will be reduced to great difficulties without they receive it in season & where they can dispose of it to these purposes.

"This shd have been done also that such as are so unhappy as not to be admitted to risque their lives for us, may be saved as much trouble as might be, & be denied the favour on the cheapest terms. It would have been easy I conceive for the Gent'n commission'd to muster the men to have muster'd them near home seasonably for their being allowed to return home after muster for the purposes I have mention'd & for others Yt might be suggested. I am sure it could make them but little trouble, nor the Province but a trifling expense. The contrary I am sure will subject the soldiers to difficulties very great and very needless, & I am very sorry to find that any of the men of this respectable character (I mean soldiers Sr) who deserve esteem & acknowledgm'ts from everybody where they have out of regard to the public good voluntarily offered themselves to risque their lives & encounter fatigues & hardship in a thousand various shapes, that we might some of us rest in ease & quiet at home, should in any instance imagine they have the least colour to suspect they are subjected to any additional inconvenience that is not necessary for the publick service.

"If this matter can be otherwise, I am certain it will be a great favour to the men, but if it cannot they must bear it as it comes, & we will endeavor to relieve & quiet them under it as well as may be.

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"I am, Sir, with great respect for you in every charact'r, but especially now in that of a soldier,

"Your very humble Servant and Sincere Friend

"Col. Ephr. Williams. J. Worthington.

"Springf'd, June 15, 1755.

"It is no inconvenience to the men to have their blankets & knapsacks (kept back) but the contrary, but as to their money it is much otherwise."

That surely is a noble letter, coming from one of the "river gods," a man esteemed by his neighbors as "aristocratical" in his notions and habits. He is entitled to honor for the chivalrous spirit of considerateness therein shown toward the humble but heroic men of the rank and file who were eager to run the "risque" of death and capture, to bear the brunt of toil and hardship and battle, for the sake of their country.

On the evening of Sunday, Sept. 7, public worship having been held as usual, news reached the camp on Lake George of "a large body of men travelling south up or near the Wood Creek."

That body was the army of Baron Dieskau, who with a force of about 3500 men had reached Crown Point at about the time that the Provincials reached camp at Lake George. Leaving part of his troops at Ticonderoga, with 216 French regulars, 684 Canadians and 600 Indians, he started southward on the Lake toward the present site of Whitehall. Leaving his canoes there under guard, he took the trail leading to the Carrying Place, where the Provincials had been erecting Fort Lyman, afterwards called Fort Edward. When within about three miles of it, he learned of the English and Mohawk force at Lake George, and under constraint of his Indian allies who objected to assailing a regular fortification defended by cannon, he turned northward.

Stephen Williams, the boy captive from Deerfield in 1703, pastor in Longmeadow 1716-1782, was Chaplain in Ephraim Williams's regiment. On Sunday, Sept. 7, he preached to his men from the text Is. 65: 4 "which remain among the graves and lodges of the mountains." He had been Chaplain at Louisburg.

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About 8 o'clock on Monday morning, Sept. 8, Col. Williams with his regiment, and a force of Connecticut men under Lieutenant Colonel Whiting, moved out of camp, and were soon caught in a death trap. Dieskau had arranged his command into a kind of fish hook formation, hidden on both sides of the road by trees, and blocking the road in front of the advancing column which, with inexplicable folly, was protected by no scouts in advance or on the flanks. When the force of Col. Williams had advanced well into this pocket, the enemy opened a galling fire with terrible execution. The story of this "bloody morning scout" has been told often, and is very familiar. Among the victims soon to perish was Col. Williams. Strangely enough Lieut. Col. Pomeroy, though writing quite a long account of the day's experiences, makes no mention of that significant catastrophe, nor does he refer to it directly in later records. He says of the fight later in the day, after Dieskau had driven the detachment back to the camp, and when the whole English force was engaged in its defense, "As soon as they all came within shot of the regulars rank and file they came up towards the west part of the camp, there I placed myself and part of Col. Ruggles and of our regiment along together the fire began between 11 and 12 of the clock and continued till near five in the afternoon, the most violent fire perhaps that ever was heard of in this country in any battle." And he wrote to his wife, "Perhaps the hailstones from heaven were never much thicker than their bullets came; but blessed be God! that did not in the least daunt or disturb us."

Surgeon Williams wrote to his wife, "It was the most awful day my eyes ever beheld, there seemed to be nothing but thunder and lightening and perpetual pillars of smoke." It was his first battle, but Seth Pomeroy having been through the siege of Louisburg, had become familiar with the scenes of carnage.

Late in the afternoon a sally was made, and the attacking party was completely routed. Part of Dieskau's force which had gone back to the scene of the morning ambuscade, "Bloody Pond," as it has since been called, fell to robbing the slain there but were attacked by a detachment which had come up from Fort Lyman and were scattered in great con-

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fusion into the environing forest. The remnants of the French force hurried back to their canoes and made a swift return to Ticonderoga. Baron Dieskau, fearfully wounded several times, was captured. Among the killed in Col. Williams's regiment were the two Westfield officers, Major Noah Ashley and Capt. Jonathan Ingerson, with a private soldier, Richard Campbell. Samuel Ponder of the same company was wounded and in November following he was reported on the sick list at the Lake George camp by Thomas Williams, Surgeon.

A younger brother of Capt. Ingersoll, Daniel, was killed during the French and Indian wars, and a great uncle, Joseph, twelfth child of John the settler, had been killed at the sack of Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704.

Col. Ephraim Williams, when in Albany en route with his regiment to the northern camp, made his will, July 22, 1755, bequeathing the bulk of his property to the "support and maintenance of a free school (in a township west of Fort Massachusetts, commonly called the West Township) forever, provided the said township fall within the jurisdiction of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and provided also, that the Governor and the General Court give the said township the name of Williamstown."

Thus that martyr of the "bloody morning scout" became the honored founder of Williams College, an institution which, year by year, is continuing to add glory to his name. Many sons of Westfield are among those who have there been trained according to the best standards of New England life and have been fitted for useful and worthy service in various spheres of activity, professional and mercantile.

The Hampshire regiment, though suffering so severely in the morning surprise, did noble service the rest of the day. Dr. Perez Marsh, Surgeon's Mate of Dr. Williams, in a letter to William Williams of Hatfield, son of Col. Israel Williams, reports the estimate of their valor expressed by Baron Dieskau. "The Gen'r'l's observation who we took prisoner was that our men 'in ye morning fought like good boys, about noon like men, but in the afternoon like the Devil.' "

The regiment remained there, building Fort William Henry, suffering many hardships and much consequent sickness, until late in November, and then turned homeward, leaving only

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a part of its number to share, with detachments from other regiments, garrison duty during the winter.

Lieut. Martin Dewey, grandson of Jedediah the settler of Westfield, is named on "a list of 151 men voluntarily inlisted into his majestys service for reinforcing the army destined for Crown Point out of the Southern regiment in the County of Hampshire." (Mass. Archives, Vol. 94, p. 1.)

That was Col. Worthington's regiment, which was thus drawn upon to strengthen Gen. Johnson after the defeat of Dieskau. Lieut. Dewey is also reported the following year as doing service for thirteen weeks in the company of Capt. Day of Springfield.

While the forces under Gen. Johnson were passing through the experiences in the early September days of 1755, already sketched, another of the four campaigns decided upon at the convention of Governors in Alexandria in the preceding spring was being brought to a close in Nova Scotia, and the Acadian farmers about the Basin of Minas were being gathered for deportation to English settlements in New England and other Provinces. The tragic basis of Longfellow's Evangeline was in process of laying on the fertile meadows of that region, famous for its wondrous beauty, as well as for its pathetic tragedy.

Lieut. Col. Monckton, and under him Lieut. Col. Winslow and George Scott, had succeeded so far as to gather, for transportation to wretched exile, several thousand helpless rustics, while technically justified in the heartrending proceeding by their refusal, on account of mistaken religious scruples, to take the oath of allegiance to the English Sovereign. This apparently necessary war measure has been severely censured by many critics, and it certainly must ever be heartily deplored. However, so fair and painstaking a historian as Parkman thus sums up his estimate of it:

"New England humanitarianism, melting into sentimentality at a tale of woe, has been unjust to its own. Whatever judgment may be passed on the cruel measure of wholesale expatriation, it was not put in execution till every resource of patience and persuasion had been tried in vain. The agents of the French court, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, had made some act of force a necessity. We have seen by what

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vile practices they produced in Acadia a state of things intolerable, and impossible of continuance. They conjured up the tempest; and when it burst on the heads of the unhappy people, they gave no help. The government of Louis XV began with making the Acadians its tools, and ended with making them its victims." (Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. I, p. 294.)

In this connection it may be well to recall the significant fact, noted in the Chapter on King William's War, that the distinctly outlined policy of Louis XIV in that campaign under Frontenac, included just such a course of conduct in reference to the New England Colonists of that period as was actually carried out under the necessities of war a half century later by the English in Acadia.

One short segment of a ripple of that commotion in Acadia reached the distant Massachusetts frontier in Westfield several years later, as indicated by the following obscure vote: "Town Meeting, June 23d 1761" after reconsidering a former vote to build pews in the meeting house, "To see what the Town will do with the French family sent here by order of the General Court, Voted to leave it with the selectmen to provide for them & improve them to ye best advantage they can." Just when the family arrived and how long it remained cannot be ascertained, this being the only record of action in Town Meeting relating to it, though the Treasurer's book shows that a house was built for it. For a family of exiles, similarly assigned, Northampton provided four shillings per week and the use of a house, from 1760 to 1765. Hadley had another such family for whom it voted support from 1762 until 1767, when it voted three pounds to remove it to Canada. The Westfield contingent may have accompanied that from Hadley on the journey back home.

The general attitude of the Province is thus indicated:
"French Neutrals, Aug. 25, 1756.

"An act relative to their removal—

"The Committee are further of the Opinion that the Select Men of the several Towns, where any of those French People are or may be placed, be directed to assist them in procuring Employment at such Rates as they shall judge reasonable, and if thro want of Employment or thro want of Ability,

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any of them can't earn a Support for themselves & Families, the Select Men be directed to afford them such Relief as may be neccessary for their comfortable Subsistence, in the same Manner as if they had been proper Inhabitants of this Province & exhibit their respective Accounts of Disbursement into the Secretary's Office as Occasion shall require."

Though the Crown Point expedition had cost Massachusetts £80,000, in December, 1755, Shirley called the Governors of all the Colonies to meet him in New York; only four, however, responded, representing Connecticut, New York, Maryland and Pennsylvania. He laid before them a most ambitious plan of campaign for the following year, including ten thousand men to attack Crown Point, six thousand against Fort Niagara, and three thousand against Fort Duquesne. The scheme appeared far too pretentious and expensive to the General Court of Massachusetts, though it consented to estimates which in the existing condition of the exchequer were very liberal. But in June, 1756, Shirley, who had been Commander-in-Chief since the death of Braddock, was superseded by Col. Webb. He was to retain the command until the arrival from England of the Earl of Loudon or Gen. Abercrombie.

After hostilities between the French and English had thus been more or less vigorously maintained for two years, during which the borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania suffered far more terribly than those of New England, war was formally declared by England on the 18th of May, 1756.

It would be interesting to review the complications of European politics which culminated in that formal act, but it would lead us too far afield for the limitations which should bind this local history. It was a war of the giants of that European era, while it involved the feeble Colonists on this side of the sea like the successive wars which had preceded it, in terrors, hardships and sacrifices, which are too big for words. In the campaign of 1755 against Crown Point Massachusetts raised 4500 men, one in eight of her adult male population, and in later campaigns of the long and tedious war she furnished a still larger percentage.

Bolton, the King's agent, writing to his royal master after

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the conflict had been ended, said, "In the late war near one-third part of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, able of body to bear arms, become your Majesty's soldiers."

They were but rude countrymen for the most part. In a return of Capt. John Moseley's company, of Col. Worthington's regiment, in camp at Fort Edward July 26, 1756, the Captain, with his Lieutenant, David Pexley, his two Sergeants, John Hobbs and Dan. Cadwell, are described as husbandmen, together with the following Privates, Abiather Jones, John Pateson, Elnathan Smith, Thomas Campbell, James Smith, Tyler Larrabee, David Stone, John Beament, Benony Sackett, Simeons Root, Elijah Messenger, John Jones, Gideon Root and Cesar a Negro. The only exceptions on the roll are Corporal Nat Lee and Private Elnathan Smith, each of whom is put down as a blacksmith.

The sturdy Col. Seth Pomeroy of Northampton, who became a successor of Col. Ephraim Williams in command of the regiment, was a gunsmith. Israel Putnam, who fought as a private at Lake George among the Connecticut troops, and John Stark, who was there as a Lieutenant among the New Hampshire levies, were husbandmen.

"The soldiers were no soldiers, but farmers and farmers' sons who had volunteered for the summer campaign. One of the corps had a blue uniform faced with red. The rest wore their daily clothing. Blankets had been served out to them by the several Provinces, but the greater part brought their own guns; some under penalty of a fine if they came without them, and some under the inducement of a reward. They had no bayonets, but carried hatchets in their belts as a sort of substitute. At their sides were slung powder-horns, on which, in the leisure of the camp, they carved quaint devices with the points of their jack-knives. They came chiefly from plain New England homesteads—rustic abodes, unpainted and dingy, with long well-sweeps, capacious barns, rough fields of pumpkins and corn, and vast kitchen chimneys, above which in winter hung squashes to keep them from frost, and guns to keep them from rust." (Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, Vol. I, p. 302.)

This graphic picture of the great historian is a fair delineation of the men from Westfield who spent those tedious months

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of 1755 in camp along the Hudson and on the banks of Lake George, and their fellow townsmen who in later years wrought and suffered on the shores of the larger Lake Champlain, on the Richelieu and on the St. Lawrence, besieging Montreal and Quebec, at times to be repulsed, but finally to carry their colors in triumph over all obstacles and plant them on the captured battlements as a symbol of enduring conquest. For it is to be remembered that many Westfield men shared in all those campaigns and ultimate victories.

With a new commander at the head of each army, Loudon over the English, and the far abler Montcalm over the French, the campaigns of 1756 were conducted. While Winslow was gathering troops and supplies at Fort William Henry, Lake George, for an advance on Ticonderoga, Montcalm captured Oswego and thus gained supreme control of the Great Lakes. That victory was so alarming and appalling to the English that the plan to attack Ticonderoga was given up for the year.

Among the embarrassing military customs which exasperated Loudon was that of dividing the commissary and quartermaster's departments into as many separate bureaus as there were Provinces which had formal organizations engaged in a campaign. Each of the four New England Colonies had its own special committee "for clothing, arming, paying, victualling, and transporting" its troops. Thus four independent committees were busy caring for men in the same expedition, because each Province decided to keep the control of its own property. Lord Loudon, perplexed by the confusion and inconvenience resulting from that method, wrote to Winslow, "I wish to God you could persuade your people to go all one way."

It seems that Judge John Ashley was a member of such a committee for Massachusetts and found the office not a bed of roses. He was the son of Capt. John Ashley of Westfield, born in 1709, graduated from Yale in 1730, who established himself as a lawyer at Sheffield and rose to the rank of Colonel in the militia. Smarting under the indignities which aggravated the difficulties of his position on the committee, he wrote to Governor Phips: "Sir, I am apt to think that things have been misrepresented to your Honor, or else I am cer-

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tain I should not suffer in my character, and be styled a damned rascal, and ought to be put in irons &c., when I am certain I have exerted myself to the utmost of my ability to expedite the business assigned to me by the General Court."

This spirited protest may have helped to bring about a change late in the autumn of that year, when Loudon persuaded the Colonies to turn over their stores to a commissary-general, and to accept his receipts therefor.

The muster rolls among the Massachusetts Archives record the names of many Westfield men who served in the army in various companies. Samuel Dewey, Jr., is credited with 11 weeks, 5 days, in the company of Capt. Elisha Noble of Sheffield; Stephan Dewey from Apr. 2 to Dec. 5 as Ensign, Lieutenant and Clerk with Capt. Ithamar Hubbell of Sheffield; Abner Dewey as private in Capt. Joseph Dwight's company. John Stone, armorer's mate, is reported in Capt. Benj. Williams's Co. in Col. Richard Gridley's Regiment at Fort Edward, July 26, 1756. James Duey of Westfield was Corporal in Capt. James Reed's Co. in Col. Ruggles's Regiment, from Capt. Moseley's Co. and Col. Worthington's Regiment, a blacksmith age 25, Fort Edward, July 26, 1756. Capt. Asa Noble, son of Searg. Luke, a shoemaker, a Selectman, 1745, a Lieut. in Capt. David Moseley's Co. in 1755, was, in 1759, at Lake George Captain of a Westfield Co.

The following record is found in Mass. Archives, Vol. 94, pp. 423-4:

"An account of the marching Subsistance money paid Capt. John Moseleys men for the Crown Point Expedition, 1756 viz.

(March to Albany)

Capt.	John Moseley	95 miles	£0.9.6
	John Noble	" "	" " "
	David Cadwell	" "	" " "
*	Nathaniel Lee	" "	" " "
*	Elijah Messenger	" "	" " "
	David Stone	" "	" " "
*	James Smith	" "	" " "
	Simeon Root	" "	" " "
	Tyler Leatherby	" "	" " "
	Abiathar Jones	" "	" " "

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	Thomas Campbell	95 miles	£0.9.6
	Ebenezer Holden	" "	" " "
*	John Paterson	" "	" " "
	John Beamon	" "	" " "
*	Benoni Sackett	" "	" " "
	John Clark	" "	" " "
	Elnathan Smith	" "	" " "
	Gideon Root	" "	" " "
*	Cezar (a) Negro	" "	" " "
*	John Hones	" "	" " "

*With the sick at Albany."

The years 1757-8-9 were marked by many alarms and the loss of many lives, besides losses consequent upon captivity, along the northern border of the Colony. It was still necessary to be vigilant, to work with weapons close at hand, and even when borne to the field and placed near by the sneaking redskins sometimes crawled between the laborers and their weapons, leaving them defenseless victims of brutality. Montcalm was intent on continuing the policy and habit of his predecessors in the matter of incursions, as is evidenced by a statement which he sent home to France in September after assuming command. "I will as much as lies in my power keep up small parties to scatter consternation and the miseries of war throughout the enemy's country." Fortunately the distresses were not borne to the towns of the lower valley.

On the broader field, the year 1757 was one of disappointment and disaster. Lord Loudon led an army to recapture Louisburg but it returned without striking a blow. Montcalm improved the time of his absence on that distant campaign by attacking Fort William Henry with an army of eight or nine thousand men, including two thousand Indians. The defenders under Col. Munro numbered only about a quarter as many, but they were fairly well fortified. They did heroic work for five days under their intrepid commander while Gen. Webb with 4000 men lay at Fort Edward about fourteen miles distant without marching to the relief of the garrison. Then, Munro's ammunition having been spent, there was arranged a surrender on the most honorable terms, and with most solemn guarantees from Montcalm that the brave

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men who had given up the fort should be safeguarded from the Indians.

Instead of executing this compact of honor, the French commander did not prevent his red allies from committing a most atrocious massacre; women and children, soldiers lying wounded under the surgeon's care, as well as soldiers who, though retaining their muskets, had neither anmunition nor bayonets for defense, were mercilessly tomahawked and scalped.

Montcalm made earnest personal efforts, by appeal, command and threat, to restrain the Indians from barbarity; of that there can be no question. In a letter to Gen. Webb he says that the Indians were given rum and that the christian Abenakis began the outrage, and adds, "You know what it is to restrain 3000 Indians of 33 different nations, & I had but too many apprehensions, which I did not conceal from the commandant of the fort in my summons. I consider myself lucky that the *disorder* was not attended with consequences as unfortunate as I had reason to fear."

The very fact that he had such apprehensions and saw unmistakable signs on the evening before the massacre that horrible outrages were imminent, rendered it imperative that he should, if necessary, call all his regulars to escort duty. He was in honor bound to protect his paroled prisoners and their defenseless wounded, women, and children, and no intensity of personal entreaties or politic subterfuges pressed upon the Indians under his command could absolve him from official blame for neglecting the only adequate provision for the protection of his helpless prisoners. His regulars could have fulfilled that imperative condition, but neglecting to employ them, it seems absurd and puerile to dismiss the atrocious incident with such a mild verdict as that of Palfrey, "In such catastrophes blame is apt to be imputed without reason. There was at the time a complaint, but it does not appear to have been satisfactorily sustained, that the promised guard was not furnished by the French." (History of New England, Vol. V, p. 152.)

The disaster at Fort William Henry loomed so portentously before the shuddering eyes of the Colonists, officials and common people alike, as to create a panic even greater

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than that which followed Braddock's defeat three years earlier. The condition of Albany, on the direct line of travel but sixty miles away, seemed hardly less desperate to its inhabitants than that of the towns in the Connecticut Valley, more than twice the distance away and separated from the victorious army of Montcalm by a lofty mountain range. Such was the temporary demoralization that Palfrey ventures the conjecture that Montcalm "might have hoped by a vigorous movement to push his way into the heart of New England."

He could have followed the well trodden trail up the Hoosac valley, swept Fort Massachusetts once again from its sentinel post, crossed Hoosac Mountain by the well-known Mohawk Trail, and swung down the valley of the Deerfield to the Connecticut with but slight opposition. If the plan occurred to him, it may have provoked the prudent, secondary consideration that though the advance proved easy, the task of either remaining in "the heart of New England" or retreating in good order from his raid, might prove embarrassing if not hopeless.

It was on the ninth day of August that Col. Munro capitulated and the news of the downfall of the fort started over the country. The week before, Thomas Pownall reached Boston with his commission as Governor. The chance thus came to him early to show the stuff that was in him. Indeed, before the disaster was more than threatened, Gen. Webb at Fort Edward when he learned of the approach of Montcalm sent for reinforcements, and on Aug. 6 Gov. Pownall ordered Col. Ruggles of Worcester and Cols. Williams and Worthington of Hampshire to raise men and dispatch them to Albany. He commissioned Pepperell as Lieutenant General of the Massachusetts forces, and on the 8th ordered him to Springfield. What he discovered upon reaching there is noteworthy. He thus reports the condition of affairs on the 13th to Gen. Webb: "When I came here I found that Col. Worthington, Col. Williams and Col. Ruggles Regiments were all marched forward to relieve Fort William Henry, some of them even before the Governor could get orders to them to march, such was the readiness of this people to go to the assistance of the distressed, that this part of the Province seems almost evacuated, and the frontier thereof in the north in a most dangerous

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situation, the whole militia within 30 or 40 miles being drawn off * * * They went off on a sudden with great freedom in great numbers and thro' great difficulties of their private affairs."

These were men who had found it so hazardous during many summers to cultivate and harvest their crops, even when they could be spared from scouting and garrison duties, that for every hill of corn or beans which they hoed they instinctively scanned the neighboring woods and the edges of the stumps, where an enemy might lurk, for signs of his presence, their trusty weapons being kept within easy reach. Once again, when their fields were whitening for the harvest, these loyal patriots, dropping the implements of husbandry and grasping their well-worn guns and powder horns, pressed over the familiar road across the mountains from Westfield to Albany, leaving their official marching orders to follow them. Some of them got nearer the threatened point than others, but all went forward until ordered home because the danger from the north seemed no longer imminent.

Col. Oliver Partridge, who succeeded Col. Williams as commander of the Hampshire forces after the latter had mobilized his regiment, received news of the fall of Fort William Henry on Aug. 11, two days after it occurred, and at midnight of the same day Sir William Pepperell heard it at Springfield. On the 13th Col. Chandler's Worcester regiment marched into Springfield, and on the same day Gov. Pownall sent Gen. Pepperell orders in view of contingencies: "If the enemy should approach the frontier, you will order all waggons west of the Connecticut River to have their wheels knocked off, and to drive the said country of horses, to order in all provisions that can be brought off & what cannot to destroy. You will receive this as my orders not to be executed but in such case of necessity & then not to fail to do it."

The query naturally arises why wagons that might be seized by the enemy for military purposes should have their wheels removed, and supplies should be protected, west of the Connecticut River, while those so near as Springfield and Hadley should not be cared for.

More than six hundred men marched from Hampshire County in this emergency, some getting no farther than Spring-

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field, some getting to Westfield, some to Sheffield, some to Kinderhook, and a few to Fort Edward, before being ordered back. Capt. Ezra Clap of Westfield with forty or more men marched nearly two hundred miles in fourteen days. Lieut. Martin Dewey of Westfield with thirty-five men marched about one hundred and eighty miles in thirteen days. All of the men did not go the whole distance for some reason, as is indicated by the following record:

"A Muster Roll of Capt. David Moseley's Co. of Westfield that went from the South Regiment in the County of Hampshire under command of Lieut. Martin Dewey for the relief of the Garrison at Fort Wm Henry on the Alarm in Aug. 1757.

Ensign John Ingersoll	26	days	service
Sargt. Asa Noble	"	"	"
Lieut. Martin Dewey commanding the Company	"	"	"
Sergt. Thomas Dewey	"	"	"
Corporal Aaron Dewey	14 1/3	"	"
Private Ashbell Dewey	"	"	"
Private Abner Dewey	13	"	"
" Israel Dewey	"	"	"
Sargt Samuel Noble	26	"	"
Corp. Benjamin Sexton	24	"	"
Corp. Stephan Noble	"	"	"
Private Zackariah Bush	9 2/3	"	"
" John Bancroft	26	"	"
Clerk Aaron King	26	"	"
Private Isaac Ailes Jr.	14 1/3	"	"
" Silas Noble	26	"	"
" Simeon Tremain	24	"	"
" John Sloan	14 1/3	"	"
" Ezekiel Root servant to Lieut Martin Dewey	"	"	"
" Daniel Cadwell	"	"	"
" Gad Noble	"	"	"
" Stephan Goodman servant to Aaron Dewey	"	"	"
" James Watson	"	"	"

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Private Abel Drake servant to Matthew Noble		14 1/3	days	service
"	William Burt	14	"	"
"	Timothy Rice	13	"	"
"	Lemuel Martindell	"	"	"
"	Thomas Morley-	"	"	"
"	Eldad Taylor jr	26	"	"
"	John Lee jr	23	"	"
"	Daniel Noble jr	26	"	"
"	Joseph Ashley	24	"	"
"	Joseph Bagg	"	"	"
"	Moses Bagg	"	"	"
"	Eldad Palmer	25	"	"
"	James Carter	16 1/2	"	" "

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 95, p. 522.)

In the Roll of Capt. Ezra Clap's company, most of whom went about one hundred miles from home and back again, and charged for a service of 14 1/13 days, we have

"Capt. Ezra Clap.
Ensign Elisha Parks.
Clerk George Phelps.
Sergt. Ebenezer Weller
" Eliakim Sackett.
" Ezra Strong.
Corporal David Root.
Corporal John Freeman.
Chaplain Jedediah Dewey.

Privates.

Elijah Messenger
Abner Rice
Solomon Root
Isaac Sackett
Thomas Merrifield
William Harrison Church
Seth Sacket
Aaron Weller servant to Kellogg
Seth Loomis
Ephraim Stiles
Timothy Simons
William Loomis
Ozem Sacket
John Bement
David Noble
James Noble
John Barber
Daniel Sitarn
Luke Phelps.
David Burch
Nath'l Egleston
Josiah Parks
David Weller jr
Reuben Williams
Samuel Kellogg jr
Nat Weller
Elisha Old
Jonathan Shepard
Moses Kellogg
Gad Kellogg
Daniel Stiles
Eldad Graves."

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Those must have been sensational days in the town when Westfield was not only hurrying forward her own citizens in such numbers, but when she was also an important station between points of muster and the seat of war. The Rev. John Ballantine in his Diary notes among the townsmen who died during August, 1757, William Kerr and Shem Kellogg, killed at the siege of Fort William Henry.

As early as Aug. 2 Mr. Ballantine notes: "Met for prayers in Meeting house and prayed with ye men going for ye relief of Fort William Henry besieged by ye French." "Aug. 12. Preached a Lecture occasioned by Fort Wm Henry being taken." "Nov. 19—Visited Richard Falley returned from Captivity."

Three months before, that lad, seventeen years old, was among the Massachusetts soldiers captured at Fort William Henry, though at first reported among the killed. In the historical notes of J. D. Bartlett, gathered with such patience and at such personal cost, is an interesting sketch of the Falley family, written by a son of Richard when he was 61 years old, prefaced by the following statement, "At my request Uncle Russell Falley wrote the following history of his progenitors.

"Sept. 1831. Henry Fowler."

In the course of the biographical narrative, Russell says: "My father learned the blacksmith's trade partly in Westfield and partly of Mr. Chapin in Springfield. In the interim of his business he went as a soldier against the French at Canada at fort Wm Henry after a troublesome siege of a few days the Garrison surrendered to the Enemy, he was taken prisoner, he went a few miles to Lake George where the Indians with their prisoners slept, his repose, although a prisoner among savages was refreshing and delightful on account of his having been deprived of sleep for several nights by the confusion of the camp. They crossed Lake George in bark canoes, from there to Lake Champlain they travelled loaded both Indians and prisoners, encamped here the Indians gave themselves up to drunkenness. One under penalty of death must keep sober to watch the prisoners. He to indulge himself with the precious Liquors would take a spoonful at a time at a short interval and would always give as much to the prisoners. By

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the extreme drunkenness of the Indians the lives of the prisoners were endangered. When one would commence the work of destruction whether on man or beast the whole drunken gang would unite and the victim was not left until he was hewn in pieces.

"At this time (after they had reached Montreal) a lady came daily in her coach with an attendant to purchase the prisoners. My father at first cautiously lest the Indians should know his desire to leave them begged the gentleman to buy him and the purchase was made. He with a number walked toward town a little girl unbought was huddled with the company toward the Gate, they hoped to have got her without the gate as she would then have been safe from the Indians, but her Keeper missing her came running with the swiftness of the wind, caught her and bore her back crying hideously to the great grief of her friends. He was soon taken from Montreal to Quebec and put in prison and by eating dry food was sick. Through a hole in the wall he was enabled to get into an adjoining garden at night, by procuring fruit in this way he was cured. After being here awhile he went on a vessel with other passengers and went to Boston. On the voyage he had the Small Pox, but lightly and soon got well. On arriving at Boston he travelled to Westfield, his Mother was so affected at seeing him although she had been informed of his safe arrival, that she swooned in his arms."

A descendant of Richard Falley, H. G. Cleveland, writing in 1885, says that the price paid for the young captive was 16 gallons of rum. He says also that Richard commanded a company at Bunker Hill and his eldest son Frederick (afterward Major), then 14 years old, was his drummer and drummed all through the fight.

This brave young soldier, who had endured so many hardships, should be spoken of as Richard Falley, Jr., his Father, who died in Westfield in 1756, when the son was 16 years old, having borne the same name. He was a great-Grandfather of President Grover Cleveland.

A musket made by Richard Falley, owned by C. R. George of Springfield, was exhibited in the Parish house of the First Church, Springfield, with many other interesting historical

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relics, at the celebration of the 275th anniversary of the town, in 1911.

As additional evidence of the number of Westfield men who saw service in the early period of the Seven Years' War, it seems worth while to add to the lists already recorded, one more Muster Roll, that of Capt. John Moseley, as given in Boston, Feb. 22, 1757, men who are there shown to have been paid for service ranging from 11 weeks to 44 weeks, averaging indeed about a half year apiece.

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 95, pp. 141-2.)

"Capt. John Moseley
Lieut. David Pixley
Ensign Silvanus Walker
Clerk Daniel Walker
Sergt. John Noble
" Daniel Cadwell
Sergt. Robert Blair
Corp. Nathaniel Lee
" Elijah Messenger
" David Stone
" Daniel Miller

—PRIVATES—

James Smith	Simeon Root	Tyler Larrabee
Samuel Lynde	Jacob Bacon	Abiather Jones
Thomas Campbell	John Walker	Hezekiah Attwell
Ebenezer Holden	John Patterson	John Bement

Benona Sacket fell down & broke his nose

Abner Olds	Elnathan Smith servant to Martin Dewey	
John Jones	Gideon Colton	Gideon Root

Caesar Negro servant to Robt Ashley

Nathaniel Gilmore	Peter Fletcher	Timothy Obrian
Charles Clap	Benjamin Ridd	Solomon Sartwell
Gad Noble son to Noah Noble		Elisha Smith
Aaron Day	William Hitchcock	Solomon Brown
Daniel Root	Abiel Drake servant to Martha Noble."	

Three of the names on that list, Simeon Root, Tyler Larrabee and Thomas Campbell, appear among fifteen names in the Ballantine Diary under date of Feb. 1, 1757, as "In ye service from this Town." Besides them there are William Shepard, Eli Noble, William Kerr, Shem Kellogg, Daniel Hubbard, Gideon Gun, Richard Falley, Elisha Martindale, Seth Root, Wm Hitchcock, Israel Noble and James Wilson.

In the State Records it is stated that several companies from different parts of the Province marched as far as West-

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field in August, 1757, on their way to relieve Fort William Henry, and though not specifically indicated they probably turned back home from there when it was found that their services were not required at the front.

"A company of foot under Lieut. Jesse Rice of Col. Abraham's Regiment, spent 3 days in Westfield with their horses." How many horses were provided for that company of infantry is not stated.

"A company of foot commanded by Ensign Robert Baker, detached from the same Reg. Capt. Benjamin Faye's Co. of same Reg. marched from Westborough, 75 miles.

"A squad out of Capt. Eleazer Warners Co. in New Braintree.

"Lieut. Stephan Maynard's from Marlboro."

A decided change had come in this war in respect of Westfield's relation to affairs. It could no longer be considered a frontier town. Instead, it had become an important station on the route from this Province to the center of operations on the Hudson and the Lake route to Canada. From as far north as the border towns on the Connecticut, and from all the towns to the eastward, forces passed this focal point on their way to grapple with the common enemy. It is not strange that under excitement incident to the sight of marching battalions, Richard Falley, Jr., and other youths in their "teens" responding to the calls of patriotism, should have dared hardships and dangers most appalling, to secure immunity for the country from the horrors of Indian ravages and butcheries. Even as young as sixteen years old they went from Westfield and from other communities, leaving home and family with courageous hearts, to come back, if not killed or captured, with the benefits of discipline and experience which fitted many of them for efficiency in the later struggle for national independence and which they willingly consecrated thereto.

A turn of the wheel of English politics which restored Pitt to power in June, 1758, thereby opened the way to a new order of things in the conduct of their military affairs in the American Colonies. On this side of the water a most comfortable and stimulating faith in his leadership, and in

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the promise of its ultimate success, moved the people to phenomenal efforts and sacrifices. In response to his assurance of securing for them permament deliverance from the attack of French and Indian foes, twenty-eight thousand troops were raised and put at his disposal, one quarter of which were contributed by Massachusetts.

Gov. Pownall wrote to Pitt that in spite of grievous financial burdens which that Province had to bear, yet the Court had voted to borrow twenty-eight thousand pounds for the approaching campaign and that "such was the spirit of the people * * * that upon the treasurer's opening his subscription, it was filled in twelve hours." Later the same year he wrote in most appreciative terms, that "the military expeditions of the last three years, over and above the expense of forts, scouts and ships," had involved the Province in an expense of more than two hundred and forty-two thousand pounds, of which sum "less than a third had been reimbursed by the Crown," and that it was "a certain fact that the country had been hitherto preserved by the efforts which this Province had made * * * This Province ever did, ever will, and ever must take the lead when a spirited measure is expected."

Pitt's plans included three expeditions, one for the capture of Louisburg, commanded by Lord Jeffrey Amherst with Wolfe as one of his brigadiers; another under Abercrombie against Ticonderoga; a third under General Forbes against Fort Duquesne. Abercrombie failed ignominiously, but the other two were victorious, and in addition to the grounds for encouragement and hope thus afforded, Bradstreet captured Fort Frontenac, the formidable French stronghold which had for so many years menaced Lake Ontario. The year's results are thus summed up by Parkman: "So ended the campaign of 1758. The centre of the French had held its own triumphantly at Ticonderoga; but their left had been forced back by the capture of Louisburg, and their right by that of Fort Duquesne; while their entire right wing had been well-nigh cut off by the destruction of Fort Frontenac. The outlook was dark. Their own Indians were turning against them." (Montcalm & Wolfe, Vol. II, p. 169.)

The Westfield men who were engaged the following year were numerous even as their names can be culled from several

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of the Muster Rolls preserved among the State Archives. The list of Capt. John Bancroft's company which served in the Crown Point expedition from March 31 to Dec. 27, 1759, is practically duplicated in another list made out and sworn to by Col. John Worthington, except that he does not include 2d Lieut. William Shepard. It contains personal references to many of the company. He concludes the complete list, from which the names of those from Westfield are selected and recorded below, as follows:

"The foregoing is a true List of the Names & Times of Inlisting or impressment of One Hundred Seventy three Men raised in the South Regiment in the said County of Hampshire for ye expedition now forming for a general Invasion of Canada, being part of the Quota of said Regiment of the Five Thousand Men agreed to be raised for said Service which have been mustered and had the Oath of Fidelity administered to them agreeable to Authority for his excellency ye Governor.

1759 John Worthington Colonel"

(Mass. Archives, Vol. 97, p. 237.)

"Aaron Noble impressed Apr. 6, 1759 age 23

Caleb Noble inlisted Apr. 2 age 18 Samuel Noble Master, Thos. Noble Father.

Benjamin Pike Apr. 2 age 18 Benj Sexton Master

William Morely Apr. 2, age 27 had been with Benj Pike on the expedition against Canada in 1758.

Gad Noble Apr. 6 age 21 had been on the Lake George expedition in 1756.

Simeon Tremain Apr. 2 age 27 on the expedition of 1757 Lake George.

Josiah Watkins Apr. 6 age 37 Exp. 1757 Lake George.

Reuben Williams Apr. 2 age 22 exp. 1758 Lake George.

John Graham Apr. 2 age 26, 1756 & 8 Lake George.

Ezekiel Sacket Apr. 6 age 20

Thomas Merrifield Apr. 6 age 20, 1758 Lake George

David Kellogg impressed Apr. 6. age 35

David Noble impressed Apr. 6. age 28

Obadiah Moore inlisted Apr. 6 age 29 expedition to Ticonderoga 1758.

Thomas Rowley Apr. 6. age 38

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David Bagg Apr. 6. age 20. Widow Margaret Ashley Mistress
Eldad Phelps Apr. 6 age 30
Joseph Moor Apr. 6 age 16
David Stone Apr. 6 age 21. 1758 Ticonderoga.
David Spencer Apr. 6 age 16.
Nathan Hayward Apr. 2 age 22 exp. 1758.
David Olds Apr. 2. age 42 Crown Point. 1755.
Job Phelps impressed Apr. 6 age 35."

This year of 1759 was one of signal victories, completing the general plans of the preceding year. Amherst succeeded where Abercrombie had failed, capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The latter fortress was a specially valuable prize.

"The capture of these important posts immediately relieved the frontiers of New England from incursions from the western quarter, and a general joy spread through the long distressed Colonies. Crown Point had been in the possession of the French for nearly thirty years, and from that place predatory parties had issued and involved the frontiers of Massachusetts and New Hampshire in blood and slaughter; and numerous were the prisoners who had there suffered the disgraceful and cruel treatment of the savages." (Hoyt's Indian Wars, p. 301.)

The time involved in the clearing of Lake Champlain of hostile battalions and menacing fortifications detained Amherst until too late to co-operate in the attack on Quebec as had been intended. Hence he decided to complete the task of vengeance and purgation by sending the noted ranger Rogers with an expedition against the Abenakis of St. Francis. They had been settled there, nominal christians under the care and direction of French priests, for three generations. Their permanent camp was at St. Francis, on the river of that name near its confluence with the St. Lawrence, about midway between Montreal and Quebec. Thence for three-quarters of a century they scourged the New England borders and the frontiers of the Hudson Valley, approaching their victims either by way of the upper Connecticut or by way of Lake Champlain. It was largely from them that Gray Lock secured at his camp on Missisquoi Bay recruits for his

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marauding parties which were so long a terror to the Hampshire settlers. Amherst's orders for this important task were as follows:

"Camp at Crown Point.
"Sep. 13, 1759.

"You will this night set out with the detachment as ordered yesterday, viz., of two hundred men, which you will take under your command, and proceed to Missisquey bay, from whence you will march and attack the enemy's settlements on the south side of the River St Lawrence, in such a manner as you shall judge must effectual to disgrace the enemy, and for the success of his Majesty's arms.

"Remember the barbarities that have been committed by the enemy's Indian scoundrels on every occasion where they had an opportunity of shewing their infamous cruelties on the King's subjects, which they have done without mercy. Take your revenge but do not forget that though these villains have dastardly and promiscuously murdered women and children of all ages, it is my orders that no women or children are killed or hurt.

"When you have executed your intended service, you will return with your detachment to camp, or join me wherever the army may be. Your's &c,

"To Major Rogers. Jeff. Amherst."

The heroism and tragic sufferings of that expedition on its return from the victorious execution of its mission may not be here rehearsed. It destroyed the hornet's nest and relieved the border settlers of exasperating torments.

The crucial blow of the Seven Years' War, the most dramatic in the long series of hostilities between French and English on this continent, was struck by the gallant Wolfe on the plains of Abraham, Sept. 13, when both he and his noble French opponent gave their lives, the one in glorious victory, the other in bitter defeat. Wolfe died happy because the enemy were in retreat. Montcalm welcomed death as a relief from the agony of seeing Quebec in the hands of the English.

Work still remained to be done during two years following in completing the subjugation of Canada, for which pro-

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vincial soldiers were needed, and among them were Westfield men. Capt. William Shepard led a company thus engaged in 1760, and another muster roll of March, 1762, shows that he and his fellow-townsmen were even then in active service. He appears as 2 Lieutenant, as has been noted, in the company of Capt. John Bancroft which was with Amherst in his expedition to Lake Champlain in 1759, as was also Capt. Asa Noble with another Westfield company. The muster rolls as preserved contain the names of fifty officers and privates from the town that thus took part in those important operations, serving on an average about thirty weeks apiece. On a roll of 1760 and on another of 1761, the name of Oliver Root appears as a private, of whom more will appear in a later Chapter on the Revolutionary campaigns. About twenty other names of Westfield men are scattered through various rolls in the closing years of the war.

An aftermath of the movements of troops back and forth through Westfield is disclosed by the following, recorded in the Archives but not preserved in the town books:

"The Province of Massachusetts Bay, Dr. to the Selectmen of the Town of Westfield for Cash & Charges expended in a private House provided for entertaining of Soldiers on their Return from the Army, suspected to have the small Pox, together with those that returned, being not sufficiently cleansed of said Disease, & therefore were refused entertainment by the Tavernkeepers."

Then follows a list of twenty-three men of various companies and regiments, but without any indication of their respective residences.

"Several of the above named Soldiers were lame & sick, therefore were detained several days."

One Nicholas Brown owned the house.

The whole bill amounted to 7.16.6, and was signed by the Selectmen as follows:

"Matthew Noble.
Aaron King,
Joseph Root.
1760 Samll Fowler.
Saml Noble."

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Judd, in his History of Hadley, says that in the Westfield hospital, whether or not the house indicated above cannot be determined, twelve soldiers had the smallpox from November, 1760, to February, 1761, and six died, and that in those three months seventeen gallons of rum and several gallons of wine were consumed there.

The last incursion of Indians in Hampshire County, of the war, at the close of which such barbarities ceased altogether, was in the autumn of 1760, at Colrain, where a dozen savages captured Joseph McKown with his wife and child. Mrs. McKown was killed soon after the march northward began, and the man and child were carried to Canada.

Montreal fell into the hands of the English on Sept. 8, 1760, under the combined attack of three armies which met before it within two days of the time agreed upon, Gen. Amherst coming by way of Oswego and the St. Lawrence, Gen. Murray from Quebec, and Col. Haviland through Lake Champlain. The capture of the city involved the capitulation of Canada, though peace was not formally declared in Paris until Feb. 10, 1763, almost nine years from the opening of hostilities by Washington in the upper Ohio Valley in May, 1754.

Thus the long series of disasters inflicted upon the Provinces by their implacable savage foes was brought to a close. In spite of the holocaust of lives which it involved, the people had steadily increased in numbers. Hoyt, commenting upon this significant fact, says:

"From the commencement of King Williams War in 1689, with the exception of a few short intervals to this event, the frontier people of the English northern Provinces were doomed to destruction, captivity and slaughter. Relieved from their embarrassments, they reoccupied their plantations, and new ones were commenced, and population began to spread. At the close of hostilities in 1760, notwithstanding the losses sustained by the incursions of the enemy and the fatalities of the armies, the number of inhabitants in New England was reckoned at five hundred thousand, and Canada in 1763 is said to have contained sixty-five thousand French inhabitants." (Indian Wars, p. 309.)

Palfrey puts a larger estimate upon the French population, making it "not far from eighty thousand in number." After

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speaking of the baleful influence of French authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, over the Indians, he concludes: "With intervals, and with different degrees of horror, this barbarity of Indian war under French influence had been going on for more than eighty years. It could not stop too soon; and for putting an end to it, were that alone his merit, the name of Chatham should be dear to humanity." (History of New England, Vol. V, p. 172.)

No more fitting and discriminating conclusion of this final Chapter on the Indian Menace, its meaning to the people of several generations, and the meaning of its removal from the life of New England, could be given than that furnished by the oft-quoted, familiar, and eloquent words of Holland, the local historian of the region originally comprised in the County of Hampshire:

"This closed the long and terrible tragedy of the Indian, and French and Indian, wars. From the first settlement at Springfield until the conquest of Canada in 1760, a series of one hundred and twenty-four years had passed away, and by far the larger part of this time the inhabitants of the territory embraced in old Hampshire had been exposed to the dangers, the fears, the toils and trials of Indian wars, or border depredations. Children had been born, had grown up to manhood, and descended to old age, knowing little or nothing of peace and tranquility. Hundreds had been killed, and large numbers carried to captivity. Men, women and children had been butchered by scores. There is hardly a square acre, certainly not a square mile, in the Connecticut Valley, that has not been tracked by the flying feet of fear, resounded with the groans of the dying, drunk the blood of the dead, or served as the scene of toils made doubly toilsome by an apprehension of danger that never slept. It was among such scenes and such trials as these that the settlements of Western Massachusetts were planted. It was by these scenes and trials that their sinews were knit to that degree of strength that, when the incubus of fear and war was lifted, they sprang to those enterprises of peace which in less than one century have transformed the valley and the Berkshire hills into a garden of beauty, a home of luxury and refinement, an abode of plenty, and a seat of free education and free religion. The joy of

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victory that spread everywhere over the Colonies was great, but the joy of peace was greater. The relief felt on every hand can hardly be imagined now. The long-clogged wheels of enterprise moved again, and settlements that had been forsaken were reclaimed, while new ones were commenced. The ax resounded in the forests, and smiling harvests returned once more to be gathered rejoicingly beneath the reign of peace." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. I, p. 195.)

LETTERS OF ELDAD TAYLOR

To the Hon Thomas Hubbard, Speaker of the House: "Westfield Mar. 10, 1756. Can obtain corn at 15/ pr. bushel, wheat at 30/ per bushel, peas at 30/ per bbl. pork at 12/ & 13/ per hundred." (Vol. 55, p. 152.)

To the same March 21, 1756, "pork of Westfield better than ordinary." (Vol. 55, p. 144.)

To Hon. John Osborne, May 12, 1756: Relative to "40 pair of oxen sent to ye Com. at Albany & getting ready to send more, up to 60 pair, also hired a small sloop of 28 tons." Signed—Your affectionate Friend & Humble Servant Eldad Taylor."

To same, Westfield, July 6, 1756. "I hope your Honour will the more Readily forgive my not wrighting by the post Considering it was my not being at home but in ye province business. I have been upon the wing Ever since I left Boston & have applyd my self with the utmost Diligence to the work your Honour entrusted me with & although I thought at the beginning I should not get any or but few otes I have at Last had good success &c. My business has suffered whilst I have been ingaged about the publick affares so that if there is not money in the treasury to pay for provision I bought, I hope to be excused coming to this Session's & I desire the Speaker to ask favour for me in the House."

Another, July 12, 1756, relating to pay for supplies. (p. 365.)

Another, Sept. 15, 1756, to John Osborne. (p. 370.)

After writing about money, he says:

"Dear Sir. I cant but hope yt God has a favour for New

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England & although he hides his face it will be but for a small moment & with Everlasting mercies will he gather his Elect into the Chambers of Safty untill the Indignation be over past; will not the prayers of Gods Elect Enter the Ears of ye Lord of Sabioth; & aveng the Quarrel of his Covenant people who Cry night & Day for mercy Surely he will, therefore may we hope he will. I have been in a very poor state of health ever since I Left Boston, pray never forget me in your sweetest Retirement.

from your Affectionate Friend
& Servant,

Eldad Taylor"

(Province Archives, Vol. 55, p. 460.)

"Francis Poland of Ipswich, returning from Camp at Lake George, sick at Deacon Taylor's at Westfield.
Joseph Poland asks for two shillings a day for him for nursing for 21 days.
Allowed £.4:7:10-"

(Province Archives, Vol. 75, p. 209.)

"To His Excellency Wm Shirley Esq. &c

"The Petition of Joseph Barker of Westfield, Humbly Sheweth That whilst I was Engaged in the Battle Near Lake George in the first onset on the Scout in the front of the Battle under Capt Ingersoll and Col. Williams was order to throw off our Packs whereby I lost my Blanket and near the Conclusion of the Battle was Shot Down & Lay for Dead (as I am Informed) where I lost my gunn and Suffered Extremely by my wound, which has occasion'd Some Expence as may appear by the account herewith, Exhibited which I pray may be allowed to me under my Needy Circumstances as in Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray

Joseph Barber"

He was allowed four pounds and ten shillings in full consideration for the articles lost and expenses mentioned, June 10, 1756. (Province Archives, Vol. 75, p. 409.)

There is a similar Petition of Dan Cadwell of Westfield in Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll's company, Col. Williams' regiment, in the same engagement. His bill is thus itemized:

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"The Province of the Massachusetts Bay Dr. to Dan Cadwell of Westfield.

"March 26, 1756

"To Blanket	0-10- 8	
West Coat	1- 0- 0	Test
Metumpline	0- 1- 0	Dan Cadwell
Knife	0- 1- 6	
	1-12-14	

"Hamp. ss Westfield March 26, 1756

"Then Dan Cadwell the Subscriber to the above account Personally appeared and made oath thereto

Coram Israel Ashley Just: Pacis."

He was allowed only for the blanket at value named. (Province Archives, Vol. 75, p. 417.)

"Apr. 26, 1758.

Israel Ashley—13-7-3 for medicine & attendance on sick soldiers, under His Excellency the Earl of Loudon. To same 5-12-8 for Dr. Nathaniel Smith for same. To same 11-7-3 for Daniel Cooley for nursing one of Loudons soldiers sick with small pox. To same, for Selectmen of Westfield 9-8-11 for care of William Stut a soldier sick with small pox." (Province Archives.)

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CHAPTER XXI.

Fort Hoosac

The strategic importance of a line of defenses along the northern border of Hampshire was recognized early, as has been indicated already. The most important point in the series of fortifications against invasion was the Mohawk Trail, from time immemorial a popular highway of the moccasined native travelers between the Hudson and the Connecticut. Fort Massachusetts was its main defense, but another outpost proved necessary a few miles down the valley of the Hoosac.

That Colonel Israel Williams, at the head of the Hampshire forces, had begun to realize the importance of covering that corner of the state by vigilant service is indicated in a letter which he addressed to Governor Shirley, dated Hatfield, Sept. 12, 1754, to which reference was made in the preceding Chapter. He writes: "I propose that there be at least fifty men at Fort Massachusetts, thirty at Pontoosuck, they to maintain a constant scout from Stockbridge thro the western parts of Framingham township and the West Township at Hooseck to the said Fort and from thence to the top of Hooseck Mountain. That there be 14 men at Fall Town, 20 at Morrisons and 12 at each garrison at Charlemont, these to perform a constant scout from Connecticut River against Northfield to the top of Hooseck Mountain. These scouts thus performed cross all the roads the Enemy ever travel to come within the aforesaid Line of Forts. There will doubtless be more wanted for the Protection to some places within the Line. * * * I propose that some of the men posted at Massachusetts be employed to waylay the road from Crown Point south of which place I conclude has not been ceded to the French. The Enemy generally when they leave that place come to the south side of the Lake or drowned lands, leave their canoes and come down to Hooseck, or they may turn off to the East: let which will be the case that Fort is best situated to send parties from for the purpose aforesaid to gain advantages."

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He advocated neglecting Shirley and Pelham because the enemy rarely came down the Deerfield River from far north, the road being bad and almost impassable along its upper course.

"After all if our Government would build a fort upon the top of Hooseck Mountain between Pelham and Fort Massachusetts it would shorten the scouting and answer as well the first proposed line thro Charlemont.

"I would further propose that two Forts be built between Massachusetts Fort and Hudsons River, as laid down in the plan, between which places there is a large opening where the Enemy can (now that Hooseck is destroyed) come down to the Dutch Settlements, Stockbridge and Suffield, and where they are gone without difficulty.

"Nay I apprehend the Westerly towns of Connecticut are exposed now to such bold fellows as were at Stockbridge: that one Fort be built and garrisoned by Connecticut, and the other by New York.

"This line of Forts will shut up all between Connecticut and Hudsons Rivers and be the cheapest and best defence and security to all within, if well supplied with men, of anything I can at present think of, and if your excellency approves of it and should press it upon those Govts, it is so reasonable and also necessary for their safety I cant but hope they would at once comply with it."

In response to those suggestions Governor Shirley says:

"Boston, Sep. 26, 1754.

"Sir. Major Williams will accept of a new commission for Fort Massachusetts which I design shall be enlarged by a superior command over the soldiers posted at Pontusuck in special cases: I should be sorry to do anything, which may look like a slight upon the present Commander Captain Chapin, of whose courage I have good opinion: but as the command which the King's service now requires the Captain of that fort to have given him, must be enlarged, and Major Williams, besides being an officer whom I look upon to be well qualified for it, hath these further pretensions to it, that it was upon his resignation of the command of the Fort, that Captain Chapin was commissioned for it. I hope he will not think it a slight upon him, if when I add another charge

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to the Captain's Commission for that Fort, I give it Major Williams; I shall be very glad if he will serve as Lieutenant under Major Williams, and will give him the first proper promotion, which shall happen in my power: You will be pleased to let Captain Chapin know this: and I will leave it to your discretion to act in the manner, you shall think proper with the inclos'd *blank* Commissions concerning the Captain and Lieutt. of Fort Massachusetts as well as the others.

W. Shirley."

(The Correspondence of William Shirley. Lincoln. Vol. 2, pp. 87–8.)

Colonel Williams informed Captain Chapin of the Governor's orders in a note dated at Hatfield in October following.

Major Ephraim Williams, who succeeded Chapin as commandant at Fort Massachusetts, was to have his patriotic military career cut short the following year when as Colonel of the Hampshire Regiment he fell in the tragic disaster of the Bloody Morning Scout below Lake George. Though the two men differed widely in character and ability, they seem to have sustained very friendly mutual relations, Williams having helped his impecunious comrade out of many financial difficulties. In his memorable will, executed at Albany, July 22, 1755, is the following Item: "I give and devise and remit to the poor, distressed and imprudent Captain Elisha Chapin the sum of one hundred pounds, to be deducted out of the bond given jointly by Moses Graves and said Elisha Chapin: the said hundred pounds to be remitted out of said Chapin's part."

But yet later he gave proof of loyalty to his unfortunate friend, since probably about the last signature of his name by Colonel Williams was attached to a bond executed at Albany July 31, 1755, but five weeks before his death. The bond was executed to release from gaol in Albany Elisha Chapin who had been arrested on two complaints, the grounds not specified in the bond, one by John Graham, the other by John Depuyster.

Chapin gave as security two lots of land in the north part of Springfield known as Chickobee. The original bond is

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among the valuable Williams archives presented to the College by the late R. Henry W. Dwight, Esq., of Cambridge, shortly before his death.

It is rather puzzling to find in the County Hall of Records in Springfield three deeds executed by Elisha Chapin covering his homestead. The first, dated April 14, 1755, conveyed it to Abel Chapin for £250. The second, referred to above, dated July 1, 1755, conveyed it to Ephraim Williams, Jonathan Ingersoll, Samuel Wells and Eliazar Burt. The third, dated March 24, 1756, conveyed it to Joseph Ely, Jr., and Benjamin Ely, both of Springfield.

Elisha Chapin, son of Japhet, who was in the great "Falls Fight," May 18, 1676, owned the house at the head of Chicopee Street. His son Samuel, born July 4, 1665, died Oct. 19, 1729, built near his Father. It was he who was wounded by the Indians when returning in a canoe from his farm across the river. He had ten children, six girls and four boys. Elisha, one of them, was born July 16, 1707. He therefore had survived his forty-ninth birthday by but five days when he was slain at the West Hoosac Block House on July 11, 1756. He married, March 30, 1737, Miriam, daughter of Joseph and Margaret Ely of Springfield. They had nine children, Sophia, born April 14, 1748, married Russell Dewey of Westfield, whose adventures, as detailed in his interesting Diary kept while he was a soldier in one of the expeditions to Canada, are recorded in another Chapter. Sarah A. married another hero of Westfield, John Farnham, one of Paul Jones's men. Sewall, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1779, studied theology, became an instructor in the academy in western Virginia, and was an incumbent of the Episcopal Parish of Westover near Richmond from 1793 to 1805.

The thrilling story of the erection, maintenance and defense of Fort Hoosac was told by the author of this History at the unveiling and dedication of the memorial boulder, June 21, 1916, on the lawn of the Kappa Alpha Society. It seems fitting to include here that address because of its historic value, and to add an Ode prepared and delivered by Talcott Minor Banks, L.H.D., of Williamstown, a fellow member of Kappa Alpha.

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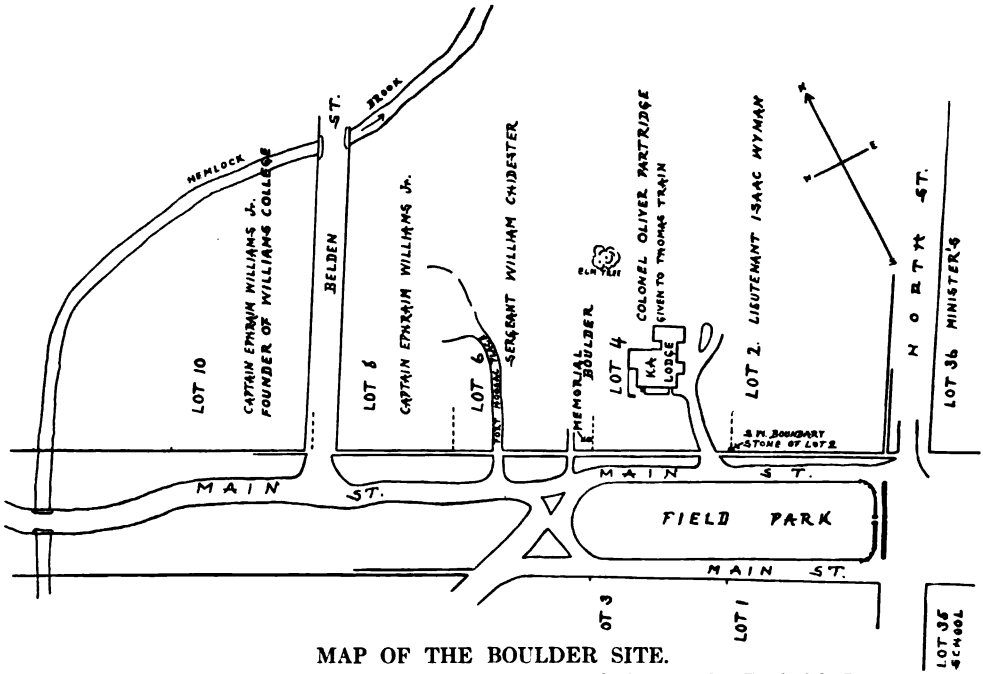

MAP OF THE BOULDER SITE.

Based upon a map of the Proctor estate made in 1905 by Frederick S. Smith, C. E. The Minister's lot, No. 36, is the present site of the Greylock Inn.

THE BOULDER.

Weight about 13 tons and more than 6 feet high. It was brought from the eastern slope of Hoosac Mountain below the Mohawk Trail, about a mile south of North Adams.

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ADDRESS AT DEDICATION OF A MEMORIAL OF WEST HOOSAC BLOCKHOUSE

The place whereon we stand is holy ground. This hillock was consecrated long since by noble lives spent in heroic activities, endurances, and sacrifices, inspired by devotion to sublime ideals. Here was the civic center of the infant settlement which was founded in the times that tried men's souls. With that instinct for the proper organization of civil affairs which was universal among the settlers of New England, those sturdy pioneers established the symbols of their civilization about what, in the earliest legislative acts relative to the township, was termed "The Square." A few rods to the eastward of where we are assembled the two main thoroughfares of the settlement intersected, one running east from Fort Massachusetts to this point and down the adjacent slope to Hemlock Brook and beyond: the other north from Stone Hill up to the Hoosac River and along toward the Dutch Settlements at what is now Hoosac Falls. The corner where the Greylock Hotel now stands, Lot No. 36 in the original survey, was assigned to the first minister: the lot next below it, No. 38, was to be used for the support of the ministry in succession. The corner opposite, No. 35, where the Zeta Psi house is now located, was set apart for school uses, though the first log structure employed for educational purposes stood on No. 36, the minister's lot, and it was used also for various meetings, social and religious, besides sheltering for a few years the family of Mr. Welch, the first settled Pastor of that flock in the wilderness.

On the day of the battle of Bennington the brave women of this hamlet, whose husbands, sons, brothers and lovers were enduring the perils of the fray, made the rude structure a shrine where they spent hours in strenuous prayer until the sun went down, the booming of the distant guns ceased, and the strain upon their hearts was relieved by tidings brought by a swift messenger giving assurance that the God of battles had vouchsafed them victory. Then their supplications were changed to hallelujahs.

Opposite us, on Lot No. 3, Benjamin Simonds opened and maintained for many years the first house of public entertainment, the Town Tavern, an important institution in those

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times, serving many useful community purposes besides ministering to the needs of travelers.

In the middle of Main Street, fronting on the line of North Street, and dominating the landscape for long distances on every side, stood the first meeting house—built in 1768, supplanted in 1797 by the second one which held that point of vantage until destroyed on a Sunday afternoon in January, 1866, by a fire which I was the first person to discover from the piazza of the original Kap House.

Here, on Lot No. 6, stood the Fort as a bulwark of defense for the essential institutions just enumerated. Their aggregate value was safeguarded by the rude fortification surrounded by a palisade which included this Lot and the one next it on the west No. 8, the property of Colonel Ephraim Williams.

This, therefore, was most emphatically the center of the plantation in those pioneer days. The Fort, and men upon whose hardihood the maintenance of the settlement depended, we gather today from near and far to commemorate.

A further word needs to be spoken relative to the place of our assembly.

This hilltop looks down upon what was a great highway connecting vast regions, northward and westward—Canada and New York, with regions less vast but no less important in our national life east and south of it—Massachusetts and Connecticut, pioneer Commonwealths in the establishment and development of our free, democratic institutions.

This valley of the Hoosac, buttressed on the one side by the Taconic range, and on the other side by the equally lofty Hoosac range, was traversed by the moccasined feet of Algonquins, Iroquois and Mohegans before civilized man ever followed its serpentine trail.

One of the earliest extant maps of the territory between Canada and the mouth of Hudson's River, that of Governor Pownall, preserved in the British Museum, pictures graphically this important gateway which had been discovered in prehistoric times and utilized for incomputable ages by the Aborigines of this continent, and was often deluged by their bloodshed in desperate struggles for supremacy.

Here, perched above that well-worn Mohawk Trail, upon

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which this Boulder until recently looked from the slope of Hoosac Mountain yonder, West Hoosac Fort afforded an observation point of its traffic and a place of refuge from parties following it with hostile intent. Because, as Von Moltke once said, "geography is three fourths of military science," this was a strategic position of immense importance—more wisely chosen, indeed, than that of the more famous Fort Massachusetts, and it deserved more adequate and pretentious works of fortification and equipment than it ever secured.

Each fort served a double purpose, immensely important, as a refuge, and as a defense. They differed in that Fort Massachusetts was originally established as a frontier outpost for the safeguarding of the regions behind it: while Fort Hoosac's original function was the protection of settlers in its vicinage. For years after the former was built the only people in the region were those in the garrison assigned to its service, whereas, the necessity for the West Hoosac Blockhouse was begotten of the perils of the resident Homesteaders. Men, women and children required a place of refuge.

In each case the secondary purpose of building was finally executed: the eastern fort providing shelter for panic-stricken families and Fort Hoosac proving useful in general military operations.

The intimacy of their mutual relationship is still farther emphasized by the fact that a large percentage of the settlers here were men who had served for longer or shorter periods in the garrison of Fort Massachusetts. Because the primary purpose of Fort Hoosac was to give shelter to fear-stricken families, it has always had a warmer place in the hearts of all who love Williamstown than the more famous eastern fort.

To find the primary grounds of their establishment we must go back to a period which preceded it—early in the second quarter of the eighteenth century when this northwestern corner of the Commonwealth was a region of mystery about which the inhabitants to the eastward of the formidable barrier of the Hoosacs wondered and speculated.

The long cherished desire of the great and general Court that the region should be explored and settled was hampered by other considerations than the natural difficulties of ap-

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proach and by other dangers than the incursions of French and Indian warriors. The boundary line at this corner had been established neither on the north nor on the west, and Dutch settlers were persistently pressing up the valley of the Hoosac. Not until 1725 was there any movement of settlers from the east and south into what is now Berkshire County. During the eight succeeding years several families from Westfield formed the nucleus of what was incorporated in 1733 as Sheffield, the first township organized within the present bounds of the County. In 1734 John Sergeant and Timothy Woodbridge, supported by the authorities of the Province, founded a mission to the Stockbridge Indians.

Five years later, four English families were designated by the Court to settle there to encourage the enterprise. The head of one of those families was Ephraim Williams, Senior, of Newton. Soon after his arrival, in the autumn of the same year, 1739, Williams was directed by his friend Governor Belcher, supported by his Council at Boston, to employ a sworn surveyor and chainman and proceed with them to "lay out two townships of land in the name of the Province on what proved to be the head waters of the Hoosac River, and to unite the two townships together in a form favorable to future mutual assistance and protection."

How significant is the fact thus occasioned, that the Father of the illustrious founder of this town and its noble College, was one of the first three white men known to have explored this corner of Massachusetts!

For some unknown reason that earliest survey of Nathanael Kellogg, under the direction of the elder Williams, was not officially approved.

Not until ten years later, in 1749, one year after the Declaration of Peace at Aix la Chapelle, did the Court take farther action in this matter.

In April of that year it appointed a Committee consisting of Colonel Nathanael Dwight, Colonel Choate, and Colonel Oliver Partridge of Hatfield who became the original proprietor of Lot No. 4, on which the Kappa Alpha Lodge now stands, "to survey and lay out two townships on Hoosac River, each of the contents of six miles square, in the best part of the land and in as regular form as may be, joining them

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together: and return a correct plot of said townships: and also to return the course and distance of said towns from Fort Massachusetts." (House Journal)

The survey was made in October and the Committee's report was made November 10th in which it was declared that "in the West township there is not so great a quantity of intervale, but a very valuable and large tract of land in the middle of the township, insomuch that the Committee do esteem the West township the most valuable." (Mass. Records, Towns, Vol. IV, p. 532.)

Thus the present towns of North Adams and Williamstown were charted, and as a result, apparently, of the energetic influence of Captain Ephraim Williams, Jr., who remained in Boston during the legislative session of 1749–50.

As a further result of his efforts, "a committee was ordered on the 17th of January, 1750, to lay out the West township into sixty-three contiguous home lots of from thirteen to fourteen acres, each lot being entitled to one sixty-third part of the township."

The Committee was directed to reserve one lot for the first settled minister, one for the support of the ministry, and one for the support of schools, then upon the usual conditions, to dispose of the sixty lots remaining to actual settlers at £6–13s–4d. each. The Committee was still further directed "to grant as many to the soldiers of the garrison of Fort Massachusetts as they should think proper." (House Journal, February 7, 1750.)

In September, 1752, the Committee, consisting of Joseph Minot, Samuel Miller and Samuel Livermore, presented its report with a detailed account of receipts and expenses.

About a quarter of the lots disposed of by this original sale were purchased by officers and men of Fort Massachusetts, Captain Ephraim Williams its commander having secured Lots 8 and 10 extending from this one No. 6, held by Sergeant William Chidester, down to Hemlock Brook.

In the words of Joseph White, Esq., an honored member of Kappa Alpha, in his scholarly address before the Society of Alumni of Williams College in 1855, the centennial of the death of the Founder of the College, "Thus it appears that these sister towns in the upper valley of the Hoosac are the

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foster children of Fort Massachusetts, and may look to Ephraim Williams as their founder."

The names of Fort Massachusetts men enrolled on the list of original purchasers of lots at West Hoosac are, Captain Ephraim Williams, Lieutenant Isaac Wyman, Sergeant William Chidester, Dr. Seth Hudson, Samuel Calhoun, Ezekiel Foster, Benjamin Simonds, Abner Roberts, Thomas Train, Micah Harrington, Captain Elisha Chapin, John Bush, John Chamberlain. The name of Thomas Train is included in that number because, although not strictly an original purchaser, he soon became owner by gift of Lot No. 4 from Colonel Oliver Partridge where, as already stated, the Kappa Alpha Lodge now stands.

Among the men thus enumerated those who were the earliest to begin to subdue their lots and attempt the erection of rude homes were William Chidester, Isaac Wyman, Benjamin Simonds, Thomas Train, Ezekiel Foster and Eliazer Graves. Professor Perry includes with these six, seven others who may be justly considered as constituting the *original settlers* of West Hoosac before the renewal of the French War in 1754, namely—Elisha Higgins from Fort Massachusetts, Silas Pratt from Worcester, Allin and Elihu Curtis from Canaan, Connecticut, Gideon Warren from Brimfield, Darius Mead from Dutchess County, New York, and Tyrus Pratt from Shrewsbury.

These thirteen men signed a petition to his Excellency, William Shirley, and the General Court in September, 1753, to appoint some proper person to call a meeting of the proprietors of West Hoosac—"to agree upon the building a Meeting House, Settling a Minister, Making Division of other Lands and to do and Transact all such matters and things as may be necessary and proper for proprietors of New Townships to do."

William Williams, Esq., of Pittsfield, "one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Hampshire," was authorized to call such a meeting. He directed Isaac Wyman to "Notifye and warne the said proprietors to assemble at the house of Mr. Seth Hudson on Wednesday the fifth day of December next, at nine of the clock in the forenoon" for the purposes above specified.

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In accordance with that call the first meeting of the proprietors was held one hundred and sixty-three years ago next December, in a house which stood on Lot No. 9, opposite the lower lot of Ephraim Williams. Allin Curtis was chosen Moderator of that meeting and Isaac Wyman was chosen proprietor's Clerk, an office which he held for many years.

Then and there was instituted for this frontier corner of the Province, town government, the essential unit of New England organized life. A second proprietors meeting was held four months later at the house of Allin Curtis, when he was chosen Moderator for the second time. A third was held the following month, in May, 1754, at the same place, when Captain Elisha Chapin was chosen Moderator. The proprietors did not convene formally again for six years, then at least six meetings were held within West Hoosac fort during the years 1760 and 1761.

The Peace of Aix la Chapelle proved to be but a shallow and brief truce, both parties to it using it as a convenient condition of preparation for renewed conflict. During the early months of 1755 the enemy made bloody incursions along the whole border from the Allegheny to the Kennebec. One of them occurred early in May when a party of Schaghticoke Indians, many of them descendants of New England warriors who had fled to the Hudson valley after the collapse of Philip's War, attacked and ravaged Dutch Hoosac, a few miles down the river from here, killed Samuel Bowen, wounded John Barnard, and destroyed houses, barns, cattle and grain. The value of the property destroyed was estimated by Captain Elisha Chapin, then commanding at Fort Massachusetts, at "four thousand pounds, York currency." Another party soon afterward attacked Stockbridge and killed one man and two children. (Hoyt's Indian Wars, p. 226.)

The Provincial authorities were aroused to the necessity of providing more adequate defensive fortifications. Governor Shirley intrusted Colonel Israel Williams of Hatfield with the execution of that task. Garrisons were maintained at Bernardston on the Connecticut, Colrain and Charlemont on the Deerfield, and Pontusuck, now Pittsfield, and small works were proposed at Blandford, Sheffield and Williamstown. The defense of the frontier was essential to the safety of the interim settlements.

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While the strategic value of an outpost at this point was thus recognized by the Provincial authorities, the essential necessity of a place of refuge from ravaging foes was pressed upon the handful of homesteaders here, and the first tragic plea therefore in this emergency was dispatched to the authorities at Boston in January, 1756, by William Chidester whose home was built upon this Lot No. 6, a copy of which appeal is furnished by the program of these exercises in your hands. Its pathos is intensified by the fact which he urges that but five families were left of those who had established their homes here.

A petition sent a year and a quarter earlier, October 17, 1754, was signed by the heads of eleven families which had then taken shelter in Fort Massachusetts and pleaded for help from the Court to insure them protection at their homes, four miles distant at West Hoosac. Thus less than half of those who at that time were refugees at Fort Massachusetts had returned to their homesteads at the time of Chidester's petition. The eleven names on that earlier petition are of deep historic interest. Jonathan Meacham, Gideon Warren, Benjamin Simonds, Oliver Avery, Thomas Train, Seth Hudson, William Chidester, Ezekiel Foster, Allin Curtis, Jabez Warren, Jr., Jabez Warren. To that earlier petition the authorities did not deign to reply. The response to the later one from William Chidester was but scant and inadequate, to the effect that if the proprietors or any part of them should at their own expense erect a sufficient Block House in the place called the Square by the tenth day of March next ensuing, ten soldiers from Fort Massachusetts should be allowed for a garrison, and that such of the proprietors as should engage in that task should be allowed from the Provincial stores their subsistence for two months. In case the proprietors should not generally respond and complete the task within the specified time "then the Petitioner with such as shall appear spirited with him, and shall erect a Block House round his house and the two other houses convenient to be taken in shall be entitled to the same subsistence above sd while building said Block House." When erected it was to be garrisoned by ten of the inhabitants in the pay of the Province, and while it was being built those engaged upon it should be guarded by

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ten men from the eastern Fort. The official order to that effect was issued by Governor Shirley, February 6, but Chidester could only accomplish the lesser task, the erection of a Block House on his own Lot No. 6, with a palisade inclosing this lot and the one next it owned by Ephraim Williams, No. 8.

Chidester was aided by Benjamin Simonds, Jabez Warren and Seth Hudson, and later by Nehimiah Swedley, Josiah Hosford and William Hosford upon their return from their old home in Connecticut. The undertaking was completed in the month of March, under protection of a small squad from Fort Massachusetts. It was then garrisoned by ten men, one half of them from that Fort, and the other half from the inhabitants. In April Chidester went to Boston and there secured appointment as a Sergeant and authority to take command of West Hoosac Fort.

Soon afterward a party of New York soldiers on the way from Half Moon on the Hudson to Fort Massachusetts were surprised about a dozen miles from Fort Hoosac, eight of them were killed and the remaining five were captured.

It became the defenders of the outpost to be wary. The sage warning of Colonel Israel Williams to Major Ephraim Williams, Sr., urged nine years before, was no less relevant than at that earlier day. "I advise you always to be on your guard, nor suffer any idle fellows to stroll about."

We know not how scrupulously that charge was heeded by the garrison at the Block House, or whether the three lives lost on that tragic eventide of July 11, 1756, were guilty of rashness in leaving the security of the palisade. The venture may have seemed to those men to be demanded by the exigencies of the situation, the live stock which had strayed beyond safety having been very important to the welfare of the settlement. Whether heroic or foolhardy, the venture proved calamitous. The official account of the tragedy, and the attendant menace to Fort Hoosac, is furnished by Colonel Israel Williams in his graphic report to Governor Shirley dated two days later.

"Hatfield, 13 July, 1756.

"Sr. This morning by an Express from Fort Massachusetts, I am inform'd that on ye 11th instants near Sun Setting Sergt. Chidester, his son James Chidester, and Capt.

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Elisha Chapin went from ye Block House at West Hoosac so called, to seek their Cows, and had not got far before they were fired upon by a Body of French and Indians, and are killed or Captivated: Part of the Enemy then attacked ye Block House, while some others of them were employed in killing the Cattle: They fired about two Hundred Guns: Night coming on, they withdrew: The soldier, who in ye Night got away and brought this Account, says, that they saw about Forty or Fifty, and expected to be attacked again in the morning." (Province Archives, Vol. 55, p. 375.)

The hopeless terror of the settlement before such superior numbers of assailants, and under further embarrassment of the menace to the helpless families outside the inclosure, can hardly be imagined. Too well known was the meaning of the shots just beyond the palisade. Some of the depleted garrison rushed to the loopholes to repel the attack then imminent; others hurried to the nearby houses to press women and children toward the shelter of the Block House. Within its confines the refugees huddled in dismay or proffered awkward assistance to the defenders, broaching kegs of powder and distributing it as needed, nervously molding bullets and dipping water from the well to use in case fiery arrows should start a conflagration, while the little ones watched wild-eyed the confused proceedings or stopped their ears to the din of the musketry. Only when darkness added new terrors to their situation did the turmoil cease and a chance occur for a brave messenger to steal out of the Fort and speed for assistance which was hopelessly distant. Colonel Williams makes the pathetic admission in continuing his report: "There is not a sufficient number of men at both the Garrisons to pursue the Enemy, or oblige them to leave the Ground."

Fortunately the attacking forces did not feel sufficient confidence in their strength to press the assault to such a disastrous issue as resulted at Fort Massachusetts ten years previously. Content with the slaughter of men and cattle they collected the three scalps and retired to prosecute their fiendish campaign in other quarters, leaving the panic-stricken and exhausted homesteaders to pass the night in unbroken vigil, dreading the return of daylight but impatient for an opportunity to venture forth in search of their dead.

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Too late the frail Block House was strengthened and more adequately equipped and garrisoned, but never again did hostile force threaten its defenses, probably because their additional strength was recognized, respected and feared. The price of safety had been paid and it was thus insured. From the time of that incursion the garrison suffered seriously from the inadequacy of the provincial commissariat, but not from the weapons of foreign troops and their dusky allies.

That the shelter of the Fort was subsequently appreciated and sought by the settlers is evidenced by the fact that within its walls was born in 1760 the first white male child of the township, William Pratt—not our "Bill" of cherished memories and traditions, whose sawbuck oratory became famous in later days. The original William became a soldier and served three years in the Revolutionary War, during which he was a witness of the execution of the attractive but ill-fated Major Andre.

The appreciation in which the Fort was held is also proved by its having been the appointed place for holding meetings of the proprietors, as already noted.

After the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham in 1759 had insured the Peace of Paris, signed February 10, 1763, and consequent cessation of hostilities, the Block House and its palisade were left to the natural processes of dissolution, but to be cherished in the fond remembrance of succeeding generations. Its timbers hewn from the environing forest, and the no less stalwart frames of those who defended it, have returned dust to dust, but the heroic lives and deeds of those pioneers upon this hillcrest achieved immortality.

Before concluding this commemorative address, permit me to consider briefly the type and caliber of those homesteaders, "by hardships sinewed and by danger fired."

They were citizen soldiers, martial enterprises were forced upon them as avocations by the cruel necessities of the time and the place. The vocation of each man of them was peaceful, not militant. It was essential, however, that all should know the use of arms and something of the art of war. They needed to be expert in woodcraft, as well as in the use of tools of husbandry and domestic craft. Truly our National annals prove the existence of martial and naval heroes before the

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establishment of schools at West Point and Annapolis. Those early defenders of home and country were volunteers, not conscripts, not hirelings. They were such as fought at Lake George in "the bloody morning scout" where Colonel Williams met his untimely death. As described by Parkman:

"The soldiers were no soldiers, but farmers and farmers' sons who had volunteered for the summer campaign. One of the corps had blue uniforms faced with red. The rest wore their daily clothing. Blankets had been served out to them by the several provinces, but the greater part brought their own guns. They had no bayonets, but carried hatchets in their belts as a sort of substitute." (Montcalm & Wolfe, Vol. 1, p. 302.) Their personal ambitions centered not in the pomp and circumstance of war, not in the perfection of its machinery in men and material, but in the conditions and methods of worthy living. The essential objects of their endeavor were homes, and lands to furnish those homes with needful staples sought as conditions of achieving still dearer ends, liberty to worship God and liberty to develop a well rounded manhood. To secure that spiritual argosy they cheerfully endured hardships familiar to the husbandmen who now cultivate these Berkshire farms—rigors of frost and blizzard, the blight of drought, the stress of tempest, the limitations of poverty, felt even yet in some instances, but over and beyond all that they faced perpetually the "appalling loneliness" of the wilderness, and the fearsome menace of wily and cruel foes. Their day dreams, as well as their visions of the night, were haunted by specters,—the sudden gleam of steel or the flash of musket amid the leaves of the encircling forest; ambushed savages bearing their symbols of horror, bow and gun, tomahawk and scalping knife. Simply to hold life safe from such dangers, while the women cared for house and children, and the men cultivated a patch of wheat, a few hills of corn and beans, among which pumpkin vines wandered,—to do only that required unrelaxing vigilance. Behind any bole or stump or bush might lurk at any moment a savage, greased and painted, palpitating with passionate lust for torture, slaughter and devastation.

In defiance of such continuous perils and hardships those sturdy men and women "pressed toward the mark for the prize

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HERE STOOD THE WEST HOOSAC BLOCKHOUSE

BUILT·IN·1756·ON·THIS·HOUSE LOT·NUMBER·SIX·UNDER·DECREE·OF·THE·GREAT·AND·GENERAL
COURT·OF·THE·PROVINCE·OF·THE·MASSACHUSETTS·BAY·IN·COMPLIANCE·WITH·URGENT
APPEAL·FROM·THE·HOMESTEADERS·IT·SERVED·AS·SOLE·REFUGE·FROM·THEIR·ALLIED·FOES
THE·FRENCH·AND·INDIANS· ● ·IT·WAS·WITNESS·ON·THE·EVENING·OF·JULY·11·1756
OF·THE·MASSACRE·OF·SERGEANT·WILLIAM·CHIDESTER··HIS·SON·JAMES·AND
CAPTAIN·ELISHA·CHAPIN··BY·THE·ENEMY·IN·AMBUSH·WITHOUT·ITS·NORTHERN·PORTAL
HERE·IN·PEACEFUL·ASSEMBLY·WERE·LAID·THE·FOUNDATIONS·OF·TOWN·GOVERNMENT

TO·HONOR·THE·MEMORY·OF·THE·ORIGINAL·SETTLERS·OF·WEST·HOOSAC

WHO·ENDURED·THE·PERILS·AND·THE·"APPALLING·LONELINESS"·OF·THE·WILDERNESS
IN·HEROIC·DEFENSE·OF·THIS·BARRIER·TOWNSHIP

KAPPA·ALPHA·IN·WILLIAMS·COLLEGE

PLACES·THIS·STONE·OF·REMEMBRANCE·IN·THE·YEAR
ONE·THOUSAND·NINE·HUNDRED·AND·SIXTEEN

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BRONZE INSCRIPTION

Written by Fisher Howe, Esq., cast by Tiffany & Co., New York, and set on the face of the Boulder at Williamstown.

of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus," Puritan christians on their chosen territory, ready to do, and ready to die when their service should be done. They lacked the graces of earthly courts, but they possessed the virtues approved by the King of Kings.

That Block House upon the hilltop! How fragile it looks in this day, when concrete and steel are shattered by one shell from a 42 centimeter gun; but it served its purpose as an outpost of the line of humble defenses of the border of civilization as then existing. How petty and puny seem a few mortised logs, a handful of men with muzzle-loading, flintlock, smooth bore guns, in comparison with the serried millions now in death grapple oversea, equipped with modern skill and prodigality. Yet those pioneers in the wilderness have laid the world under enduring obligations to their visions, their endurances, their sacrifices. Then, as now, moral and spiritual forces were wreathing for victory and God shaped the issue.

Those humble men and women little dreamed of the magnitude and sublimity of the structure which has risen upon the foundations which they patiently laid; but they did their bit with whole-hearted devotion and left the result with God and succeeding devotees. To say that they builded better than they knew is but to declare what is true of every noble soul of every age of the world.

Brethren in Kappa Alpha, fellow alumni of Williams College, we have peculiar reason to commemorate them and to exult in one of the results of their lives; but for them our noble school of culture in this corner of the Commonwealth, founded by an honored leader among them, would not have begun its enduring career of world-wide beneficence.

This hour we realize a dream cherished from his college days by our beloved brother Fisher Howe, of the Class of 1872, to whose patient research among Colonial and later archives relating to the Town and the College, and his unquenchable ambition to have Fort Hoosac adequately memorialized, is largely due the consummation of this worthy enterprise, and to him we tender assurances of grateful appreciation.

We of this Society, which within a decade is to celebrate

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the first Centennial of its existence, feel honored as possessors of historic land, next door to the original purchase in this township by Ephraim Williams, and as custodians of the memorial which we have now dedicated, in full confidence that it will help to keep in perpetual reverence, esteem and gratitude the lives of the early Homesteaders of West Hoosac, which has become endeared to succeeding generations under the name of Williamstown.

The following poem was read by Talcott M. Banks, L.H.D., of Williamstown:

THE WEST HOOSAC FORT

Here stood the fort; and here the stout stockade
Stretched off toward yon great elm; then down the slope,
And so returning, closed the blockhouse in.

Hard by, the settlers' homesteads fringed the brook
Where hands of sturdy pioneers had won
A few scant acres from the wilderness
That rolled unbroken to the circling hills,
And onward o'er a continent's vast domain.

'Tis sunset of a sweet midsummer day;
The eastward mountains catch the slanted beams
And shine with ruddy splendor. In the fort
The evening watch is set, for war's alarms
Have reached the lovely valley—how the French
Have spurred the cruel Indians to their work
Of flame and slaughter in the countryside.
Who knows how near the lurking foe may lie?

Listen, a shot, a yell, a volleying fire
In quick succession echo from the wood!
To arms! The Savages! To arms! To arms!

The call resounds; and now the little band,
From every house assembled in hot haste,
Behind the rough-hewn pickets of the fort
Stands firm and ready; from the twilit grove
A sudden crowd of dusky forms appears—
Whose was the shriek that like a death cry rings?

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The picture fades; and on this velvet lawn
Mid peace and plenty, we can scarce recall
The memory of that drear and troublous time.
Climb the green hillside where, in quiet sleep
The fathers of our village—yea, even some
Who were the first to clear the rugged land
And claim a harvest from it—could they speak
Of what befell along this lone frontier,
How much of want and peril they endured,
Till England beat the Frenchmen at Quebec,
Our hearts would glow with pride; could Hemlock brook
That slips below us there by field and farm,
Repeat the story of the sunset fight,
When war's swift horror on West Hoosac fell,
What vengeful wrath would kindle in our eyes!
But all is past. Those gallant men are dead
Who held the barrier: in the leafy dell
The stream's low voices croon a gentler song;
Blockhouse and palisade are rotted down;
Alone unchanged, the silent mountains keep
Their ceaseless vigil through the centuries.

Right well we love thee, hill-girt Williamstown.
Planted by soldiers, by a soldier planned;
Whether we number with the native born
Or came as strangers to thine elm-arched street
To find the way of knowledge in the school
That Ephraim Williams founded long ago;

Right well we love thee, village beautiful,
And lest thy brave beginnings be forgot,
We bring a faithful witness to this place,
Whose living characters shall here proclaim
To children's children in the coming years
A tale our grandsires from their elders learned.
The curtain lifts, and o'er the phantom stage
Dim figures of the past go flitting by,
Hudson and Pratt and Simonds—look again!
The blockhouse, the stockade! And shadowing all
Looms the mysterious forest, dark and still!

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O God! To whose august eternity
The generations are like moments gone,
We travelers, pausing in our pilgrimage
To dedicate this work, lift up our eyes,
As did our fathers, unto thee alone,
A stronghold sure against the unseen foe.
Thou who hast loved the bold, and granted strength
To toiling arms, and hope to stedfast hearts,
Send us they blessing, as with reverent hands,
For town, for college, for our brotherhood,
We raise and hallow this memorial stone.

Mass. Archives, Vol. *55*, pp. *375*, *376*.

"Hatfield 13. July 1756

"Sr This Morning by an Express from fort Massachusetts, I am inform'd, that on ye 11th Instant near Sun-Setting. Serjt. Chidester, his Son James Chidester, and Capt Elisha Chapin went from ye Block House at West Hoosuck, so called, to seek their Cows, but had not got far, before they were fired upon by a Body of French and Indians, and are kill'd or Captivated; Part of the Enemy then attackt ye Block House, whilst some others of them were employ'd in killing the Cattle; They fir'd about two Hundred Guns; Night coming on, they withdrew. The Soldier, who in ye Night, got away and brought this Account, says, That they saw about Forty or fifty, and expected to be attacked again in the Morning.

"There is not a sufficient Number of Men at both the Garrisons to pursue the Enemy, or oblige them to leave ye Ground; And tho our Army are near, I doubt of Relief from that Quarter. I have not sent any Succours from hence, supposing it would be too late.

"The Men destin'd to the Several Garrisons, are scarce sufficient to defend them, and perform the Scouting, and altho they make almost daily discovery of ye Enemy, Yet being at such Distances from each other, before A Number can be collected and joyned, with whom it would be Prudence to pursue them, they have escaped all Danger.

"Many of the People in the Frontiers, work in Jeopardy of their Lives every Hour: none to guard or defend Them but at their own Cost—Their Situation is very distress'd—

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"Many of the Militia of my Regiment have freely ranged the Woods, and gone to the Relief of their Neighbours in Distress. I make no Doubt the Enemy have observed it, and thereby been intimidated; But they dont think It reasonable to employ their whole Time that Way, without any reward from the Publick, which they are told they must not expect—I see not but the Enemy are like to dwell among Us, to harrass, vex and ruin Us, unless some other Measures are soon gone into.

"I hear the Court, at their last Sessions, desired ye Lieut Govr. to direct Me, to employ Part of ye Forces destin'd for scouts, for the Protection of the Inhabitants at A Place called Huntstwon, I have not as yet received his Honour's Orders respecting that Affair,—Tho I think it highly reasonable the Govt should grant Those People Protection, yet I am sure there can not be A Man spared from the other Service, without greatly injuring It, and therefore humbly desire they may be provided for some other Way.

"I am fully sensible the Charges and Burthens of the Publick are very great, and would be far from urging any unnecessary Expence; But the Govt I trust will protect their Members and not suffer them to be ruined.

"Our Numbers diminish daily, how soon some more fatal Blow, God only knows. May a kind Providence still guard and defend our unwalled Villages—

"I am your Excellcys most Obedt humble Servt
"Govr Shirley Isr Williams"

Province of the Massts Bay to Benjamin Alvord—Dr. 1756

July 15	To Riding Express from Hatfield to Boston by Order of Colo Isl. Williams givg. an accot. of Mischief done at West Hoosuck	3.0.0
	By Cash recd. of Mr Treasurer Gray my Accot. of sundry Expenses which Colo Williams had recd. for me & I was ignorant of	1.19.6
	Ballance due	1.6.3

Please to pay the above Ballance to Thomas Clarke I having recd. the same of him Benjn. Alvord

Order Capt. Berrys Letter June 5, 1756

(Province Archives. Vol. 75, p. 729.)

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Westfield
and Its Historic Influences

II
Revolutionary Period

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CHAPTER I.

The Impending Crisis

At the period immediately preceding the Revolution, New England had passed beyond many of the crudities and the hardships of Colonial times. With changed conditions, changes had passed also upon the people who had wrought for the solution of many problems, political, commercial and social, with varying degrees of success. The Colonial age was one of experiment in many spheres, and through the experience of trial the people had learned much. The early simplicities of life had been followed by more complex relations, as is always inevitable with advancing civilization anywhere. Such a result must follow even an increase of numbers of population. When only a handful of people are clustered together, the conditions of living are very different from those which obtain in large towns and cities. The earliest settlements which fringed the coast line of New England and ventured a few score miles inland along the banks of the principal rivers, for many years were small and feeble colonies drawn from the main hive by hunger for land and adventure and elbow room. The spirit of independence, even of duly constituted and reverently recognized authorities, burned with passionate intensity in the breasts of the settlers and their descendants. They coveted individual place and influence to an extent that was not feasible in the older and larger communities. And each new settlement was for a more or less extended period marked by such crudities and roughnesses as had for a time marked the beginnings of the older towns.

Though Westfield was settled less than forty years after the Puritan immigration under Winthrop began the Bay settlements, and for various causes its growth had been slow, still, at the beginning of the Revolutionary period it had advanced to a considerable degree along the line of civilization. It was still a frontier town, but versed in the orderly conduct of affairs, the home of people who had made some progress in culture and refinement. Industry and frugality had relieved

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much of the stress and pain of the earlier poverty, though the people, even those most resourceful, while comfortable, were still but moderately circumstanced. Dwellings and schools, though still humble, had been improved in appearance and convenience. Much land had been brought under cultivation and infant industries had been fostered, precursors of the vast establishments which during recent years have furnished employment to thousands of artisans.

The people had not fully recovered from the losses consequent upon the century of conflict with savage enemies and their allies from oversea, but each successive year did something in the way of restoration, and the blessings of long delayed peace filled the popular heart with gratitude and hope. The times were generally propitious and encouraging.

Franklin wrote to Joshua Badcock, London, January 13, 1772: "I have lately made a tour through Ireland and Scotland. In those countries a small part of the society are landlords, great noblemen, and gentlemen, extremely opulent, living in the highest affluence and magnificence. The bulk of the people are tenants, extremely poor, living in the most sordid wretchedness, in dirty hovels of mud and straw, and clothed only in rags. I often thought of the happiness of New England, where every man is a free-holder, has a vote in public affairs, lives in a tidy warm house, has plenty of good food and fuel, with whole clothes from head to foot, the manufacture perhaps of his own family."

Such felicitous conditions doubtless prevailed in Westfield as elsewhere. The tasks of self-government had been faithfully performed while larger and broader political problems which fretted the statesmen of the Commonwealth were carefully and solicitously considered by the more thoughtful of the inhabitants of this town and its sister communities. The early New Englanders were natural politicians. They had to be such in self-defense. From the very beginnings of settlement until the issues of the great conflict with the mother country were finally decided and its results were formally confirmed, there never was the time when the people could relax their alertness or abate their struggle to defend their hard-earned liberties from the encroachments of foreign authorities.

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Every town in New England, from the metropolis on the Bay to the remotest and smallest hamlet on the frontier, was vitally interested in the machinations of the Court of Saint James, in the bickerings and ambitions of English politicians, in the plans and acts of Parliament, Cabinet and Lords of Trade. The mother country and her children in the Colonies were wrestling with new and perplexing problems of government. Policies never before tried had to be attempted and tested by practical experience in order to determine their justice and value to both parties concerned, looking at them respectively from widely different points of view, and each eager to gain from the other the larger personal advantage. The conflict of authority was constant and intense, often bitter and desperate. Years of friction resulted in some mutual adjustments, while still great points at issue remained unsettled. The Englishmen on this side of the sea resented the attempts of narrow and misguided countrymen in the homeland to deprive them of inalienable, essential rights under the time-honored British Constitution. Basal principles were at stake which New Englanders could not permit the Crown to override without self-stultification and self-destruction. During the whole progress of the extended and exasperating conflict they contended for the ancestral right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The demand was vocal in their souls long before it found formal expression from the pen of Jefferson in the immortal Declaration of Independence.

An item in Mr. Ballantine's Diary copied in a previous Chapter concerns rioting in Boston when the house of Gov. Hutchinson was sacked and considerable property besides was destroyed. It was not a matter of great magnitude, yet, after the repeal of the Stamp Act, great stress was laid upon it by the Crown authorities. Indeed, one of the seven Resolves of Parliament passed in connection with the repeal dealt with the matter of indemnification of any persons who had suffered in relation to the matter. Persons who had manifested a desire to comply with or to assist in carrying into execution the obnoxious acts were entitled to the protection of the House, according to the fourth, fifth and sixth Resolves. All such persons "ought to have full and ample compensation

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made to them by the respective Colonies for any injury or damage sustained by reason of their dutiful conduct."

Such was the formal claim, and Gov. Bernard did not allow it to be forgotten. He impressed upon the General Court when it next assembled in May, 1766, the demand "that full and ample compensation be made to the late sufferers by the madness of the people."

The House voted to refer the matter "to the next session of the Court that the members of the House may consult their constituents thereon." When in response he pressed it again upon the attention of the members, they replied that they had "the greatest abhorrence of the madness and barbarity of those persons who were the instruments of their sufferings," but that since "to make up their losses appears to this House not as an act of justice, but rather of generosity, they are in doubt whether they have any authority to make their constituents chargeable with it without their express consent." It was finally decided to frame a bill providing for compensation. What was the attitude of the people of Westfield toward the proposed legislation is clearly indicated by the following action:

"Legal Town Meeting. Oct. 22, 1766

"John Ingersoll was chosen Moderator for said Meeting.

"This Meeting was to see if the Town would give any instruction to their Representative considering the making up the loss of the sufferers in Boston.

"The vote was put to see if the town was willing to do anything toward making up the loss and it was voted in the negative.

"Voted also to choose a Committee to draw up instruction for their Representative to carry into the General Court.

"Capt. John Moseley, Capt. Wm Day, Mr. John Phelps, John Ingersoll, & Doct. Samuel Mather were chosen a Committee to draw up said instruction, then the meeting was adjourned to Friday the 24th of Oct. inst. sun one hour high at night.

"The Town met according to adjournment on Friday 24th inst.

"The Committee reported and the instruction was read in the meeting, viz.—

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THE GEN. WARHAM PARKS HOUSE.

This house stood on the lot now known as 24 Union Street. It was burned about 1874.

TOMBSTONE OF JOHN ROOT.

Probably the oldest in the old cemetery. John Root was an original settler and a "Foundation man" of the church.

THE OLD INGERSOLL HOUSE.

This house stood a few rods southwest of the County bridge on the old highway from Northampton to Windsor, Conn. It was built about 1698 by John Ingersoll, son of John the original settler, on the home lot granted to the latter in 1678-9. It was burned in July, 1890.

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"At a legal meeting Oct. 24th, 1766, the inhabitants of the town of Westfield met to give instruction to Eldad Taylor Esq. Representative of our said town, Your Constituents hereby direct and inform you as our Representative, not to give in your vote at General Court that any Tax should be laid upon the Inhabitants of this Province to make up any loss that any particular Gentlemen have sustained within the Province by reason of the late mob. The town having heard the above report of instruction, they voted to accept of it.

John Ingersoll
John Mosely
Wm Day
Samuel Mather
John Phelps
} Committee for the town of Westfield."

It is deplorable that the town records for several years at this critical period in the affairs of the Province are lost. There is none preserved for the years respectively 1767, 1768, 1769, and 1773. What action, if any, was spread upon the pages for those years must be left solely to conjecture.

It was not until May 25, 1774, that any further record bearing upon public affairs appears. Under that date the following action was taken.

"Mr. Elisha Parks was chosen Moderator.

"2nd article

"To see what answer the Town will make to a letter received from the Town Clerk of Boston, setting forth the sore calamities that their town labours under.

"After some discourse upon the letter of grievance from ye Town Clerk of Boston

"It was voted to appoint a Committee of 5 men to enquire into the state of Boston as it is represented in their letter and of the public calamities of the present time and report.

"Eldad Taylor, Mr. Elisha Parks, Mr. John Phelps, John Ingersoll Esq. & Doct. Samuel Mather were chosen a Committee for that purpose."

The report of that Committee is thus recorded:

"At a legal town meeting of the Inhabitants of Westfield in the County of Hampshire the 19th day of July 1774—

"Whereas the late House of Representatives of this

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Province on the 17 day of June last past taking in consideration the many distresses and difficulties into which the American Colonies and this Province in particular are & must be reduced by the operation of Certain late Acts of Parliament did resolve and determine that it is Highly Expedient that a Committee shall be appointed to meet the Committees that are, or shall be appointed by the several British Colonies on this Continent to consult together on the present state of the Colonies & to deliberate and determine upon the Proper measures to be by them recommended to all ye Colonies for the recovery & establishment of their Just rights & Liberties & the restoring of that Union and Harmony Between Great Britain and the Colonies ardently desired by all good men, and did on the same day appoint a Committee of five Gentlemen to meet said Committees on the first day of September at the city of Philadelphia for the purposes aforesaid.

"Voted—Unanimously—that we the Inhabitants aforesaid and in Town meeting assembled, do cordially approve of the above measures, taken by the said House and most fervently pray that the Great Father of ye Universe out of his abundant goodness would bless their Meeting & afford them that Wisdom that is profitable to direct upon measures most salutary to extricate us from ye difficulties & distress under which we are labouring, and that we are cheerfully ready to adopt and strictly to adhere to any measures that said Congress may recommend relative to said relief not inconsistent with our duty to God and allegiance to our rightful Sovereign George the Third. And in the meantime we shall encourage our own manufacturies and discountenance the unnecessary use of India Teas & British Goods and that we shall not be wanting in Charity to ye Town of Boston & Charlestown in this distressing day, but think that they ought to be relieved & sustained until the sense of the Colonies may be had touching their conduct, and shall send them that relief that their circumstances and our abilities upon due consideration had, shall dictate & direct.

"The foregoing was voted to be accepted by the Town unanimously & the Clerk of the Town is desired to forward it to the Chairman of the Congress at Boston & that it may be Publicly entered in ye Publick Prints."

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There is no uncertain sound in that document. It rings true in every line and syllable. The people of Westfield responded to the call of the hour with enthusiasm and devotion which none can gainsay. If the town records of this preliminary period are more scanty than we could wish, such as remain glow with most intense patriotism. Westfield was not hampered and overawed by an influential group of loyalists like Northampton and other of the northern towns of the County. If possibly we don't know who constituted its earliest Committee of Correspondence and Safety, we know that there was abundant material for such Committee when it was instituted.

Trevelyan, with grim humor, gives an account of the futile efforts which were made in various towns to hold court and the experiences of several Judges, whose persons, however, were respected:

"They took their seats at Boston only to learn that those citizens who had been returned as jurors one and all refused the oath. A great multitude marched into Springfield, with drums and trumpets, and hoisted a black flag over the Court House, as a sign of what any one might expect who entered it in an official capacity. At Worcester the members of the tribunal with all their staff walked in procession, safe and sorry, through a quarter of a mile of street lined on each side by people drawn up six deep. These militia men (for such they were) had their company officers to command them, and wanted nothing to make them a military force except the fire arms which were standing ready at home, and which two out of every three amongst them could handle more effectively than an average European soldier. Wherever the Judges went, if once they were fairly inside a town, they were not allowed to leave it until they had plighted their honour that they would depart without transacting any legal business." (American Revolution. Part I, pp. 196–7.)

It was the regular session of the County Court of General Sessions of Peace which was thus interrupted at Springfield on Aug. 30.

Mr. Judd in his Diary thus alludes to the affair which stirred the region so deeply: "Vast numbers gone from the West by way of Westfield," and added the following day,

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"hear this Morning that 3 or 4000 People were collected that they would not let the Court sit. Afterwards they trimmed some of the court all opposition was in vain every Body submitted to our Sovereign Lord the Mob—Now we are reduced to a State of Anarchy, have neither Law nor any other Rule except the Law of Nature which [is] much vitiated and Darkened to go by."

This was so significant an event in local as well as provincial history as to warrant the quotation of much of a long letter by an eyewitness of the momentous proceedings. It is still further justified by the numerous touches of local color, incidents relating to prominent personages of the mother-town of the County, which crowd it.

The letter was written by Joseph Clarke of Northampton, law-partner of Major Joseph Hawley, the most illustrious patriot of western Massachusetts, and is given by Trumbull in his History of Northampton. The Mr. Parsons referred to was the keeper of the tavern on Court Square, licensed first in 1773, and famous for many succeeding years.

"Springfield, Aug. 30th, 1774.

* * * We arrived in town about noon this day and found all the people gathered before us. A committee from the body of the county had just waited upon the court to demand a satisfactory answer, that is, whether they meant to hold their commissions and exercise their authority according to the new act of Parliament for altering the constitution of the province, which being answered in the negative, It was put to vote after the sd message & answer were read to the people assembled before the meeting house, whether they were willing the Court should sit; it passed in the negative.

"Then the people paraded before Mr. Parsons's from thence marched back again to the meeting house and demanded the appearance of the judges. The judges came according to desire, and amidst the crowd in a sandy, sultry place, exposed to the sun as far as they were able in such circumstances, gave a reasonable, &, to the major part, a satisfactory answer to such questions as were asked.

"It was also demanded of them that they should make a declaration in writing, signed by all the justices and lawyers in the County, renouncing in the most express terms any

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commission which should be given out to them or either of them under the new arrangement, which was immediately complied with and executed accordingly.

"The People then reassembled before Mr. Parsons's house. Your uncle Catlin [a noted tory] falling into a personal quarrel, at length gained the attention of the people. They considered him as an object worthy of their malice, as he was an officer of the court. He was treated with candor and too mildly to make any complaint. His boasted heroism failed him in the day of trial, and vanished like a puf of smoak. He and O. Warner, who came to his assistance in the quarrel, made such declarations as were requested of them, and then were dismissed, unhurt, and in peace. Your uncle may say what he pleases with regard to their abuse of him, but I was an eyewitness to the whole, and you I believe will be satisfied that no abuse was intended when I tell you what easy terms were requested & were satisfied with, namely, only a declaration that he would not hold any office under the new act of parliament.

"Col. Worthington was next brought upon the board. The sight of him flashed lightning from their eyes. Their spirits were already raised and the sight of him gave them additional force. He had not refused his new office of counsellor. For that reason especially he was very obnoxious. But the people kept their tempers. He attempted to harangue them in mittagation of his conduct, but he was soon obliged to desist. The people were not to be dallied with. Nothing would satisfy them but a renunciation in writing of his office as Counsellor and a recantation of his address to Gov. Gage, which last was likewise signed by Jona. Bliss & Caleb Strong, Jr.

"Jonathan Bliss next came upon the floor, he was very humble and the people were very credulous. He asked their pardon for all that he had said or done which was contrary to their opinions; and as he depended for his support upon the people, he begged to stand well in their favor.

"Mr. Moses Bliss was brought into the ring, but the accusation against him was not well supported and he passed off in silence. The Sheriffe was the next who was demanded; he accordingly appeared. He was charged with saying some imprudent things, but none of them were proved, & he departed.

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But he was humbled. Col. Williams took the next turn. He went round the ring and vindicated himself from some accusations thrown upon him and denied some things that were laid to his charge.

"He declared in my hearing that altho' he had heretofore differed from the people in opinion with regard to the mode of obtaining redress, he would, hereafter, heartily acquiesce in any measures, that they should take for that purpose, and join with them in the common cause. He considered his interest as embarked in the same bottom with theirs, and hoped to leave it in peace to his Children.

"Capt. Merrick of Munson was next treated with for uttering imprudent expressions. I thought that they would have tarred and feathered him, and I thought he almost deserved it. He was very stubborn, as long as he dare be, but at length he made some concessions. But not till after they had carted him. No men received the least injury, but the strictest order of justice were observed. The people to their honor behaved with the greatest order & regularity, a few individuals excepted, and avoided, as much as possible, confusion.

"The people of each town being drawn into separate companies, marched with staves & musick. The trumpets sounding, drums beating, fifes playing and Colours flying, struck the passions of the soul into a proper tone, and inspired martial courage into each.

"I kept all the time amongst the people, and observed their temper and dispositions, which I shall be better able to inform by word of mouth than otherwise. * * The people will probably be condemned for preventing the sitting of the court but their conduct yet is comendable."

That letter is full of side lights on the state of the popular mind at that crucial period of provincial history. What Judd denominated the "Sovereign Law the Mob" was evidently a very self-restrained and reasonable monarch, differing widely in spirit and in method from the sovereign across the water who was subjecting a loyal and affectionate people to cruel indignities and overt acts of tyranny. If the Springfield mob on that 30th day of August, 1774, infringed upon the personal liberties of a few fellow citizens it was done with no

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brutal harshness, and to an extent no greater than the exigencies of the case demanded. It was done to gratify no personal or political ambition, but simply in defense of the liberties of many communities of people who honored and obeyed laws which did not transgress essential principles of truth and right; in short, to protect Massachusetts and her sister Colonies from the menace of weapons more dreadful than the tomahawk and scalping knife of painted savages, or the musket and saber of European battalions.

There were men from Westfield among those sturdy patriots, ready not only for such a bloodless conflict with officers of the Crown and those who were unpatriotic enough to side with them, but ready also, when the issue became more pronounced, to go to the front where bullets sang and blood flowed.

The action in Springfield at the end of that summer was but a prelude to, and a step toward, the more tragic and decisive action which was to be taken before another summer should be ushered in.

That the public pulse was throbbing excitedly is farther evidenced by another event in the rapidly maturing crisis. Less than a month after the Springfield incident just narrated, there was an important gathering of the citizens of the County, similar in purpose to the Berkshire meeting in July. It is foreshadowed in the following action of the town at a meeting held Sept. 19, 1774, the chairman of which was Capt. John Mosely. The record reads:

"This Meeting was in consequence of a letter from ye Committee of Correspondence from Springfield to see if ye will send a delegate or Delegates to Northampton to meet ye Gentlemen from other towns of this County on Thursday 22nd of Sept. inst. to consult and deliberate on ye present distressing times.

"After some discussion it was voted unanimously to send 3 persons to represent them in a County Congress and it was voted that Eldad Taylor, Capt. John Mosely & Mr. Elisha Parks be delegated for the proposed Meeting."

There were delegates representing Northampton, four of whom were among the nine members of its Committee of Correspondence. Joseph Hawley was the first named in each. The chairman of the Convention was Timothy Danielson of

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Brimfield, who the next year was Colonel of the Regiment of Minute Men in which William Shepard of Westfield was Lieutenant Colonel.

The formal result of this important local Convention, as prepared by a Committee of nine appointed for the purpose, was a thoughtful, reasonable, calm, and forcible setting forth of the points at issue between Crown and Colony, and its earnest recommendations were worthy of ratification by each town of the county and the people at large.

Whether or not the town of Westfield would have taken just such action as it did in several particulars without being fully acquainted with the spirit and recommendations of this County Congress, may not be matter of certain knowledge, but undoubtedly that action seems to indicate the definite and potent influence of that representative assembly at Northampton. It has all the features of a ratification of that recent meeting. At a town meeting held a week afterward, Sept. 30, "for Choice of Representatives to the General Court,—after some debate ye selectmen put to ye town to see if they would choose 2 Representatives. Voted affirmatively & Capt. John Mosely & Mr. Elisha Parks were chosen."

The fact that they were two of the five Selectmen that year, another of whom was Capt. William Shepard, evidences the attitude of the leading men of the town toward the burning questions of the day. As local leaders they were in full sympathy with influential patriots in other towns of the Province in the van of the great movements which were resistlessly sweeping the country toward its glorious destiny.

At the same meeting it was "Voted, that if the General Court doth not set constitutionally that our Representatives with the Representatives of the Province if they judge it expedient, do form themselves into a Congress unitedly to set at Concord or any other place where they may agree to consult the best interest and safety of the Province at this critical time."

The non-essentials of time and place could be adjusted to circumstances, but the great issues of constitutional liberty must be safeguarded and promoted at any cost.

As an illustration of what to the casual observer will seem like a descent from the sublime to the ridiculous, but as evidence also to the thoughtful student of civil affairs of the

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thoroughness and the scrupulous care for details with which the Fathers of the New England town bore their responsibilities in the body politic, consider the following votes which immediately succeed the one quoted above:

"Voted that Simeon Ashley be permitted to set a house on ye school land for himself to dwell in during ye towns pleasure.

"Voted to choose a Comtee to stake out ye bounds for the said house to be set & Elisha Parks Capt. John Mosely John Ingersoll Esqr. Nathl Weller and Aaron Bush were chosen such Committee."

Two of the above Committee at the same meeting had just been chosen Representatives in the General Court at that critical epoch in public affairs, and it was not considered to be beneath their dignity, with other prominent citizens, to mark out bounds for a dwelling house. No man, however prosperous or learned, considered himself demeaned by performing the most trifling civic duty. It had worth and importance in his eyes because related, more or less directly, to the general civic welfare. Some one had to attend to it, and he was none too good for the humble duty, though a member of the legislative body of the great Province, and fighting for its life with King and Parliament. Faithful in few things, they were faithful in much. That spirit and habit, indeed, were characteristic and healthful signs of that early life of Massachusetts in Church and State. Men were willing to bear personal burdens, even when involving pain and danger, for the public weal. And so must it ever be if nation, state, and town are to enjoy highest and largest prosperity.

The careful watch upon, and the deep interest in, public affairs of Mr. Ballantine, is evidenced by sundry entries in his Journal during the period of preliminary skirmishing before the death grapple in final conflict. As already quoted in a previous Chapter, they show that he and his people were alert to read the signs of the times and to be prepared, as far as possible, for whatever might eventuate.

During the session of eight weeks of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, word arrived from the Boston Committee of Correspondence announcing the threatening action of General Gage and asking for advice. The response of Congress was speedy and positive. A remonstrance was

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sent to General Gage and Resolves were passed approving "the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late Acts of Parliament." To this was added the declaration that "if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case all America ought to support them in their opposition." Other vigorous recommendations were urged, encouraging the Province in resistance of British usurpation. During that important session of the Continental Congress, a hardly less important session of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts was being held. Among the ninety Representatives who gathered were the two Westfield delegates, Col. John Mosely and Mr. Elisha Parks. Choice was made of John Hancock as Chairman. Its meeting for organization was held in Salem and soon afterward removal to Concord was decided upon, a move which was indirectly responsible for the opening gun of the Revolution. The proceedings of this Congress and of the one which followed it a month later in February, transacted while events were hastening toward the final crisis by leaps and bounds, were so significant, and Westfield, represented there by its duly appointed and instructed delegates, was so vitally related thereto, that an outline of those proceedings is here relevant.

Though warned by the Governor to desist from their "illegal and unconstitutional proceedings," they decided to sit with closed doors, and went boldly forward with the business in hand. They recommended "to the people of the Province an abhorrence and detestation of all kinds of East India teas," and "advised that every town and district appoint a Committee to post up in some public place the names of all * * * who should sell or consume so extravagant and unnecessary an article of luxury." They arranged for the usual day of thanksgiving, when special prominence should be given to the "union, so remarkably prevailing, not only in this Province, but throughout the Continent, at this alarming crisis." They determined to purchase ordnance stores, powder, and ammunition to an amount costing above twenty thousand pounds. They chose a permanent Committee of Safety with broad military authority; arranged for a complete organization of the militia, and a force of minute men consisting of one quarter of the whole military force of the Colony. They selected a

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Receiver-General to be the custodian of all public moneys, in the place of the royal Provincial Treasurer. The Counselors chosen by the last General Court but deposed by the Governor were invited to sit at their next meeting to give "the benefit of their advice."

After an adjournment of three weeks the Provincial Congress met again, ratified the proceedings of the Continental Congress, chose as members of the next session of the national body the four men who had been members of its first session, and added to them John Hancock, their own chairman; they urged the towns to contribute liberally for the relief of Boston and Charlestown, and the ministry to interest the people in favor of "the resolutions of the Continental Congress, as the most peaceable and probable method of preventing confusion and bloodshed."

They recommended to the towns to arm thoroughly and drill frequently the minute men, and to send Representatives to a similar Congress to convene several weeks later.

In anticipation of that event the town of Westfield provided for it at a meeting held Nov. 14, 1774, Deacon Joseph Root, Moderator: "Voted. That Mr. Elisha Parks and Capt. John Mosely be desired to attend the next session of the Congress at Cambridge."

At the same meeting it was also "Voted—and accepted the list of the soldiers as returned by the Committee, viz., Eldad Taylor, Elisha Parks, Dea. Joseph Root, Capt. John Mosely, Daniel Sacket, Jr., Daniel Fowler, Oliver Ingersoll, Capt. Wm Shepard appointed to made a division of the Town into 2 Companies."

Two months later, Jan. 5, 1775, at a meeting presided over by John Ingersoll, Esq., the Town "Voted to send 2 persons to attend the Congress at Cambridge the 1st day of Feb. next, and but one to attend at the same time except by instruction from ye town.

"Voted, that

Col. John Mosely & Elisha Parks be our delegates.

"Voted, that our Delegates shall not consent when in ye Provincial Congress to any acts that may be there made to take up Government or to assume Kingly authority."

Resolute in the defense of their charter rights, zealous in

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preparation to resist infringement thereupon, even ready to shed blood in the heroic struggle, they yet were loyal to the King and eager to have his authority maintained, if so be that he should exercise it with full respect to sacred constitutional limitations. In the above noted action of the town there is no suggestion of a craven spirit, no looking back after having put hand to the plow, no trace of disloyalty to the patriot cause, no shrinking from natural and logical results of action taken at various times by the town in view of impending issues. It was indicative of the almost universal attitude of Massachusetts and the most progressive and alert leaders and people of the other Provinces in the delicate, anxious and perplexing position to which they had been driven by the exigencies of the period. They were not yet rebels, but they were protestants in imminent danger of becoming such. The die had not yet been cast, and deeply did they dread the necessity that it should be.

The services of Mosely and Parks as delegates were rewarded by the town to an extent that could barely have met their personal expenses for travel and board. The Town Treasurer's book shows the following items during the year 1774:

"Col. Elisha Parks for attending Congress 48 days at 6/ per day 14/8/0.

Col. John Mosely for a bull	40/–
2½ yds shirting for Mary Trill	5/8
for 2 qts Brandy for Mr Trill	1/6
to Attending Congress 33 days 6/	£9.18.0 "

Those sums in the depreciated currency of the times did not leave them any large amount for luxurious festivities. Nor would they have felt the loss of them while engaged in the solemn and strenuous work which had to be prosecuted.

The Second Provincial Congress of Massachusetts convened at Cambridge in February, 1775, with two hundred and thirty Deputies in attendance, two and a half times as many as were at the first Congress in the autumn, showing that interest in its proceedings and in the cause which it promoted had spread among the towns.

It adopted Resolves which condemned the sale of "materials of war and of straw to the British troops which might

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be wanted by the inhabitants of the Province, in case they should be driven to the hard necessity of taking up arms in their own defence." It extended the powers of the Committee of Safety and the General Officers so that they should be better able to resist by force any efforts to execute the Acts of Parliament "for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay." It arranged for the custody of arms and other military stores and their distribution whenever "the constitutional army should take the field."

American manufacturers of firearms and bayonets were encouraged, the inhabitants were recommended through the public press "immediately to prepare against every attempt that might be made to attack them by surprise," since from "the tenor of intelligence from Great Britain and general appearances, there was reason to apprehend that the sudden destruction of this Colony, in particular, was intended." A recess of five weeks having been taken, in the light of latest information from over the sea, all hopes of redress by peaceful methods were blighted.

A Resolve was sent to the newspapers "that the measures which have heretofore been recommended by this and the former Provincial Congress, for the purpose of putting this Colony into a complete state of defence, be still most vigorously pursued by the several towns, as well as individual inhabitants, and that any relaxation would be attended with the utmost danger to the liberties of this Colony and of all America; especially, as by the latest advices from Great Britain, we have undoubted reason for jealousy, that our implacable enemies are unremitting in their endeavors, by fraud and artifice as well as by open force, to subjugate this people."

There is a note in that deliverance more belligerent than had been sounded before, a note of anxiety and defiance which was premonitory of events which were about to happen with startling suddenness, just as death always produces a shock however long it may have been feared and anticipated.

After having made other provisions for the public welfare and defense, the Congress adjourned only four days before the firing of "the shot that was heard around the world." During the session of several weeks a considerable amount of arms and ammunition had been collected under the direction

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of the Congress at Concord, which was the special object of the expedition of British regulars on April 19. Relations had become so strained that there had to be a break somewhere, and it happened to occur there. Another "Seven Years' War," more terrible and sanguinary than the earlier French and Indian one, was thus inaugurated.

The people of Westfield, realizing increasing responsibilities, held a meeting Feb. 6, 1775.

"Col. Elisha Parks chosen Moderator.

"2nd thing in ye warrant,

"To see if ye Town will do anything to encourage the Company of ye Minute Men who have generously offered their servic to ye Public. Voted in ye affirmative.

"Voted—To appoint a Committee to Examine & Look up the arms that is reported to be in ye Town belonging to ye Province or private persons and to se how they can be obtained for ye Minute men & report to ye Town.

"Voted—To chuse seven for a Committee—Doct. Ashley, Saml Fowler, Capt. Shepard, Colo. Parks, Martin Root, John Atwater & Ensign R. Falley.

"Voted—To chuse a Comitty of five persons to receive Donations for ye use of ye poor of Boston.

"Dea. Joseph Root, Eldad Taylor, Mr. John Phelps, John Ingersoll Esq. & Lt. David Weller.

"Article 4th—To see if ye Town will appoint a Comtee of Correspondence & Committee of Inspection & to carry into execution the Resolves of the Grand Provincial Congress.

"Voted—to chuse a Comitee of 13 Persons—Doct. Mather, Colo. John Mosely, Capt. Wm Shepard, Eldad Taylor Esq. Colo. Parks, Daniel Mosely, Daniel Fowler, Capt. David Mosely, Dea. Joseph Root, William Sacket, Samuel Fowler, Lt. John Shepard Jr., Mr. John Phelps, were chosen as above Committee.

"Article 5th—Is to see what directions the Town will give to ye Assessors & Constables with regard to paying unto the Treasurer or ordering the hand of the Province receiver the moneys now outstanding.

"Voted. That the sum or sums of money that is assessed & to be collected be lodged with the Town Treasurer untill further order from the Town.

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"Voted to adjourn this meeting one fortnight to Monday the 20 of this inst February at 2 o'clock P. M."

"The Town met according to adjournment. The Committee appointed to search for Province Guns & to see what may be Procured for ye use of ye Minute Men on a sudden Emergence—Reported that they found in the hands of Sundry Persons some province arms with what can be hired is between 30 or 40 & a few Bagganets.

"Voted. To appoint a Comtee to Provide necessary Provision for those Persons that are not able to Provide for themselves & to see that all Persons be immediately Equipt with Military accoutrements as the law of the Province requires.

"Voted. That the Committee of Correspondence be a Comtee to adjoyne with the Selectmen to make the necessary Provision as granted above.

"Voted—by Great Majority that there, or may, be raised a Company of Minute men.

"Voted—That minute men shall have 1/ for half day Exercising, spending 4 hours once a week untill the last of May next.

"Voted—that ye Town do desire the Minute Men to Reinstate themselves into their Company again."

The great importance of that meeting is manifest from the record of its acts. More definite action than heretofore was taken regarding the organizing and equipping of the minute men who soon afterward played so important a part in the initial movements of the opening campaign. How they were all provided with arms before starting for Boston is a mystery if the researches of the Committee into the town armament were at all thorough, since there were found between 30 and 40 guns, and 53 men marched in the first company.

That the above thirteen men constituted the first Committee of Correspondence seems probable. It may be questioned why Westfield was so tardy in attending to that important business. Northampton elected its Committee in the preceding September, Springfield at about the same time, and Pittsfield a few months later. When finally elected the Committee was worthy of the honor thus conferred, composed as it was of Westfield's noblest citizens.

Doctor Samuel Mather, son of a physician of the same name in Windsor, Conn., was born in 1737, in Northampton,

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whither his Father had removed in 1730. The son moved to Westfield and July 30, 1761, was married by Rev. John Ballantine to Grace Moseley. She was a daughter of the first David Moseley, and the sister of Hannah who in 1753 married their cousin, Col. John Moseley. Doctor Mather was a noted practitioner and a useful citizen of Westfield until his death, Dec. 7, 1808.

Of the three Moseleys upon the Committee, Col. John, son of Quartermaster John, was born in 1725, and his cousin Capt. David, was ten years his junior. Daniel, their cousin, son of Consider Moseley, was the eldest, having been born in 1714.

Col. Elisha Parks, or Ensign, as he was commonly called, came to Westfield from Worcester with his brother Josiah. Mr. Ballantine offered prayers for them in 1766, upon the death of their Father.

Elisha married, 1751, Mary Ingersoll, daughter of Thomas. Their son Warham, born in 1752, became a Revolutionary General of whom the town had good reason to be proud.

John Phelps married Mercy Moseley, another cousin of Col. John, a sister of Grace and Hannah.

Lieut. John Shepard, Jr., was the Father of Gen. William Shepard.

Eldad Taylor was the youngest of Rev. Edward Taylor's children.

At a Town Meeting held April 10, 1775, Col. John Moseley, Moderator, the third article in the warrant was "to see if the Town will take any measures to procure powder and warlike stores—voted in ye affirmative.

"Voted—to raise the sum of 25 pounds for to procure powder."

Shortly before the outbreak of the Revolutionary struggle the following report of the town's resources was published:

"Westfield Property List, 1771.—299 Polls & 16 more. 162 houses. 27 shops. 7 mills. Annual worth of Real Estate, 1601.11.11. 10 slaves. 900 stock on hand. £1407 money at interest. Horses—251, Oxen—310, Cows—384, Sheep—1300, Swine—431. Amount of Pasturage 1087 acres. Acres of Tillage 2338. Grain 13590 bushels. 1261 barrels of cider. 327 acres N & E mowing 429 tons of hay. 960 fresh meadow. 795 tons of hay." (Judd Mss., Forbes Library.)

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CHAPTER II.

The Maturing Struggle

The detailed account just given of the proceedings of the two Provincial Congresses affords ample evidence that the incredible swiftness with which the military forces of Massachusetts massed themselves in the vicinity of Boston immediately after the Lexington Alarm was not due to a sudden spasm of patriotism stung into action by an outrage upon the body politic. The people had made careful and thorough preparation for an emergency, and when aware that it had eventuated they simply carried out well matured plans. It is interesting to dwell thoughtfully upon the ways along which New England had been preparing for the terrific revolutionary struggle. This theme has proved fascinating to many a historical student.

The fact that the Colonists in this region of the new world inherited the intense religious traditions which filled them with the consciousness that they were chosen of God to peculiar rights and peculiar responsibilities in this new country, gave them the zeal and the confidence of religious fanatics. Soldiers thus inspired have ever made doughty warriors. "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon" is a thrilling battle cry. The zealots under Mahomet and the Ironsides under Cromwell were terrible adversaries. Something of their spirit inflamed the Colonists in successive generations as they fought with painted savages or uniformed battalions from foreign shores for the homes which they had built and the institutions which they had founded in the wilderness.

And the long series of wars which they had waged already were important features of the discipline which fitted them for another conflict. They were thereby trained, not only in the use of arms, but also in endurance of the rigors of campaigning in all seasons and in all weathers. The hardships thus suffered by those in active service, and the scarcely less rigorous sufferings of those left at home, upon whom fell responsibility for providing necessities of common life, food,

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fuel, raiment and other essentials, developed toughness of fiber, self-reliance, courage of soul, power of initiative, general resourcefulness, which were of inestimable value to the generation which had to grapple with the trained tacticians and the professional soldiery of Great Britain. The mental and moral benefits of the discipline received by the common people in town meeting and in the General Court, where affairs local and provincial were thoroughly discussed and great issues were threshed out, were of inestimable value to a people who were contending for broad constitutional prerogatives and passionately struggling to work out a glorious destiny. The rank and file of the provincial militia were no soldiers of fortune, no hirelings ready to sell brain and brawn to the highest bidder, to campaign on any field whither they might be ordered. They were freemen combined to preserve a magnificent territory and institutions of inestimable worth from vandal hands, and to pass them on, a unique inheritance, to generations yet unborn.

It has been said with manifest truth, that "the war of the Revolution commenced long before the soil of Lexington drank revolutionary blood."

The British ministry had no adequate conception of the extent to which this preparation had been carried by the Provincials who were proving so bold and so obstinate in protesting against the invasion of their rights.

A British officer in Boston wrote to friends at home: "As to what you hear of their taking arms to resist the force of England, it is mere bullying, and will go no further than words. Whenever it comes to blows, he that can run the fastest will think himself best off. Believe me, any two regiments here ought to be decimated if they do not beat in the field the whole force of the Massachusetts province: for though they are numerous, they are but a mob, without order or discipline, and very awkward at handling their arms." (Frothingham's Siege of Boston, p. 44.)

What a change must have come over the spirit of the writer's dreams after the revelations of provincial valor at Lexington and Bunker Hill! The exact hour at which the news of Lexington reached Westfield is not ascertainable. Green says that Capt. Elihu Kent with a company of fifty-nine men from Suffield reached Springfield on the 20th, took supper

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and pressed on. In case of the truth of the statement, there must be good ground for the tradition that on the same day the Westfield company of minute men started for the new seat of war. Bartlett, in his list of the company, dates the beginning of their term of service on that day. Trumbull says that the news of the battle reached Northampton on the morning of the 21st, and according to Smith it reached Pittsfield at noon on that day.

There is no question respecting the method whereby the momentous tidings were conveyed. In the archives of the city clerk's office of Springfield is the original bulletin brought across the hundred miles of intervening territory by courier.

"Watertown, Wednesday Morning 10 o'clock.

"To all friends of American liberty: Be it known that this morning before break of day a brigade consisting of about 1,000 or 1,200 men landed at Phips farm in Cambridge and marched to Lexington, where they found a company of our colony militia in arms: upon whom they fired without any provocation and killed six and wounded four others. By an express this moment from Boston we find another brigade are now on their march from Boston, supposed to be about 1,000.

"The bearer, Mr. Isaac Russell, [is] charged to alarm the country quite to Connecticut, and all persons are desired to furnish him with such horses as they may be needed.

"I have spoken with several persons who have seen the dead and wounded.

"Pray let the delegates from this colony to Connecticut see this.

"They know

J. Palmer

"One of the Com. of S———y
"Col. Foster is one of the delegates.

"A true Coppy"

Having started before noon on the 19th from Watertown, there is no improbability in the claim that he covered the distance of somewhat over ninety miles to Springfield in twenty-four hours. Hence the Westfield company of minute

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men must have been warned, gathered and started not much if any later than the company from Suffield.

We have no record of the incidents of the reception of the startling intelligence in Westfield and of the hurried preparations for the march which followed. Fortunately, however, records of such incidents in two towns respectively of old Hampshire County have been preserved and are quoted by Holland in his History of Western Massachusetts, records which are so interesting as to be well worthy of quotation here. They suggest what must have been, in general outline, experiences in other towns of the Province in those times which tried men's souls. The first account is taken from Willard's History of Greenfield:

"Immediately after the battle of Lexington the towns received circulars, by express or otherwise, and the people of this town assembled *instanter*, on the afternoon of the day on which the intelligence was received. It is related of one individual, Mr. Elijah Mitchel, that being in the village at the time, he went home on foot, a mile or more West, and returned with his equipments ready to march in fifteen minutes from the time he started. The suddenness of the gathering reminds us of Scott's beautiful description of the gathering of a Scottish clan, summoned in the hour of danger by the rapid passage over hill and dale of the cross of fire, sending far around its beacon light. There were two military companies, one of which, under Capt. Agrippa Wells, met in the village, and the other at the North meeting house, under Capt. Ebenezer Wells. A great number assembled at the meeting house. With few exceptions, this assembled throng, the bowed with age, and the stripling with scarce the down upon his cheek, were ardent in the patriot cause: the ardor spread from heart to heart as the story was told that American blood had been shed by British soldiery.

"It was immediately proposed that Thomas Loveland, the drummer, should take a station on the horse-block, under an elm at the South side of the Common, and beat the long roll for volunteers. It was accordingly done and sounded far and wide among the woods and fields. The officers of the company, Capt. E. Wells, Lt. Allen, and Ensign J. Severance, were there but stood aloof, dissuading from the adventure as

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savoring of treason and rebellion against the Government. They had not made up their minds to join the patriot cause. But the long roll of Thomas Loveland had done its work. There was an overwhelming majority for the contest. The cautious advice of their respected and beloved officers, hitherto listened to with respect, and obediently followed, was now no more regarded than the passing breeze. Upon the first beating of the long roll, first and foremost, stood out that hardy, industrious and bold yeoman, Benjamin Hastings, a William Wallace in intrepidity and determined bravery. Who so daring as to come next and risk the halter? It were difficult to say: the whole mass was in motion, on that bleak and barren old common, Trap Plain. The assembled townsmen volunteered almost to a man. The long roll of Thomas Loveland was electric and contagious."

Under Capt. Timothy Childs, the company started on the day following.

The other account is taken from the Barre Gazette:

"When the intelligence reached New Salem, the people were hastily assembled on the village green by the notes of alarm. Every man came with his gun, and other hasty preparations for a short march. The militia of the town were then divided into two companies, one of which was commanded by Capt. G. This company was paraded before much consultation had been had upon the proper steps to be taken in the emergency, and while determination was expressed on almost every countenance, the men stood silently leaning on their muskets, awaiting the movement of the spirit in their officers. The Captain was supposed to be tinctured with toryism, and his present indecision and backwardness were ample proof, if not of his attachment to royalty, at least of his unfitness to lead a patriot band. Some murmurs began to be heard, when the first Lieutenant, William Stacy, took off his hat and addressed them. He was a man of stout heart but a few words. Pulling his commission from his pocket, he said, 'Fellow soldiers, I don't know exactly how it is with the rest of you, but for one, I will no longer serve a King that murders my own countrymen'; and tearing the paper in a hundred pieces, he trod it under his foot. Sober as were his people by nature, they could not restrain a loud, wild hurra,

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as he stepped forward and took his place in the ranks. G. still faltered, and made a feeble endeavor to restore order; but they heeded it as little as the wind. The company was summarily disbanded, and a reorganization begun on the spot. The gallant Stacy was unanimously chosen Captain, and with a prouder commission than was ever borne on parchment, he led a small but efficient band to Cambridge. He continued in service during the war, reaching, before its close, the command of Lieutenant Colonel under Putnam."

Whether or not any such instances of reluctance marked the gathering of the people of Westfield, cannot be known. From the patriotic spirit which evidently marked them in the successive actions taken in town meetings, and marked also their leaders, there must have been no such hesitation in taking up arms and rushing to the scene of conflict. Their meeting house at that period stood on the corner of what we now know as Meadow and Main Streets. Naturally their drill ground would have been near that center of civic life, on what was not long since known as Hampden Park, north of Main Street and across Meadow Street west of the church. Gathered there the eager minute men must have been speeded on their toilsome journey by a prayer from the heart and lips of their beloved Parson Ballantine, whose house was opposite the training field, on Main Street. It was then not quite a year before his death. How deplorable that his Journal covering that critical period has not been preserved, that it might furnish us his comment upon the stirring incidents of the day! In the earlier wars he had often prayed with the soldiers when leaving home to face the hardships and terrors of bivouac and battlefield, and at this outbreak of the Revolution his patriotic soul must have been molten with zeal for the sacred cause of American liberty.

According to the roster of Mr. Bartlett, taken from the Provincial records, the company which then started from Westfield consisted of fifty-two men, including the following officers: first lieutenant, John Shepard; second lieutenant, Zechariah Bush; sergeants, Benjamin Dewey, Moses Dewey, Gideon Shepard, Asa Noble; corporals, Israel Sackett, Roger Noble, Benjamin Winchell, James Nimocks. The drummer was Ruggles Winchell, and the fifer was Jedediah Taylor.

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The name of the Captain is not given, but the muster roll makes Lieutenant Shepard the commanding officer.

Among the old Westfield family names included in the list are six Deweys, two Taylors, two Sacketts, three Nobles, and the same number of Bushes and Gunns. All but sixteen of the fifty-three continued in service after the date, May 12, that terminated their original enlistment; and of those thus discharged, several enlisted again later in the war.

The provision of munitions of war made for this first company of minute men by the town is in the report of the Town Treasurer, Doct. Samuel Mather.

"April 20th 1775.

Received of the Town stock of Ammunition—

Three ½ Bbls. of Powder containing 50 lbs. each.

259 lbs Lead. and 912 Flints.

Taken out by the Selectmen 21¾ lbs. Lead Apr. 22, 1775. Powder taken out by the Selectmen's order 18 lbs,—which was delivered to the soldiers when they marched."

There follows in the Treasurer's book a list of 36 men who received powder out of the town stock, April 22, 1775. It is quite perplexing to note that there are several discrepancies between the list thus published and that of Mr. Bartlett. In this one, Wm. Twogood is named as Captain, the first lieutenant is Zadoc Martindale instead of John Shepard; the name of James Nimocks is not given as one of the corporals, or as a private. There are twenty-six names on Bartlett's list which do not appear on the Treasurer's, and six on the Treasurer's which do not appear on Bartlett's. According to Bartlett, who gives the weeks and days of each man's service, with the date of his discharge or re-enlistment, the company marched April 20th but the Treasurer charges them with powder on the 22d "when they marched." It is a matter of curious interest rather than of serious moment, but we naturally wish that the discrepancies might be solved. A possible explanation may be found in the hypothesis that Capt. Twogood, who is not included in the record of the minute men and others to whom powder and lead were issued on April 22, did not enter active service until later, while distribution of powder and lead is charged to both them and the minute men at the later date. The 52 men including both contingents were probably under

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pay from April 20. The Provincial Congress adjourned April 15, 1775, to meet again at Concord May 10 following, unless sooner called together by delegates from the towns immediately around Boston. Before they could be reassembled, action, stimulated by the Lexington tragedy, was taken by the Boston Committee of Safety at Newton, including a circular letter to be sent to each of the towns of the Province. Westfield must have received one of these stirring appeals.

"April 20, 1775.

"Gentlemen:— The barbarous murders committed upon our innocent brethren, on Wednesday, the 19th instant, have made it absolutely necessary that we immediately raise an army to defend our wives and children from the butchering hands of an inhuman soldiery, who, incensed at the obstacles they meet with in their bloody progress, and enraged at being repulsed from the field of slaughter, will, without the least doubts take the first opportunity in their power to ravage this country with fire and sword. We conjure you, therefore, by all that is sacred, that you give assistance in forming an army. Our all is at stake. Death and devastation are the certain consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious. An hour lost may deluge your country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of our posterity who may survive the carnage. We beg and entreat, as you will answer to your country, to your own consciences, and above all, as you will answer to GOD himself, that you will hasten and encourage by all possible means, the enlistment of men to form the army, and send them forward to headquarters at Cambridge with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affair demands."

We have no records of the action of the Westfield Committee of Safety, nor any reference upon the town records to show what specific response was made to this appeal. As soon as the Congress reassembled in response to the emergency call, April 23, a call for 30,000 men from the various Provinces was made, of which Massachusetts was to furnish 13,600. It was also decided to reduce the companies of militia to fifty-nine men each, with a captain and two subalterns. In considering what that quota meant to this Province it is to be

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remembered that her whole population in the following year, 1776, was only 338,627 as shown by the census.

It is impossible to determine just how many recruits went from Westfield in response to that call, but taking Mr. Bartlett's schedule of those who enlisted from among the company of minute men that hurried to the front upon the Lexington alarm, Westfield must have more than doubled its quota. He gives the names of thirty-eight men who enlisted, while on the basis of a population in the town of fifteen hundred, its quota would have been only eighteen. The Committee of Safety soon sent to the several towns a second appeal:

"Cambridge, April 29, 1775.

"Gentlemen: As many of the persons now in camp came from their respective towns without any expectation of tarrying any time, and are now under the necessity of returning, this is to desire you would, with the utmost haste, send other persons to supply their places, for a few days, until the enlistments are completed, and the men sent down to us."

The appeal was emphasized by a harrowing hypothesis respecting the danger that General Gage would speedily send his army to ravage the country. The towns in the neighborhood of Boston were to send half of their militia, and the rest of the inhabitants were to hold themselves "in readiness to march at a minute's warning"—thus, under the excitement of the sore emergency, failing to specify the able-bodied *male* inhabitants, and including inferentially women, children and cripples in the list of available minute men. How far from needing the spur of such an appeal Westfield was, is evidenced by the fact that of the fifty-two men who constituted her company of minute men, thirty-eight had already enlisted on the day before that call was dated.

During the year 1775, the Town Treasurer paid nine different persons for bread for soldiers; paid also Col. Elisha Parks £5.11.11 for Sundries for soldiers, and paid David Fowler for a Waggon to Roxbury at one time and again for a Horse & Waggon to Watertown, presumably used to haul various supplies, perhaps some of those for which Colonel Parks presented a bill, to minister to the needs of the Westfield soldiers in those places of encampment.

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There were a few Westfield men, Russel Dewey, David Shepard, Richard Falley and his son Frederick, but could not have been many besides, in the famous battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, when for the first time the raw Provincial militia, faint of body from hours of arduous toil and fasting, under a broiling summer sun, stood to their breastwork and twice repulsed the trained veterans of European campaigns. The Hampshire regiment, on duty on the other side of Boston, was not called into action on that day.

When a little later General Washington came from Hartford to Springfield en route to Cambridge to take command of the continental forces, he passed as near Westfield as Agawam, having forded Westfield River there with his coach and four, and was thence ferried across the Connecticut to be met by the Committee of the Provincial Congress deputed to welcome him and escort him to Headquarters at Cambridge. Another call was made by the Provincial Congress for men, 5000 this time, June 25, 1775, of which Westfield's quota was to be thirty-one, but on what principle of apportionment is a puzzling question, with population at its basis. A full battalion was thus raised in Hampshire intended for service in Canada and on the northern frontier, where in the following winter their sufferings were excruciating. The General Court attempted to provide for them in January, 1776, and issued a demand for blankets, the quota from Westfield being thirty-two while Springfield's was only twelve. It was necessary thus to depend on local supplies and to exact them of individual families out of their respective home stocks, because of the limited number of manufacturers of such articles. The same was true of clothing. When one order was issued by the Court for blankets, coats, stockings, shoes, the respective towns appointed their committees to collect them, paying for them in the paper money of the day which so soon became practically valueless, making such calls really assessments on the resources of the people, with no taxes levied to make good the currency received for them. Holland says, "The mode was, for the committees to go to a house, make up their minds whether the house was good for one, two, or three blankets, and then inform the householder that he must produce the articles, and take his pay for them. In many

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THE BEAUTIFUL MOSELEY HOMESTEAD ON UNION STREET.
Built by Captain William Moseley in 1786.

THE WASHINGTON TAVERN (So-Called).

Still standing at the end of Western Avenue, near where the original trail, and later cartway and road, leading to Kinderhook and Albany, turns up the mountain. It was built by a member of the Sackett family in early Revolutionary times. Stephen Sackett, born 1748, lived there after his marriage.

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instances, blankets were taken from beds in use, and were often given up with a cheerfulness that showed how hearty was the sympathy felt in the cause which called for the sacrifice." (History of Western Massachusetts, Vol. 1, pp. 215–6.)

It does not seem improbable that as a result of such requisitions there were people who shivered under inadequate protection from the cold in their home towns while soldiers suffered in the winter campaigns. There were no furnace-heated houses in those days, and though careful covering of hard wood coals at night kept hearthstones from becoming actually cold, there was not enough heat as the hours crept on even to keep the chill from rooms where the fireplaces were; as to the bedrooms which had no provision for heating, they were hardly less frigid than the air outside their walls.

The work of the Provincial Congress at its three sessions was so important to the patriot cause, taking the place for the time being of the General Court, which did not meet because of the tyrannous opposition of the British ministry and Governor, that any part played in its proceedings by the two Westfield Representatives is of interest in this connection. They are often mentioned in the carefully kept Journal of the Congress, having served on various committees and places of responsibility as its work advanced. Col. John Moseley and Elisha Parks, called variously "Ensign," "Mr.," "Capt." and "Col.," were honored by election as the town's delegates to each of the three sessions, held respectively Oct. 7, 1774, to Dec. 8 following; Feb. 1, 1775, to May 29 following, having adjourned for three weeks meantime; and May 31, 1775, to July 19 following. The various sessions were held at four different places as the business proceeded, Salem, Concord, Cambridge and Watertown.

The special services of Colonel Moseley are as follows, in the second and third Congresses respectively. He was appointed on the county committee for Hampshire with Major Joseph Hawley of Northampton, Col. Timothy Danielson of Brimfield, Mr. Noah Goodman of South Hadley, and Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley. He was sent express from Watertown to repair immediately to Cambridge to procure the result of the Committee of Safety in session there, "with respect to the moving out the inhabitants of Boston." A far more

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responsible task was assigned him early in May, 1775, when with six other members he was appointed to a "committee to enquire what number of province arms there are in the province, and in what place; and, in particular, that they apply to the committee of supplies to know what number of fire arms they have procured and how they have disposed of them."

The effort to equip properly the hastily gathered provincial army was beset by immense difficulties, which often proved, for the time being, insuperable. The committee of supplies was empowered and directed to procure in "any colony on the continent such a number of fire arms and bayonets, for the use of this colony as they shall think necessary." The first thought of the Massachusetts authorities, upon hearing of the cannon and ammunition captured by the daring Ethan Allen and his small command at Fort Ticonderoga in this month of May, 1775, was to procure, if by any means possible, a part of the armament for use about Boston.

May 8 it was "ordered that Col. Mosely and Major Bliss be, and are hereby, empowered and directed to collect all the province arms which are in the county of Hampshire."

On the same day Colonel Moseley was appointed on a committee "to confer with the committee of safety, with respect to settling the appointment of field officers."

In July he was placed on a committee "to consider the subject of a letter from Capt. James Noble" from Pittsfield, a native of Westfield as was his brother David, who led the company of Berkshire minute men immediately after the Lexington alarm and who will receive much more extended notice later.

The latest notice of Colonel Moseley in the Journal related to a minor matter of the expense of bringing ten prisoners from Machias.

Turning now to his fellow Representative, Col. Elisha Parks, we find that his first call was "to wait on the hon. general Ward, and hold a conference with him on the state of the army, and to desire him, as soon as may be, to inform the Congress, of the number and equipments of the troops raised by this colony, and now in the camps at Cambridge and Roxbury, and stationed elsewhere, that due advisement

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be had thereon." That was just ten days before the battle of Bunker Hill.

A few days later, he was put upon a committee of such importance that Major Hawley was made its chairman, "to take into consideration the artificers which may be necessary for the army in the pay of this colony, and that they report, as soon as may, in what way such artificers shall be established, the numbers wanted for the army at Cambridge and Roxbury of each kind, and the sum that is proper to be allowed them each month."

A committee previously appointed had ascertained from the Committee of Safety, and reported to the Congress, that thirteen armorers had been appointed already and that several others had been nominated, but that the general officers had agreed that no more were needed.

This gives special significance to action that was soon taken respecting Richard Falley of Westfield, an Ensign in Colonel Danielson's Regiment. A committee of three was appointed June 8 to consider his appointment in addition to the number already chosen. Its report was made to the Congress, June 13.

"That, whereas, it has been represented to your committee, that the armorers, or many of them, who are already established, are very imperfect in the business they profess, and that the above said Falley is a complete master of the same: in consideration of which your committee think it of the highest importance, that he, (the said Falley) should be emphasized in said department, and be allowed and paid forty shillings per month, in addition to his pay as ensign, and be under the same rules and regulations as the other armorers already appointed or to be appointed."

The work of this class of artisans was greatly needed, there having been so many firearms and other weapons requiring repairs. The whole available stock, as has been seen, was so far below requirements, that any arm which could be patched into moderate efficiency had to be utilized.

This high encomium of Falley's mechanical skill was worthily bestowed. The Westfield Treasurer's records show that he was employed for all kinds of workmanship in iron, from repairing the tongue of the meeting house bell to forging

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a gun barrel and finishing a musket. It was just at this time, a few days before Bunker Hill, that the Congress took formal action respecting army rations:

"Resolved, That each soldier in the Massachusetts army shall have the following allowance per day, viz.—1st One pound of bread: 2d Half a pound of beef and half a pound of pork: and if pork cannot be had, one pound and a quarter of beef: and one day in seven they shall have one pound and one quarter of salt fish, instead of one day's allowance of meat: 3d One pint of milk, or if milk cannot be had, one gill of rice: 4th One quart of good spruce or malt beer: 5th One gill of peas or beans, or other sauce equivalent: 6th Six ounces of good butter per week: 7th One pound of good common soap for six men per week: 8th Half a pint of vinegar per week per man, if it can be had."

It will be observed that in that generous provision for the soldier there was no tea or coffee, spirits or potatoes. That last named item, though introduced into the Colony as early as 1718 by the Scotch-Irish immigrants, had not become generally cultivated at the period of the Revolution, most farmers then having raised but a few bushels. Peas, beans, the various grains, turnips and pumpkins were the main reliance for vegetable food.

The next special responsibility laid upon Colonel Parks related to a "letter from General Ward respecting the supplying the soldiers with blankets and other articles lost in battle, also for providing spears for defence."

This was just after the battle of Bunker Hill, and General Ward had been informed by the Committee of Safety that many soldiers had lost their blankets and clothes in that engagement, also that spears might have saved the intrenchment. Few of the guns in use had been designed for definite military service by fitting them with bayonets, hence the need of some weapon for work of defense at close quarters. The committee reported:

"That the committee of supplies be, and they are hereby directed, to furnish those destitute soldiers with clothes and blankets, as soon as may be, who shall produce from the colonel of the regiment they belong to, certificates of their having lost such clothes and blankets in the late engagement: and that

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a committee be chosen immediately to procure, from such as can most speedily and conveniently supply them, a sufficient number of good spears, not exceeding 1500, either by purchase or hire; and that the same be transmitted to the army at Cambridge as soon as possible; all which is humbly submitted. Elisha Parks, per order."

He also reported respecting the expediency of establishing certain officers, storekeepers, conductors and artificers for taking care of ordnance stores, with pay as follows: "The storekeeper, $80 per month, four conductors, each $48 per month: one master Carpenter, or overseer, $80 do.: two clerks, each $48 do.; 49 privates, they to find their own tools, $50 do. each. All which is humbly submitted. Elisha Parks, per order."

How primitive it all sounds, these first halting steps by an aroused people toward systematic provision for the initial campaign which was to be followed by so many another in long succession! In the matter of collecting arms and bayonets, an arrangement was made whereby the people of Worcester and Hampshire counties should deposit such as they could spare with the treasurers of their respective towns and should receive therefor bills of credit according to the value of the articles as estimated by their selectmen, who were directed to give aid in such collection and urge all possible dispatch therein.

The quota which was desired from Hampshire County was 334 from its forty-one towns and districts, of which Westfield's share was 16.

How were they to be found in the town where a committee had been able to discover of "Province arms: with what can be hired between 30 or 40 & a few Bagganets," which were not sufficient to furnish the company of minute men? By a subsequent vote of the Congress the quota of Westfield was raised to 19, that of Springfield being 26, and that of Northampton 25.

In July a similar plan for procuring clothing was determined upon:

"Resolved, That thirteen thousand coats be provided, as soon as may be, and one thereof given to each non-commissioned officer and soldier in the Massachusetts forces, agreeably to the resolve of Congress, on the 23rd day of April last."

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"Resolved, That the said thirteen thousand coats be proportioned immediately on all the towns and districts in this colony, except the towns of Boston and Charlestown (in proportion) as they paid the last provincial tax: which said towns and districts are desired to cause them to be made of good plain cloth, preference being given to the manufacturers of this country, and to be delivered to the committee of supplies, without buttons, on or before the first day of October next and sooner if possible."

Five shillings and four pence was to be allowed for every yard of cloth of seven-eighths of a yard wide, and four shillings for the making. Nothing is specified respecting cut or color, and the result must have been marked by wide diversities. As to individual fit, that must have been a complete lottery with strong chances in favor of drawing blanks.

The final notice of Colonel Parks relates to a matter as trivial as that which completes Colonel Moseley's record.

Before turning from the work of the Provincial Congress it would be a blunder to neglect one matter of exceeding importance to the people of the time, the establishment of post riders and postoffices. This was done by the second Congress, May 13, 1775.

The first semblance of a postoffice in New England was the establishment of a place in Boston in 1637 where foreign correspondence was set up. (Mass. Col. Rec. I, 281.)

In 1639 the General Court took the following action: "It is ordered that notice be given that Richard Fairbanks, his house in Boston, is the place appointed for all letters which are brought from beyond the seas, or are sent thither, to be left with him, and he is to take care that they are to be delivered or sent according to direction; and he is allowed for every letter a penny, and he must answer all messages through his neglect of this kind."

Thirty years later, arrangements were made for a mail to leave New York for Boston on the first Monday of every month.

In 1691 Parliament arranged for the rude beginnings of a postal system. Two years later Massachusetts established a "General Letter Office" in Boston and established rates of postage. While it was only two pence for a letter from

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Europe or the West Indies, it was three pence to Salem and four pence to Portsmouth and two shillings to Maryland or Virginia.

It was a great step forward which the Provincial Congress took in 1775 when it resolved "That post riders be immediately established to go from Cambridge, and to ride the following roads, viz. to Georgetown in the county of Lincoln, to Haverhill, to Providence, to Woodstock by Worcester, and from Worcester to Great Barrington by Springfield, and to Falmouth in the county of Barnstable, and that post offices be kept as followeth, viz. One at Cambridge; one at Salem; one at Ipswich; one at Haverhill; one at Newburyport; one at Kennebunk or Welles; one at Falmouth in the county of Cumberland; one at Georgetown in the county of Lincoln; one at Worcester; one at Springfield; one at Great Barrington; one at Plymouth; one at Sandwich; one at Falmouth, in the county of Barnstable."

Postmasters were then appointed for each of these offices, Mr. Moses Church at Springfield, Doct. William Whiting at Great Barrington. The following rates for letters were established, "for any distance not exceeding 60 miles, 5¼ pence; upwards of 60 miles, and not exceeding 100 miles, 8 pence; upwards of 100 miles, and not exceeding 200 miles, 10½ pence; upwards of 200, and not exceeding 300, 1 shilling 1 penny;" and so on in a rising scale to distances far beyond the limits of the Province. Those rates were for a single letter, and were to be doubled for a double letter; trebled for a treble letter; and for every ounce weight, four times as much to be charged as for a single letter.

Many years passed before an office was established in Westfield.

That the inhabitants of the town were in hearty accord with the recommendation of the Congress in respect of the disposition of the amounts raised for provincial taxes is evident from action taken April 10, 1775, when it was voted "That the Province Rates now outstanding & heretofore ordered to be paid unto the Town Treasurer Doct. Samuel Mather should be paid to Henry Gardner Esq." the Receiver General appointed by the Congress. This action was based on the principle that the Province had inalienable right to

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determine the disposition of its own property and the use to which it should be put for the public welfare.

At a meeting held July 5, called to see whether the town would choose a new Committee of Correspondence, or add to the one already chosen, it was voted to add five men—"Ensign Zechariah Bush, Doct. Israel Ashley, Aaron Bush, Lt. Daniel Sacket & Aaron King." The first named had been out as Lieutenant in the company of minute men. That made a committee of eighteen.

At a meeting held Dec. 28 of that year, 1775, it was voted to choose a new Committee of Correspondence and Inspection, when a return to the original number of thirteen was made. Choice was made of Col. John Moseley, Daniel Fowler, Capt. David Moseley, Lt. Daniel Sacket, Bohan King, David Weller, Jr., Col Elisha Parks, Doct. Samuel Mather, Lt. John Kellogg, Ens. Zechariah Bush, Oliver Ingersole, Ensign Danl. Bagg and Lieut. Stephen Noble.

Seven of the original number were retained. Of those left off one can easily be accounted for, William Shepard, who was away at the war, Lieut. Colonel in Danielson's regiment. At the town meeting in the following March, five of the Committee were chosen Selectmen, Col. John Moseley, Daniel Fowler, Daniel Bagg, Doct. Samuel Mather, and Daniel Sacket, and another, Bohan King, was chosen constable.

It is a commentary upon the inadequacy of the reports of its town meetings to indicate what Westfield was thinking and doing at critical periods in the continental life, that in the year of our national birth, 1776, after the report of the Spring meeting for the annual election of town officials, the only action recorded, with one exception, related to the supply of the pulpit rendered vacant by the death of Rev. John Ballantine. The one exception is the record of a meeting held in the month following the signing of the Declaration of Independence. We would naturally look for some reference to that event of world-wide and age-long significance. The descent from the sublime to the ridiculous is startling, for consider what matter was acted upon.

"On a motion made by Simeon Ashley that some boards lying near his house belonging to Col. Parks might be removed to some other place, Voted—that the said boards be

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removed to some convenient place & at ye cost of the said Simeon without damage to said boards by there Removing."

It will be recalled that "the said Simeon" was the one to whom the town granted permission "to set a house on ye school lands for himself to dwell in during ye town's pleasure" and to stake out the bounds of which a Committee of five leading citizens was appointed, one of whom was Colonel Parks, the owner of these boards.

It would be deeply gratifying to have some copious annals of events in the town during that significant year, and especially to learn how the news of the immortal Declaration was celebrated. We know about how many of Westfield's citizens were in the ranks and who they were, what families were left without their respective heads, but not what tidings drifted with exasperating slowness to quivering hearts, relating to sickness, privation, danger, wounds and death, among loved ones in distant camp, in toilsome march, in skirmish and battle. We know that one of Westfield's most illustrious sons was severely wounded during the year in the operations incident to the retreat from New York, when Colonel Shepard received a musket ball in the neck, and that E. Lyman also was slightly wounded there. Who besides suffered from lead or steel, we do not know.

There were Westfield men in the desperate assault on Quebec on the last day of 1775. The personal annals of one who marched thither early in 1776, as recorded by himself, are to be transcribed later.

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CHAPTER III.

Prolonged Trials

The campaign in Canada needed reinforcements, and efforts were made to hasten them forward. Mr. Henry H. Strong, a former resident of Westfield, has among his colonial papers one of the original circulars sent by the General Court to the towns of the two western counties at that critical time.

"In the House of Representatives, January 21, 1776.
"Whereas it is of very great Importance to our Brethren the Inhabitants of Canada, and to the Inhabitants of the United Colonies, especially to the Western and Northern Counties thereof, that the advantages gained by the American Arms, during the Year last past, over the Ministerial Forces in Canada, should be maintained, and the Remainder of them there effectually subdued; as well as the Rights and Liberties of our Brethren in that Colony secured; and Whereas his Excellency General Washington, has applied to each of the Colonies of Connecticut, New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay severally, to furnish a Regiment, consisting of Seven Hundred and Twenty Eight Men, including Officers, to be raised with all possible Dispatch on the American Establishment, and to serve the United Colonies until the First Day of January next, if required thereto. It is therefore,

"Resolved, That a Regiment consisting of Seven Hundred and Twenty Eight Men be raised for the Purpose aforesaid, in the Counties of Hampshire, and Berkshire; and to be under the Command of Elisha Porter, Esq.; as Colonel; Thomas Williams, Esq. as Lieut Colonel; and Abner Morgan, Esq. as Major, who have been unanimously chosen by the General Court of this Colony to those Officers respectively. And that the commanding officer of each Company of Militia, in the Towns of the said Counties of Hampshire and Berkshire hereafter mentioned, chosen agreeable to the Direction of the Provincial Congress, be and hereby is directed, to cause his Company without delay, to be Mustered, and that out of the

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Company or Companies in such Town, they cause to be voluntarily Inlisted, the Number of Effective Men herein affixed to such Town respectively, to serve the United Colonies, on the Continental Establishment and under their Generals, until the first Day of January next, if the Service shall require it. And each Officer and Soldier shall be allowed and paid for their Services respectively, the same Sum by the Kalender Month, as is allowed to other Officers and Soldiers in the Establishment aforesaid; the Time of Service to be computed from the Time of his Inlistment or Entering the same, to the Time of his Discharge, and allowing sufficient Time for his Return Home; that is to say, accounting one Day for every Twenty Miles March. Also one Penny per Mile to compensate his Expences on his March to and from the Camp, for so many Miles as he shall bear his Travelling Expences in the March aforesaid; And each Non-Commissioned Officer and Soldier shall be allowed a Blanket, or Twelve Shillings to pay for the same, if he finds it himself.

"And whereas the Season is Severe, and the Service both Important and Necessary: It is further Resolved, as a further Encouragement to such non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers, as shall appear to Inlist for the Succour of their Brethren in Canada, and for the Defence and Support of the just Cause of America, on this Occasion; that in Addition to one Month's advanced Wages to be paid them by his Excellency General Washington there shall be paid them also out of the public Treasury of this Colony, one other Month's advance Wages, upon their passing Muster, by a Muster Master to be appointed by his Excellency, in full Confidence that the Justice of the Congress will order the same to be reimbursed: And the Treasurer is hereby ordered to pay the Sum of Thirteen Hundred Ninety Eight Pounds eight Shillings to Col. Porter, for the Purpose; he to be accountable to this Court for the same.

"And the Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence and Safety of each of said Towns are requested without Fail, to afford their immediate assistance, fully to effect this Business, with the utmost Dispatch, as they regard their Country's and their own Safety and Welfare. And it is further,

"Resolved, That the Captains, Subalterns and Non-

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Commissioned Officers of the several Companies shall be chosen by the Companies respectively from those Inlisted or others, and Commissioned by the Council, and that the Committee appointed by this Court in Conjunction with the Field Officers aforesaid, distribute the Men Inlisted as aforesaid, into Companies—

"For the County of BERKSHIRE.

"Sheffield 24; Tyringham 13; Sandisfield 11; Stockbridge 12; New Marlboro' 16; West Stockbridge 7; Egremont 11; Richmond 13; Great Barrington 15; Lenox 13; Alford 7; Becket 9; Hopland and Glass Works 9; Gageborough 3; Pittsfield 21; Jericho 8; Hartwood 8; New Providence 10; Lanesborough 19; Williamston 14; Partridgefield 8; East Housuck 9; London 5.

"County of HAMPSHIRE.

"Springfield 19; Hatfield 10; Wilbraham 11; Whateley 6; West Springfield 2; Williamsburgh 7; North Hampton 23; Deerfield 13; South Hampton 9; Greenfield 11; Westfield 18; Sherburne 10; Southwick 9; Conway 12; Hadley 10; Sunderland 7; Amherst 14; Montague 9; Granby 7; Northfield 10; Brimfield 13; South Brimfield 10; Ware 7; Monson 8; Warwick 6; Pelham 10; Bernardston 9; Greenwich 9; Murrayfield 6; Blanford 10; Charlemont 7; Leverett 5; Ashfield 8; Palmer 11; Worthington 8; Granville 13; Shutesbury 9; New Salem 12; Ludlow 5; Belchertown 12; Norwich 7; Colrain 10; Chesterfield 12.

"Sent up for Concurrence.

JAMES WARREN, Speaker.

"In Council January 21, 1776. Read and concurr'd.

JOHN LOWELL, Dep. Sec'ry, pro tem.

"Consented to

"W. SEVER, WALTER SPOONER, MOSES GILL, J. WINTHROP, M. FARLEY, JOHN WHETCOMB, SAM'L HOLTON, JED. FOSTER, JOHN TAYLOR, ELDAD TAYLOR, B. WHITE, B. LINCOLN, JABEZ FISHER, CHARLES CHAUNCY, CALEB CUSHING."

There were Westfield men in the siege of Boston so long and persistently pressed, and perhaps among the stalwart fellows who threw up the redoubts on Dorchester Heights

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on the night of March 4, 1776, which, as afterward elaborated, gave to the siege a successful issue. Fiske thus describes the work of that eventful movement:

"Eight hundred men led the way, escorting the wagons laden with spades and crowbars, hatchets, hammers, and nails; and after them followed twelve hundred men, with three hundred ox-carts, carrying timbers and bales of hay; while the rear was brought up by the heavy siege guns. From Somerville, East Cambridge, and Roxbury, a furious cannonade was kept up through the night, completely absorbing the attention of the British, who kept up a lively fire in return. The roar of the cannon drowned every other sound for miles around, while all night long the two thousand Americans, having done their short march in perfect secrecy, were busily digging and building on Dorchester Heights, and dragging their siege-guns into position. Early next morning, Howe saw with astonishment what had been done, and began to realize his perilous situation." (The American Revolution, I, 180.)

The solidity of the ground from frost not yet softened by the spring sunshine rendered the task the more arduous. But that it was well done is evidenced by a comment of Gen. Howe, who exclaimed, "I know not what I shall do. These rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a whole month."

It is a notable fact that the immediate occasion of each of two such momentous events in the early Revolutionary struggle as Bunker Hill and the Evacuation of Boston, was the work of tireless bands of patriots respectively during the dark hours of a single night.

Jan. 25, 1776, John Adams on his way to Philadelphia saw at Framingham the train of artillery brought from Ticonderoga by Colonel Knox:

"It consists of iron, nine eighteen pounders, ten twelve, six six, four nine pounders; three thirteen inch mortars, two ten inch mortars; one eight inch and one six and a half howitzer; and one eight inch and a half, and one eight. Brass cannon; eight three pounders, one four pounder, two six pounders, one eighteen and one twenty-four pounder; and one eight inch and a half mortar, one seven inch and a half dto. and five cohorns."

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The need of artillery having been so pressing, especially for the prosecution of the siege of Boston, the trophies of the capture of Ticonderoga were of great value to the continental troops. Colonel Knox wrote from Fort George to Washington under date of Dec. 17, 1775, "I hope in sixteen or seventeen days to present to your Excellency a noble train of artillery, the inventory of which I have enclosed." It was drawn through Westfield on forty-two sleds, the whole consignment having included 8 brass mortars, 6 iron mortars, 2 iron howitzers, 13 brass cannon, 26 iron cannon, 2300 lbs. of lead and 1 barrel of flints. That was a notable addition to the scanty equipment of the besiegers.

The Committee of Safety for Hampshire County in 1776, which supervised the enlistment and equipment of troops under the successive calls which were so numerous, consisted of Joseph Hawley of Northampton, Noah Goodman of Hadley, Major William Pynchon of Springfield, David Moseley of Westfield, and Capt. Israel Hubbard of Hatfield.

In the early autumn of 1776 Gen. Seth Pomeroy was ordered by Brig. Gen. Danielson of Brimfield to fill his regiment, by draft if necessary. The regiment under the command of Col. John Moseley of Westfield marched through Connecticut to General Washington in the neighborhood of New York. After serving three months it was discharged in November, having been at Westchester and Valentine's Hill, and within hearing of the guns at the battle of White Plains.

An account has been given in a preceding chapter of the mob which resisted the sitting of the Court in Springfield, Aug. 30, 1774. That was a spontaneous and irregular popular uprising against the outrage by the mother country upon the rights of the Province. A more formal and regular effort to protect the courts from foreign interference was made a year and a half later. The Committees of Correspondence of the several towns of Hampshire County met March 11, 1776, at the Court House in Northampton, under call of the Northampton Committee. It was to act upon the question, "Whether or not it is proper and expedient for the Court of Genl Sessions of the Peace for the County aforesaid, should be dissolved or Adjourn'd to some future season and whether the Justices

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aforesd shall in any case Act by Vertue of their present commissions."

The meeting was organized with Major Hawley as Moderator. Twenty-eight of the forty-three towns of the County were represented by eighty-two delegates. Where a town was represented by more than one delegate a majority vote was to decide its action, and a tie vote was to be "considered as nothing." The Moderator was desired to "explain why it is that the Justices Commissions in this Colony are in the Name of George the Third of Great Britain, and under what authority the said Justices do act."

Each delegate was to "manifest to this congress what he supposes is the sense of the Town he represents in regard to the seting of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace."

On the first of the two questions, whether the present session of the Court should be held, the vote stood 39 in favor and 43 against. Among those in favor was the one Westfield delegate, but who he was is not indicated. The more important question, as to the "subsiding" of the Court, was unanimous in the affirmative.

A committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Justice Mather, President of the Court of Sessions, with the above resolve, and the congress adjourned till the next morning at 8 o'clock.

When it again assembled, the convention voted "That it be recommended to the Court of genl Sessions of the Peace to adjourn without day. Accordingly the Justices of s'd Court met at the usual place and Adjourned without day."

In consequence of the above action, the session of the Court which met in May following was held by authority, not of George the Third, but of the people of Massachusetts.

The pressing need of recruits for the army was commonly recognized and the national authorities, in view of it, took vigorous action, and held out such inducements as seemed feasible:

"In Congress Oct. 8, 1776 resolved that for the further encouragement of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who shall engage in the service for the war; That a suit of clothes be given each of said officers and soldiers, to consist the present year of two linen hunting shirts; two pairs of

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overalls and a leather or woolen waistcoat with sleeves; one pair of breeches; a hat or leather cap; two shirts; two pair of hose; two pair of shoes amounting in all to the value of $20.00 or that sum to be paid to each soldier who shall procure those articles for himself, and produce a certificate thereof from the captain of the company to which he belongs, to the paymaster of the regiment."

Later, Congress offered a bounty of £20, and certain amounts of land.

The battle of Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776, was a sad disaster for the Continentals, retrieved however in large measure by the retreat which "has always been regarded as one of the most brilliant incidents of Washington's career."

Happily, our ignorance of personal tidings which reached Westfield from the front in the eventful year under consideration is not quite complete. Through the careful research and the generosity of Mr. Bartlett, there are preserved in the Atheneum a few letters of priceless value. One of the three written by E. Lyman was sent immediately after the battle of Long Island where he was wounded, to his brother-in-law in Westfield, Bohan King.

"New York, Sep. 2d 1776.

"Dear Brother. After my kind love to you and your family including my little child I would in a short manner give you to understand a little of our circumstances at this present time. We are in trouble here at this day, its likely you will hear of the Battle we had on Long Island before these lines reach your hand. August 27th the Battle commenced. There was about 2000 of our men as guards in the woods about two miles from our lines. We were surrounded *unawares* by great bodies of men vastly superior to our numbers, it is thought near ten to one, after we were attacked we had to fight our way through to our Lines, although our circumstances were bad yet we got through with the greatest part of our men, though we lost some hundreds, how many is unknown at present, two general Officers have been taken prisoners, Maj: Genl Sullivan & Brigr Genl Sterling, in great haste must conclude.

"Your Friend & Brother

E. Lyman."

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"It fell to my lot to be in Battle that day. In the beginning of the Battle I was slitely wounded in the calf of my leg by a Grape shot, it lamed me some so I was not able to keep up with the Regiment on their retreat but through the goodness of God I made my escape though numbers were left behind. We live in expectation of a general attack every hour hope we may gain the Victory.

E. Lyman."

Another of the letters is from Hon. Eldad Taylor, a member of the Governor's Council, from Watertown on the day after the evacuation of Boston by the British and was written to his wife in Westfield.

"Sunday March 18' 1776.

"My dear—This morning opens with much news, no doubt it will be pleasing to you and all friends to have ye most outlandish account probable. The ministerial vermin left Boston yesterday morning in utmost confusion & ye Town is now open, 3 of ye Selectmen viz. Deacn Newhal Mr. Holby & Mr Marshall came to Watertown, Doct. Winthrop & Mr —— were called out of ye publick worship about ye middle of ye first prayer in ye afternoon to see ye Selectmen. This morning I have been with Doct. Winthrop to get ye best intelligence. They say that ever since our cannonading ye sabbath before last they viz. ye Regulars have been upon ye moove & designed to withdraw last Friday but ye wind not favoring of ym were detained & left Saturday night. Our forces took possession of a small hill nearer Boston & ye shipping than ever before on Dorchester Point caused ye Regulars to fire at ym all night but without any hurt to any of our men except one a little, not much hurt by ye scattering of some gravel & we did not return one shot; In ye morning early they left in utmost haste and confusion and sailed below ye Castle & where they are destined is not known but supposed to Halifax. The Tories are gone of with ye Regulars except a few, but Ruggles, Marsh, Putnam & Willards are gone. Ye selectmen say that ye Tories were ye most dreadful against ym of any. They say that all ye sufferings of ye poor for want of Provisions & necessaries of life was not equal to ye insult, scorn, derision, and contempt from them. The *ministerial Butchers* have

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robbed the warehouses & shops of all ye best goods they could carry and destroyed what they could in their hurry. They destroyed the Furniture of ye houses, Books, ye windows, Chairs, Desks, Tables, &c. &c. They loaded their vessels so deep that they cast overboard much of ye lumber lading that floated on ye water. Of heavy carriage they left much of them. They spiked up ye cannon. They had one very great amazing Iron Mortar, as they were getting it aboard it fell into ye water, of from John Hancocks Wharf, with an Iron Bed.

"Bunker Hill is left & all their Barracks in good order. Their Fort there is amazing strong. In their hurry or purposely they scattered numbers of good blankets. It is said that in one of them was wrapped up a child rotten with ye small Pox. We are now in more danger from that quarter than from ye enemy.

"Cols. Bond, Eaton & Patterson are ordered to march to New York with their Regiments. They all passed this forenoon for New York and more are for to march that way soon. The poor distressed captives from Boston came with a most pleasing aspect in their faces rejoicing at so great deliverance.

"Col. Putnam entered the Town of Boston yesterday with an uncertain number of men, some say 1500. The General has forbid people going into Boston, but ye people are so resolute that it is near impossible to prevent them. This morning we have intelligence that ye King of France has sent to ye King of England that if he should bring the *Rushens* Troops into America he would declare in favor of the Americans. Upon yt ye King of England reconsidered his intentions to send *Rushan* troops here. I desire that none of our people come here to gaze as it is ye utmost danger of ye small Pox, but when the grass is grown it will be much safer then & more to be seen. Last Saturday 14 Captives were brought to Genl Washington taken near Marthas Vineyard it was a vessel of 300 tons from White Haven, laden with Cole Porter & 30 live Hogs &c. there is said to be 7 or 8 or ten from White Haven, it was going to New York.

"Since I wrote ye foregoing two of ye selectmen of Boston came into ye Council & they confirm what I have written excepting ye child which was that there was a child found in

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a garret in Boston sewed up in a Canvas which had been there 5 or 6 weeks.

"They say that ye Tories about a fortnet ago was in high spirits encouraging ye Troops that they should be soon Masters of America, but when ye orders were given to prepare to sail they were struck with paleness & astonishment & there is not a Chandler nor a Willard nor a Putnam, but all are gone, mortifying indeed. They, ye selectmen say, ye Towne is in a most dreadfull condition, houses torn, streets nasty, Town empty. They carried away our Prisoners taken at *Bunker Hill fight* in Irons, also Master Loverwell. They left some of their draft horses & about 1000 bushels of Wheat. The bells & organs are not hurt.

"from as always your Consort
Eldad Taylor."

His premonitions respecting the menace of smallpox were too well founded. Only a little more than a year after the letter quoted above was written, he was stricken with the disease in Boston and died. In the old cemetery in Westfield stands a memorial stone inscribed:

"Hon. Eldad Taylor Esqr.
Died in Boston May 21st 1777
Aged 69 years and lies interred in
The Tomb of Hon. John Wendall, Esq."

In the old book of the Town Treasurer Mr. Bartlett found many years ago a sheet of paper pinned to a leaf which has since disappeared. Fortunately he made a copy of it in his note book, which shows that in October, 1776, there was some alarm which resulted in a muster of men under Capt. David Mosely and an issuance of powder, lead and flints. The names of the company will appear elsewhere.

Late in December an order was issued "that one fourth of the Berkshire militia, and one eighth of the Hampshire militia, ordered by a late act to enforce the army near New York, be forthwith marched to Albany to be under Gen. Schuyler's order."

In April following, 1777, two battalions of 750 men each were ordered from Hampshire County to be there for two

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months. Northampton seems to have been a favorite place for County gatherings during this period, partly because of its position so near to the center of the County. A convention of the Committees of Safety of the County was called to meet there on the fifth of February, 1777, for the purpose of considering the suffering condition of the Northern Army. It hastened to advise the Committee of Supplies of the Province, to forward such supplies as were necessary for the comfort of the army, "not doubting that the General Court will approve thereof."

Westfield seems to have had far less trouble from scheming and virulent tories than many other towns in the Connecticut Valley. An original document in the Atheneum shows that one of the despised class who proved obstinate in his resistance of the patriotic spirit of the age and of the laws of the Commonwealth, was sternly dealt with, a month before the gathering of that convention in Northampton.

"Hampshire, ss. To Bohan King, Constable of the Town of Westfield and to the Keeper of the Common Gaol of the County of Hampshire of the Town of Northampton, Greeting:

"Whereas, Roland Parks of the Town of Westfield was by us the subscribers appointed a soldier according to ye direction of a late Act of this Government for providing a reinforcement to ye American Army, has been duly notified of such appointment and did not within 24 hours after such notification pay to us the sum of £10. nor make any reasonable excuse and the said Roland Parks was on the first day of January instant, called out according to law to march, but neglected so to do or to provide any person in his stead, you the said Bohan King are hereby required forthwith to apprehend the said Roland Parks and him commit to ye common 'Gaol' in said County and you the said keeper of ye said 'Gaol' are likewise required to receive the said Roland Parks into your custody there to remain untill he pay the fine of £12 as ordered in said Act, together with charges of commitment & imprisonment or be discharged by order of Law. Hereof fail not. Given under our hands and seal this second day of January, A.D. 1777.

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John Mosely	(Seal)	Militia Officers of Westfield by order.
Saml. Mather	(Seal)	Selectmen of Westfield by order.
Daniel Fowler	(Seal)	Committee of Correspondence & Safety of Westfield by order."

An inscription on the back of the warrant reads: "Hampshire, ss. In obedience to this warrant, I have taken the body of Roland Parks and him committed to the Gaol in Northampton.

Bohan King, Const'e.

Constable fees.	
Warrant	1 s.
Copy &c.	1 s.
Travel 40 m.	3 s. 4 d.
To attendance 2 days	16 s.
	21 s. 4"

The tragedy of that indictment and penalty lay in the fact that Roland Parks was the son of one of the noblest of the town's patriots, Elisha Parks, who had served honorably, as has been shown, in the three sessions of the Provincial Congress, and was a member of two of the bodies whose authority was exercised in the above action, having been both a Selectman and a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety. The tory son is said to have received a life pension from the British government.

During the following year Bohan King received a letter addressed to him at the "Sign of the Lamb, Boston," relating to another tory of the town:

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"Westfield, Nov. 8, 1778.

"Sir—The man you went to see will be concealed at Capt. Jones, the tavern in Weston, in case he is not to be found in Boston, this is from good authority; in haste.

Your humble Serv't,
Warham Parks.

"P.S. We now think Lee is not on the business we thought he was. W.P."

Sabine, in his American Loyalists, says of John Bancroft of Westfield that in "1776 the Whig Committee of that town published him as an enemy to his country and ordered that he be confined within the limits of his own farm," which was in Pochassic, his house having been the impressive brick one built in 1755, to which reference has been made in a previous chapter.

Even at this day of long perspective upon the events and perplexities of that epoch, we can hardly blame the Committees of Safety for being bitterly indignant against their neighbors who were thus constituting themselves Committees of Danger. It was fortunate for the cause of freedom that the preponderance of patriots over tories was so immense as it was.

The varied perplexities incident to the method of administering military affairs which obtained for some time after the war opened were so grievous that the authorities were moved to determined efforts to put them upon a different basis. Originally, because of the deep seated aversion of the people to a standing army, the plan followed to employ the militia of the several provinces, enlisted for short terms, and under the command of their local officers: "To all intents and purposes, the colonial army was but a gathering of militia squadrons, owing allegiance to the state which paid their wages and furnished their equipments. Patriotism, the governing motive in the earlier enlistments, was the principal bond of cohesion, and that was greatly weakened by a senseless spirit of state jealousy, which everywhere prevailed."

Chafing under this condition of affairs, Washington pressed upon Congress the necessity of gathering an army of men enlisted for long terms, for not less than one year, and if possible for three years. In approval of this policy the General

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Court of Massachusetts in 1777 resolved to raise a Continental army contingent, to be enforced by draft if necessary, each town being required to furnish a stipulated quota. This call required the services of so many men as to constitute one-seventh of the male population of the State over sixteen years old. What persistent and strenuous efforts were put forth to fill Westfield's quota for that call, and for many another, will be indicated as shown by successive town meetings until the very close of the war.

In March, 1776, a new Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was chosen, consisting of Col. John Mosley, Col. Elisha Parks, Bohan King, Capt. David Moseley, Doct. Mather, Martin Root, Daniel Bagg, Daniel Sacket, Daniel Fowler, David Weller Junr, Zechariah Bush Jur, St. John Kellogg, Lt. John Gray.

In August following still another Committee was chosen, some who were elected in March having asked to be excused. The places of Elisha Parks, Doct. Mather, Lt. John Kellogg, and Lt. John Gray, were taken respectively by Robert Hazard, Wm. H. Church, William Hiscox and Oliver Weller. Position on that famous Committee was so responsible and honorable that every name elevated to it by popular vote should be held in perpetual remembrance. At a meeting held Jan. 13, 1777, one of the Articles was adopted providing "Eighty Pounds for to hire Preaching the Ensuing year," the 7th Article was taken up "to see if ye Town will direct ye Selectmen to provide Tavern in the Town, nothing done about it."

March 10 a new Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety was chosen, Capt. David Moseley, Bohan King, Benjamin Saxton, Daniel Fowler, Lt. Zechariah Bush, David Weller, Jr., Martin Root, Daniel Sacket, Capt. John Gray, the new name appearing then having been Benjamin Saxton, born in 1720, second son of Benjamin, who was the first child born in Westfield in 1666.

Though it would seem as though the terror, loss and suffering incident to a bitter war were enough for the afflicted people to endure, these ills were augmented in the year 1777 through the ravages of the smallpox. It was not a new enemy, having been more or less prevalent during many previous years. A quarter of a century earlier it is reported by Palfrey to have

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raged fearfully in Boston. The question of inoculation was fiercely discussed by ministers, physicians, and laity, in face of the fact that only 31 persons died out of 2100 who were inoculated while out of 5550 persons not inoculated who had the disease, more than a quarter of the town's population, 514 died, one in ten of those attacked.

"Accounts of small pox in Westfield, Nov. 26, 1760 to Jan. 2, 1761, £53.15.4
Blankets, beds, provisions, &c.
Cider 6/ bbl. cheese 5d. lb. fowls 7d. each. pork 3¼ d. lb. Potatoes 2 bushels 3/ butter 7 d. candles 7 d milk 2 d. quart wood 4/ a load.
Tenders were impressed by the constable and two men were "brought out of the woods being sick."
"Tenders 116 days at 4/ a day, all men 23.4.0."
There was a "Proof house" in connection with the hospital.
Elisha Parks charged from Nov. 12, 1760 to Jan. 1, 1761, 17 gallons of rum at 6/, some gallons of wine at 9/, sugar at 8d. Rice at 4 d. &c.
Another Small pox account at Westfield from Jan. 1 to Feb. 1, 1761, £32.10.6. The first bill above was for 5 Massachusetts men and 4 New Hampshire men only 9, of whom 6 died. The second bill was for 3 men, 2 Mass. & 1 N. H. The hospital was a "valuable house," had from Nov. 26 to Feb. 1." (Judd MS., Forbes Library.)

Judd reports that in the Westfield hospital twelve soldiers had the smallpox between November, 1760, and February, 1761, of whom six died, as already stated.

Owing to the alarming spread of the disease in 1777, Springfield built a "Cleansing House" near the pest house, arranged to have both buildings completely isolated, and forbade inoculation in any case without permission of a major part of the Selectmen.

The votes in the Westfield records are numerous and bewilderingly conflicting. It is evident that much excitement prevailed, in view of the menace of the malady.

April 23, 1777. A committee of five was chosen "to inspect the Small Pox," Daniel Fowler, Daniel Mosley, Dea. Joseph Root, Capt. David Mosley, & Bohan King.

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Sundry votes followed. No person should come into town under ten days after having left the pest house, and not until pronounced clean by the Committee. No person belonging to Westfield should take the infection of the small-pox on any consideration whatever, meaning, of course, by voluntary inoculation.

The Committee was to send a letter to Southwick to forbid the doctor or any other person giving the infection to any one from Westfield. Any one who should come from the pest house into town within ten days should forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, and the same amount was to be paid by any one who should go nearer the pest house than half a mile and then come into town within ten days.

"Voted that the Town would indemnify the Committee to take the Estates of such Persons as forfit the Sum proposed.

"Voted that those Persons who are not able to pay the sd Sum should be publickly whipped twenty stripes upon the naked back."

The sum of twenty pounds was also to be forfeited by any person who should leave his own house for five days after he had left the pest house. No person should leave the pest house without a certificate from the doctor that he had not been in the pest house within ten days from the time of his cleansing.

In May it was voted "to build a house to accomodate those Persons who might be taken with the Small Pox in the Town."

In the following February, 1778, at a meeting of which David Mosley was Chairman, the above action was repeated, with the specification "that the house should be built with logs, 35 or 36 feet long & 18 feet wide." The Committee chosen for the work consisted of Elisha Parks Esqr. Dean Joseph Root, Capn Daniel Sacket, Martin Root and Capn David Mosley, who were to look up a convenient place for the house and negotiate for the land.

It was also voted at that meeting "to give Liberty for Inoculation for the Small Pox under the Inspection & Regulation of a Committee to be chosen for that purpose. The five persons chosen were Elisha Parks, Esqr. Capn David Mosley, Capn John Kellogg, Lt. Richard Falley, & Doctr Mather.

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It was also agreed "that the houses belonging to Ozean Sacket, Moses Sacket, Asher & Abner Sacket be devoted to the use of Inoculation," and "that no person should be inoculated after the 15th Day of February instant." Any person who should be inoculated without the consent of the Committee was to "be prosecuted at common Law." Mr. Samll Fowler and James Taylor were chosen Prosecutors. At a meeting held Feb. 26 liberty of inoculation was again refused, and a week later that action was again reversed, but inoculation was to be in some part not "in the Town Plot." After sundry related votes it was finally decided "to allow of a House at Lump's Bottom belonging to George Phelps for Inoculation" and "all the houses Eastward or below Capn. Daniel Sacket's" for the same use. Still farther action, relative to persons from other towns being carried away, was taken.

There is no entry on the town records which makes explicit reference to the Bennington alarm. Half of the effective militia of Massachusetts was in active service during the summer of 1777, large reinforcements having been sent to strengthen General Gates in opposing the advance of Burgoyne from Canada toward New York to effect a junction with Howe. The battle of Bennington was fought Aug. 16 of that year, and when news of it reached Northampton the whole town was aroused by the beating of drums, and a company of more than a hundred men hurried toward the front, to be turned back at Lanesboro because their services were not needed.

The only suggestion that a company from Westfield started out is found in two items on the Treasurer's book for that year with no reference to month or day. They are:

"To Cash paid out for Soldiers Mileage & Baggage £83.12.4
To Cash paid out for do 60.12.0"

Among the forces sent to General Gates was a Hampshire regiment which went in July, commanded by Colonel Moseley of Westfield, but what Westfield men besides him were on its roster does not appear. It was discharged in August after six weeks of service in the region of Fort Edward and Stillwater.

It may have been for service in this regiment that the above payments were made by the Treasurer, and not for men related to the Bennington alarm. Another regiment which

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served about an equal time, gathered and forwarded in September, was commanded by Colonel May of Goshen.

The exacting demands of that summer are evidenced by the fact that early in July Hampshire and Berkshire were called upon to march "all they can" to reinforce the northern army, and every seventh man was to serve in the field. A second call in August ordered out every sixth man in Hampshire because the former one had not been filled. General Coumay, a distinguished French officer, said to the American patriot, Dr. Rush, that the people of no other nation were so quickly transformed into soldiers as those of the United States. In December, 1777, Lord Chatham, who had ranked Sir William Howe's army above all others ever gathered as regarded its appointments, said, in view of the defeat at Saratoga, "Those men whom you called cowards, poltroons, runaways and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops, and in the midst of victory and the flush of conquest have set ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity well worthy of imitation."

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CHAPTER IV

The Concluding Conflict

The exultation of the people of Westfield over the magnificent victory at Saratoga must have been the greater because of the part played in it by Colonel Shepard and his fellow townsmen who were an integral section of the victorious army. How intensely popular excitement burned when the captured Hessians, detested as brutal hirelings, came over the road from Albany down the western hills and across the intervening plain to spend a night in the town!

It is distressing to lose confidence in the tradition so long, fondly and universally cherished in Westfield, relative to the presence of General Burgoyne among that group of prisoners. Evidence to the contrary, however, is too strong to be controverted. The well-attested fact that he was in Hadley and presented a sword to his host there, has been accepted, with a proviso that he must have gone there from Westfield, since the main road from Albany to Boston ran through the town. But the statements of General Glover prove that the contingent of British prisoners followed a more northerly route, and there would have been no conceivable reason why General Burgoyne should have been separated from the group and brought from Hadley back to Westfield. The traditional stories relating to him were evidently based upon the popular confusion due to mistaking the person of the Hessian General Riedesel for that of the British General Burgoyne.

This cherished popular tradition must be sadly placed beside the no less popular one relative to the presence in town of General Washington at some undetermined period of his official career. The most painstaking research has failed to discover a scintilla of evidence that either as General or President he was ever nearer the town than the ford in the Agawam near the Eastern States Exposition grounds and the ferry to Springfield on the west side of the Connecticut. This is emphasized in the face of a tradition which is supported by many features which seem to establish its credibility.

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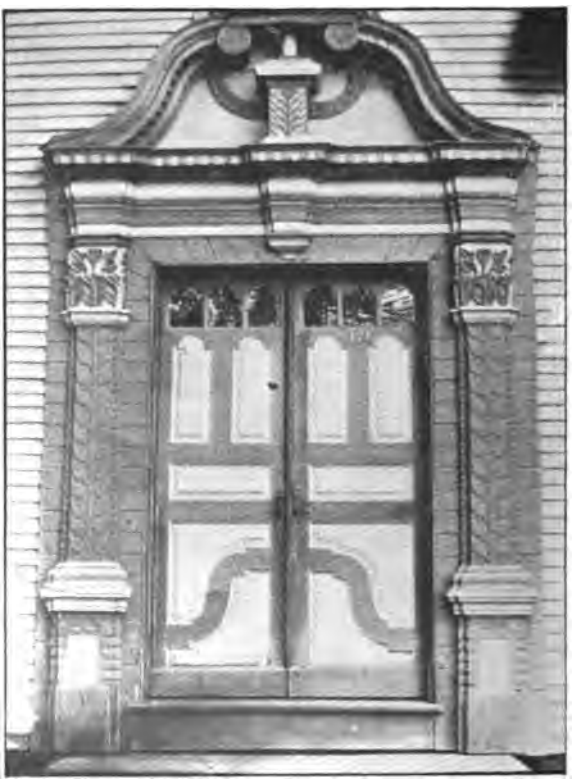
THE LANDLORD FOWLER HOUSE.

Captain Clapp's Tavern in Revolutionary times, known as the "old Burgoyne House," on Main Street at the corner of Exchange Street. General Riedesel, the Hessian, mistaken popularly for General Burgoyne, was entertained there as he passed through Westfield a prisoner.



THE DOORWAY OF THE LANDLORD FOWLER HOUSE.

Because of its artistic design purchased a few years since and placed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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In Lynn in the Revolution, the author makes the following quotations from the Memoir of General John Glover of Marblehead, by William P. Upham, Salem, 1863: "Gen. Glover's Brigade was Aug. 15, 1777, at Van Schaick's Island, at the mouth of the Mohawk River. At the battle of Stillwater (Freeman's Farm, Bemis Heights) it formed part of the right wing of the army Sept. 19, and was stationed on the hills back from the river. It was in the second battle of Freeman's Farm not far from where Arnold fell wounded, Oct. 7. The Brigade marched to Albany and was assigned to convoy Burgoyne's army to Boston. Gen. Glover in his letters says that he sent the British troops, 2242 in number, by way of Williamstown and Northampton, and the foreign troops, numbering 2198, by way of Kinderhook and Springfield, he and Burgoyne starting on the following day. He speaks of the great difficulty which he experienced in procuring provisions and forage for the great multitude (2500 prisoners and their guards), being obliged to take hay and burn fences by the way. Burgoyne was obliged by the terms of the Convention to pay for the subsistence of his men in hard money." (Part I, pp. 106-7.)

There is some compensation for the discomfort of our shattered tradition relative to Burgoyne in the fact thus established that the brigade of which Col. William Shepard's regiment formed a component part was honored with the responsibility of guarding that great batch of prisoners, the largest captured at any one time before the final capitulation at Yorktown.

In one of Mr. Bartlett's earliest notebooks the following records appear:

"Eliot Dewey who was the son of James Dewey and who worked for my Father 30 years, told me when I was a little fellow, that Burgoyne was brought to this town on his way to Boston after his surrender and stayed at Capt. Clapp's who kept tavern at what is now the Stocking house and that when he went away he kissed Capt. Clapp's wife.

"Squire Saul Fowler of Southwick told me that when he was 18 that he with 8 or 10 others started from the Stocking house [known as the old Burgoyne house on Main St.] to go out to Saratoga to fight Burgoyne, they got to Albany and heard that the Battle was fought so they returned home.

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"The ornamental work around and over the front door my Father said, took a man a month's work. S.F."

Those initials probably stand for Samuel Fowler, son of James, and grandson of Samuel Fowler, one of the Committee of Inspection and Safety. Samuel Fowler, who lived next to Hon. E. B. Gillett, his brother-in-law, on Court Street, died in 1888, aged 67 years.

The Baroness Riedesel tells of the loss of all their camp equipage by theft in Albany, and adds: "Fortunately I had kept by me my little carriage which carried my baggage. As it was already very late in the season, and the weather was raw, I had my calash covered with coarse linen, which in turn was varnished over with oil; and in this manner we set out on our journey to Boston, which was very tedious, besides being attended with considerable hardship. I know not whether it was my carriage that attracted the curiosity of the people to it, for it certainly had the appearance of a wagon in which they carry around rare animals, but often I was obliged to halt because the people insisted upon seeing the wife of the German general with her children. For fear that they would tear off the linen covering from the wagon in their eagerness to see me, I very often alighted and by this means got away more quickly. However, I must say that the people were very friendly, and were particularly delighted at my being able to speak English which was the language of their country." (Journals relating to the American Revolution, Mrs. General Riedesel, pp. 137–8.)

That the procession of Hessian prisoners presented a pathetic picture is evident from the story of eyewitnesses, aggravated by the fact that many of them had their wives with them.

"Their advent into Cambridge, near Boston, is thus noticed by the lady of Dr. Winthrop of that town, in a letter to Mrs. Mercy Warren, an early historian of our Revolution: 'On Friday we heard that the Hessians were to make a procession on the same route. We thought we should have nothing to do but view them as they passed. To be sure the sight was truly astonishing. I never had the least idea that the creation produced such a sordid set of creatures in human figure, poor, dirty, emaciated men. Great numbers of women who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having bushel baskets on their

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backs by which they were bent double. The contents seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils. Some very young infants who were born on the road; the women barefooted, clothed in dirty rags. Such effluvia filled the air while they were passing, that, had they not been smoking all the time, I should have been apprehensive of being contaminated." (Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, Vol. I, p. 82.)

The Hessian prisoners reached West Springfield Oct. 29, marching in rain, snow and hail. It is spoken of as "a village of scattered houses with its iron church." They were received into the homes of the people and were objects of prolonged and curious scrutiny, it even being suspected that a small admission fee was charged those inhabitants who had come from a distance to inspect the foreign prisoners.

General Riedesel was the guest of Rev. Doctor Joseph Lathrop, whose great grandson, the esteemed Clerk of Courts of Hampden County for so many years, Robert Morris, says that the General being unfamiliar with English and the Doctor not being versed in German they resorted to Latin as a vehicle of communication.

The General's horse was shod there by a blacksmith named White.

About a dozen of the Hessian prisoners were so favorably impressed by the region that they eluded the vigilance of a guard which may have been willing to lessen the amount of its responsibility, and deserted the convoy. Mr. Harry Andrew Wright in an address to the Sons of the American Revolution in 1903, enumerates them as follows: "Apollos Miller became a farmer, John Andrice Isensee a farmer and was killed by lightning while haying in the Agawam meadows; Godfrey Vanganeer, commonly called 'Old Waggoner,' became a miller, David Hartunk a mason, Valentine Worthy a weaver, Thomas Pollock a weaver, Hendrick Salter a tailor, Frederick Stockman a shoemaker, Thomas Ewing a farmer, and Dr. Hilliam a physician who lived to an advanced age with an extensive practice in Chester, Blandford and Granville. Dr. Brewer came over from Springfield to attend some of the Germans, and as the paymaster's chest was empty he was given the chest in payment." (Springfield Republican, February 1, 1903.)

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Among some prisoners from the battle of Bennington farmed out among the inhabitants of Springfield whom General Riedesel met, were Cornet Johann Balthasar Stutzer, Chaplain Melzheimer of the regiment of dragoons, and Lieut. Theodore Frederick Gebhardt of the grenadier battalion, all wounded, Stutzer severely, who survived in Brunswick after having been exchanged, as a lieutenant colonel, until Nov. 29, 1821. Melzheimer deserted from his regiment in 1779 and joined the American army. When the two divisions of prisoners finally reached Cambridge early in November, it was found that no less than 100 of the original contingents, Hessians and British, had deserted. In November of the following year they began the long march to the cantonment in Virginia, passing through Sudbury, Worcester, Spencer, Brookfield, Palmer, Wilbraham, Enfield, Suffield, Simsbury, New Hartford, Norfolk, and, after crossing the Housatonic, Salisbury and Sharon, to Fishkill, where they crossed the Hudson, reaching their destination in January, 1779. Two years later the officers were brought back to East Windsor, Connecticut, where those who had not already been exchanged remained until the conclusion of the war.

In the Memoirs of General Riedesel, a Hessian officer who was among the prisoners captured at Saratoga and sent thence to Boston, may be found the following reference to Westfield: "On the 28th [Oct., 1777] they were to have arrived at West Springfield, but the weather being bad and cold, it snowing and hailing considerably, they only reached Westfield. The march was so disorderly that prisoners and men belonging to the escort remained behind, and in consequence lost their way. General Riedesel finally succeeded, by making friends of the inhabitants, in finding quarters for his men. Two German soldiers were frozen to death on this day in the woods." (Vol. I, p. 215.)

Among the papers of the late Lyman Lewis of Westfield there is a half-sheet, unsigned and undated, bearing the following items:

"This house was built in 1764, built by Alexander Grant, for John Moseley, to pay for the house Mr. E. Grant now lives in, the latter house was bought of John Moseley by Alexander Grant. This was a tavern, & the officers of Burgoyne's army

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stopped here, on their way through town. A sentinel was kept marching up and down in front of this house, & as Mr. Grant went to school (in a school house where Mr. Harrison's house now stands) he used to stop & *look* at this sentinel. One of the officers died here & his body was laid in Mr. Grant's *corn* house, & the buttons on his gaiters Mr. Grant wore on his clothes a long time."

The first house spoken of in that quotation is what was later known as the Lyman Lewis house which stood on what is now the northwest corner of Main and Cherry Streets. It was destroyed by fire Dec. 3, 1875. The second house, now owned by Walter White, stands on the northwest corner of Main and White Streets. They stood one next east, and the other next west, of the house built by Lemuel Grant and now occupied by his son Frank. The house called Mr. Harrison's is the one now standing on the south side of Main Street next east of the N.Y.N.H. & H.R.R. embankment. The Mr. Grant who went to school in a house formerly standing on that lot was Erastus, who for many years kept a furniture store on the south side of Main Street between the present office of the H. B. Smith Co. and Park Square. Mr. Grant died Nov. 26, 1865, at the advanced age of 91 years. He was quite eccentric, as is evidenced by sundry anecdotes still cherished in local traditions. One of the most familiar of them relates to the effort to change the ancient custom of "keeping Saturday night," whereby the Sabbath was treated as beginning at sundown on Saturday. At the period in question some of the people adhered to the old custom which kept Sunday night. In an effort to secure uniformity on the part of all the people, Rev. Mr. Davis, their pastor, requested that they indicate to him in writing their individual preferences. The note received in reply from Mr. Grant was characteristic of him, having been thus expressed: "I am not strenuous; but I always have kept Saturday night, and always shall. E. Grant."

In a letter from the Baroness Riedesel, wife of the General, is the following interesting observation: "Negroes are to be found on most of the farms west of Springfield. The black farmer lives in a little outhouse. The negroes here are very prolific, like the rest of the cattle. The young ones are well fed, especially while they are still calves. Moreover, the

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slavery is very bearable. The negro is to be looked upon as the servant of a peasant; the negress does all the coarse housework and the black children wait on the white children. The negro can take the field in place of his master, and so you do not see a regiment in which there is not a large number of blacks, and there are well-grown strong and sturdy fellows among them. There are also many families of free blacks who occupy good houses and have means and live entirely in the style of the other inhabitants. It looks funny enough when Miss Negress pulls up her woolly hair over a cushion, puts a little shade hat on her head, wraps herself in her mantle and shuffles along the road in this finery, with a slave negress waddling along behind her."

There are several remarkable features in that statement. It seems as though the Baroness must have been drawing largely on her imagination when writing it, as respects the number of negroes in the region. As Mark Twain said in reference to a telegraphic account of his death, "Report grossly exaggerated." In 1765 there were in Hadley twenty negro slaves over sixteen years of age, and six in Amherst. A good authority has declared that there could not have been more than forty in Springfield at any one time. Mr. Ballantine in his Journal refers to negro slaves in a dozen families in Westfield, and to one free negro who must have been a rarity in this region at the Revolutionary period.

Mr. Ballantine says that in December, 1757, there were thirty-six negroes in town. The number had been slightly increased at the end of twenty years when the Baroness passed through, since the census of the town in 1776 gives 41 as the negro population. Five years later the town took action to check the tide of "poor whites and blacks coming into town." The passage of the Bill of Rights, enacted in 1780, resulted in the legal extinction of slavery in the Commonwealth, and made free negroes more numerous throughout the territory. General Riedesel succeeded in securing shelter for his men in West Springfield by the same persuasive means employed in Westfield. They reached there Oct. 29, and rested over one day, a fact duly commemorated by a properly inscribed boulder which has been placed at the eastern end of the common, opposite the entrance to the bridge across the Connecticut

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River. While they were thus having a respite from the fatigues of travel, General Riedesel crossed to Springfield to arrange for a supply of provisions, but was so shabbily treated that the weary troops were obliged in the next stage of their march to press on to Palmer, fifteen miles beyond. They stopped over the night of Friday, Oct. 31, at Brookfield. This detachment of Hessian prisoners was under the escort of Gen. James Brickett. Whether or not the force of Continental soldiers in his command was not adequate to prevent straggling, many of the "Burgoyne men," as they were popularly called, were later living in various towns along their line of march toward Cambridge and in neighboring places.

Though the victory at Saratoga was the turning point of the Revolutionary struggle, the ultimate fruit of this crucial success was not plucked for many a long year. Washington was unable, with his inadequate resources of troops and equipment, to hold Philadelphia, which was occupied by Lord Howe, Congress retiring to Baltimore. The battles of the Brandywine and Germantown were not encouraging to the patriot cause, and Washington led his army into camp for the terrible winter at Valley Forge.

The third period of the great conflict, comprising the years 1776 and 1777, thus closed, the essential feature of which, according to Fiske, "was the struggle for the state of New York and the great natural strategic line of the Mohawk and Hudson rivers." Later he says, "In this period of the war everything centers about New York, such an outlying expedition as that of Howe against Philadelphia having no decisive military value except in its bearings upon the issue of the great central conflict. The strategy of the Americans was mainly defensive, though with regard to certain operations they assumed the offensive with brilliant success. The period began with the disasters of Long Island and Fort Washington; it ended with the triumph of Saratoga. As the net result of the two years' work the British had taken and held the cities of New York and Philadelphia and the town of Newport. The fortress of Ticonderoga, which they had likewise taken, they abandoned after the overthrow of Burgoyne; and in like manner they retired from the highlands of the Hudson, which the Americans now proceeded

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to occupy with a stronger force than before. In short, while the British had lost an army, they had conquered nothing but the ground on which they were actually encamped. Their attempt to break through the center of the American position had ended in a total defeat, and it now began to seem clear to discerning minds that there was small chance of their conquering the United States." (The American Revolution, Vol. II, p. 2.)

The people of Westfield were too near to those crucial events to see clearly their full significance, though exulting in their immediate benefit to the patriot cause. Dark clouds still overhung threateningly. Fathers, sons, and brothers were still enduring awful privations, and it would be long before active operations of a spring campaign could be undertaken, but the fires of patriotism still glowed in courageous hearts.

The following letter throws a flood of light on the desperate situation:

"Camp at Valley Forge Pa. Jan. 25th 1778

"Sir. As you belong to the General Assembly and to the Committee of the town, I think myself in duty bound to let you know the true state of our Troops belonging to the Mass. Bay.

"Notwithstanding all the promises we had made us by the State at the time that we entered into the Service that we should be amply supplied with clothing and all other of the necessities of life—all at reasonable and stated prices. But, alas! how are we disappointed! I do assure you that the officers and soldiers are suffering everything but death and imprisonment, and some are even suffering that, and alltogether through the neglect and carelessness of the State. By the conduct of the sd State I am led to believe that they have forgot that they have any Troops in Service, or in other words they despise them. This my friend is exceeding mortifying to me as well as to many others.

"I do assure you Sir, that I have seen the Soldier turned out to do their duty in such a poor condition that notwithstanding all the hard heartedness I am naturally possessed of, I could not refrain from tears. It would melt the heart of a Savage to see the situation wee are in.

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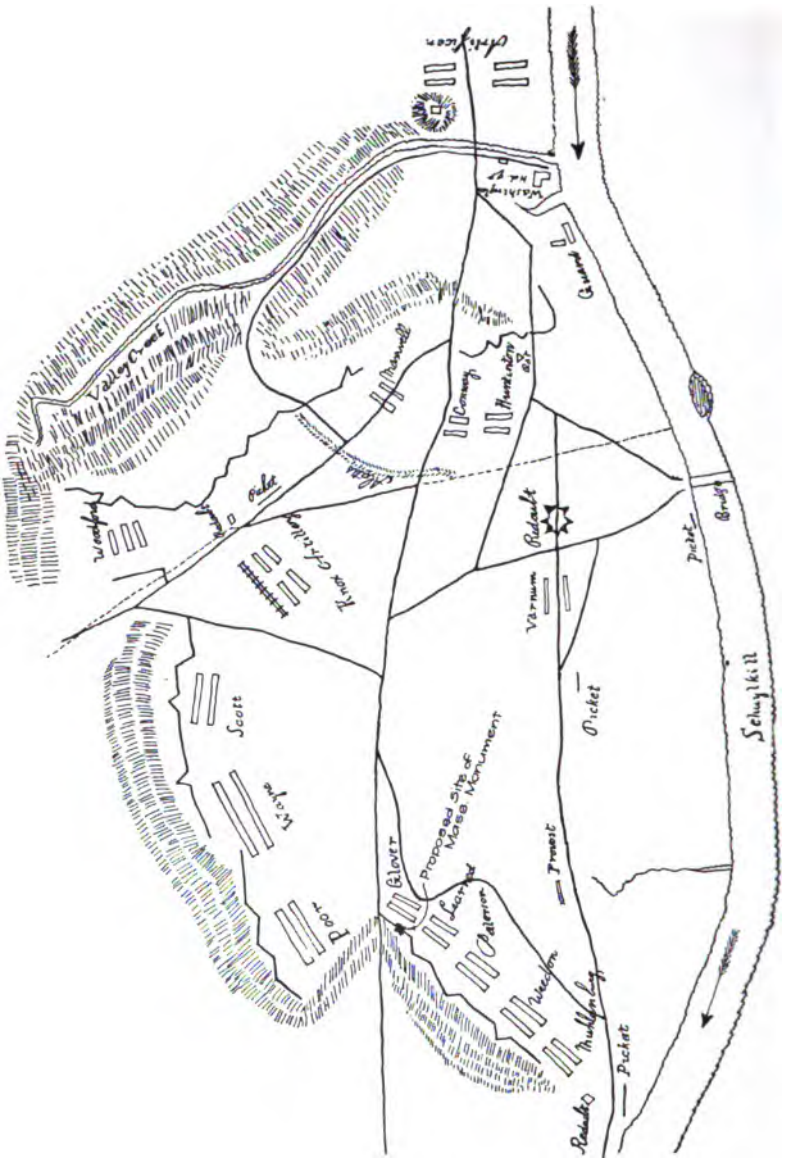

MAP OF THE ENCAMPMENT AT VALLEY FORGE, 1777-8.

Drawn by the Chevalier Louis Le Begue de Presque Duportail, a French engineer who served under General Washington and was commissioned a Major General by Congress. The location of General Glover's Brigade in which was Colonel Shepard's 4th Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry is shown at the lower part of the map.

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"The State of Connecticut has supplied there Troops with every article of Cloathing completely and with all the necessarys of life at a reasonable price, and the regiments of the States are patterning after them. I am sure we are able to defend ourselves against all the powers of Europe with a grate deal of loss did we conduct with common prudence but alas! after all our great fateague and bloodshed to see my country take any advantage by trafficking or trading. The soldier last Spring when he engaged in the Service, he could purchase a pair of shoes for eight shillings that now he is obliged to give eight dollars for, and other species have risen in like perpotion.

"You must need think this is very distressing to the Officer and Soldier that have families at home who depend on there wages for there support. Give me leave to tell you that it is not in my power to save one farthing to support my family and am obliged to live very sparingly in order to support myself, and I will leave it to you to judge what a Soldier can lay up of his pay. The peopole at home are destroying the Army by there conduct much faster than H O W and all his Army can possible do by fighting us. By this means many of the best Officers are leaving the Army daily, which if not prevented will reduce the Army soon.

"Sir, I do assure you that the life and strength of the Army is in the Officer. If they are good the Army in general will be good. If they are bad the Army will be like them.

"Perhaps you may find fault with Officers and Soldiers and say they have not done there duty, but as God is my judge I will appeal to Heaven that I have ever done all that lay in my power to save my bleeding country, and have impressed it on my Officers and Soldiers to do the same, and I must say that to there honor I never saw many of them *flinted* for anything. I will challenge all the Officers of the Army or my friends at home if any of them ever knew me shirk from hardships or neglect my duty for fear of the enemy. I have fought and bled to save my bleeding country but alas! how are wee requited for all our Services. The State has not supported the Troops with one single article for more than three months past.

"I do assure you Sir, that there is at least fore hundred men in the Brigade which I belong to that have not a shoe nor

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a stocking to put on, and more than that number that have not half a shirt apiece, and many officers that have not a second shirt to put on in this situation in this cold season of the year we are obliged to do our duty.

"To see men almost naked going into the snow and frost to defend the rights of those very men that are contriving every way to distress the poor soldiers now in service by putting their specie at such exorbitant price and under-valuing the currency now passing, the soldiers wages are stated at a certain price which is out of there power to alter, and they cannot revenge themselves by there folley, it greives me to my very soul.

"God bless you. I wish you helth and happiness. Believe me Sir, I am with esteem your sincere friend and most obedient Hule Serv't

"David Mosley Wm Shepard."

"Westfield."

It is generally understood that the hardships of the army during that terrible winter at Valley Forge were appalling, but the details specified in the letter of that noble patriot to his personal friend at home reveal conditions of almost inconceivable suffering. Still the stress of that superb patriot's plea is for relief not of his own privations but of those of his fellow patriots, especially the rank and file of his command.

Three years later General Glover wrote to the Council of Massachusetts, Dec. 11, 1780, "It is now four days since your line of the army has eaten one mouthful of bread. We have no money, nor will anybody trust us. The best of wheat is at this moment selling in the state of New York for three fourths of a dollar per bushel and your army is starving for want. On the first of January something will turn up, if not speedily prevented, which your officers cannot be accountable for." (Journal of Henry Hallowell, in Col. Rufus Putnam's Fifth Reg. Gen. Nixon's Brigade.)

At the March meeting, 1778, the needs of the army were considered. Major Warham Parks was chosen to go to Boston "on the cost of the town," as its agent in consequence of certain letters received from Colonel Shepard and others in the Continental Army. Then a committee consisting of John

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Ingersoll, Esq., who was Moderator of the meeting, Doct. Mather, Elisha Parks, Esq., and Capt. David Mosley, was chosen "to remonstrate to the General Court &c. of the Nakedness of the Army & of the Necessity of its being supplied with Cloathing & other Necessaries immediately."

How pathetic is that tender consideration of the town, in public meeting assembled, of the sufferings of the soldiers on distant fields!

Among the letters referred to in the town's action must have been one from E. Lyman which is still preserved in the Atheneum. He had written in September, 1777, from Van Schaicks Island, and concluded as follows: "As to news I have none except it is thought that we shall pay Genl Burgoyne a *visit soon* if he does not us but how it will be I cannot tell. It is hard living in the Camp one *Point* of Rum a day takes *all* my *wages* Rations and all. We cant live so. The Camp will break up if there aint some alteration."

General Glover's brigade stopped there at the mouth of the Mohawk en route from Peekskill to Stillwater.

The expectation of paying a visit to Burgoyne was realized, and resulted in the glorious victory of Saratoga, a pivotal point of the Revolution, though so far from its conclusion. The hardships in the matter of rum of which he complains were slight compared with what he experienced afterward, with which the later letter deals:

"Camp at Valley Forge
Feb. 21st 1778.

"Brother King. I would gladly undertake to give you a Particular account of the Circumstances of our Army at Present were I *able* to do it, but being unable I should fall much short of a true description of the miserable situation we are in at Present that I shall not attempt it no farther than this. That we are at this Present *Reched* and miserable, Poor and Blind and Naked. This account is short but it is *true*—no doubt before this time you have seen Letters from Colo Shepard or some other gentlemen in the Army that has given a direct account about the army and the situation we are in on the account of clothing which we suffer the most for of any article at all. Hope you will write often, must conclude,

Your Friend & Brother, E. Lyman."

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At a meeting held the second month following, April 15, 1778, practical action was taken relative to that heartrending statement of conditions at Valley Forge. A committee was chosen, Major Warham Parks, Capt. Daniel Sacket, Lieut. Winchell, Lieut. Zechariah Bush and Doct. Israel Ashley, "to provide fifty-three Shirts & Fifty three pair of Shoes & Stockings for the use of the Continental Army at the Cost & Charge of the Town."

The writer of those letters, Elihu Lyman of Northfield, was the son of Aaron and Eunice, daughter of Rev. Josiah Dwight. In 1770 he married Esther King, sister of Bohan, of Westfield. They had two children, Sally, born Sept. 12, 1771, who, left motherless, was intrusted to the care of her uncle Bohan in Westfield, referred to as "my little child" in Lyman's letter from New York in September, 1776, after the battle of Long Island. She became the wife of Ephraim Wells of Greenfield. The other child, Esther, baptized June 12, 1774, died in August following. The mother, Esther, died a few days later.

Lyman married again, Nov. 27, 1781, Sarah, daughter of Joseph Stebbins of Deerfield, by whom he had several children, two of whom were graduates of Dartmouth College. He died at Greenfield, Sept. 12, 1823.

His military service was long and varied, its first experience having been as Captain under Arnold in that awful march through the wilderness of Maine for the invasion of Canada, begun in September, 1775, and continued until its disastrous failure in the following spring.

He was a Lieutenant in Capt. Alvord's company, Col. Shepard's regiment, serving from Jan. 1, 1777, to March 1, 1779. Reference has been made already to a letter signed by him and other officers of Colonel Shepard's (4th) regiment from Valley Forge, dated May 1, 1778, requesting that application be made to the President of the Board of War for clothing granted to them by Resolve of March 13, 1777.

He was also Captain in Col. Elisha Porter's Hampshire regiment July 20, 1779, to Aug. 31, 1779, in the march to New London.

At a town meeting held May 13th, 1778, it was voted that each man raised to reinforce the Continental Army for nine

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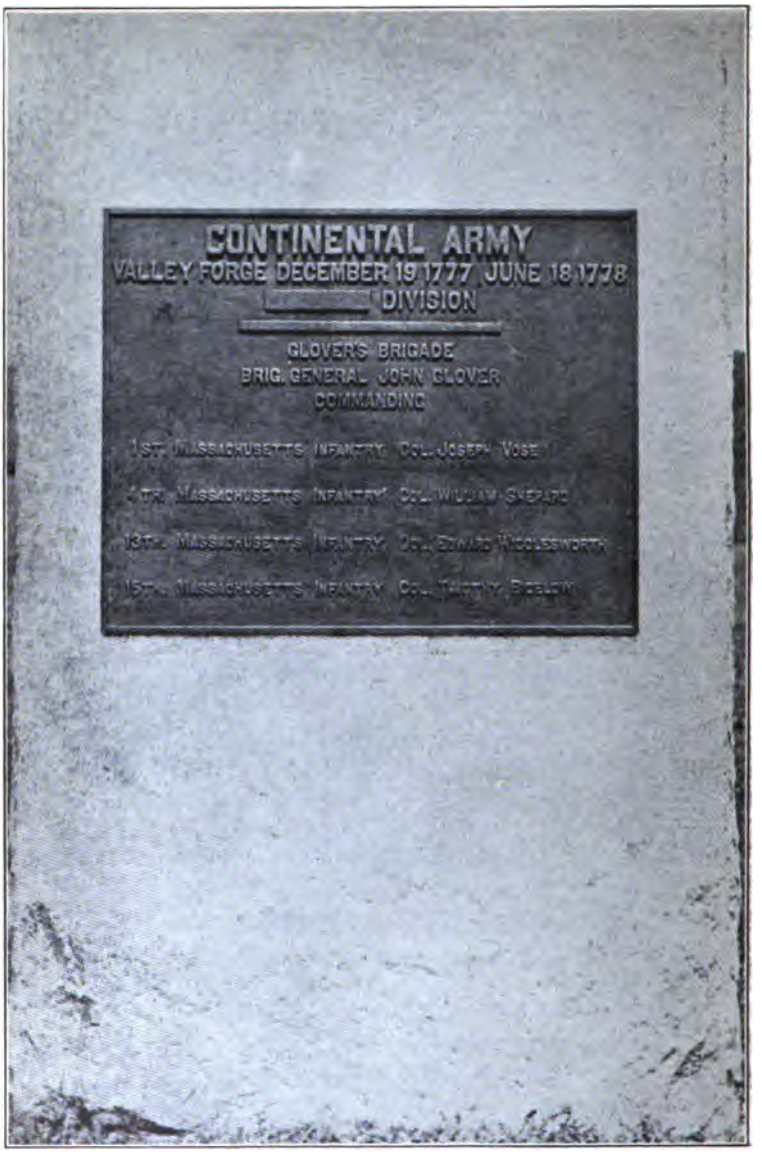

MARKER OF GENERAL GLOVER'S BRIGADE AT VALLEY FORGE.

Erected by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and dedicated November 18, 1911.

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months should be paid out of the town treasury the sum of thirty pounds, and that such as should be raised as guards for the North River, probably to garrison its forts, should receive ten pounds.

In August a committee consisting of Dea. Root, Elisha Parks, Esq., Capt. Daniel Sacket, Col. John Mosley, and Mr. Samuel Fowler, was appointed to collect the clothing sent for by the General Court for the use of the Continental Army.

At the March meeting, 1779, a committee of five was chosen "to inspect the rivers in this Town & prosecute the Breakers of the Laws made by the State to regulate the Fishery in the same," but when, at the next meeting, a motion was made and seconded "to see if the Town would build a Sluice Way at Weller's mill Dam for the shad to pass up the River" it was negatived.

Aug. 11th Col. John Mosley was appointed to represent the town at the Convention called to meet at Cambridge "the first day of September next for the Purpose of forming a New Constitution or Form of Government," and a Committee of nine persons was appointed to instruct the delegate relative to the matter in hand.

Even as early as this, mutterings of the gathering storm began to be heard, which was to culminate seven years later in the Shays Rebellion. The record shows that one of the patriots who had been at the front was restless and dissatisfied, it having been voted at this same meeting "That the Petition of Benjamin Winchell and others for the Purpose of stopping the Courts of Justice in this County be not sustained."

Symptomatic of the same spirit of resistance to duly constituted authority was the action taken in the following spring. A meeting held March 1, 1780, of which Colonel Mosley was Moderator, was called "to see if the Town will pay that Rate called the Penobscutt."

"It was moved & seconded that the Town delay acting on the aforesaid Article until Capn David Mosley shall go to Boston & transmit to the Town the Journals of the House of Representatives relative to the Penobscutt Expedition."

The meeting then adjourned for three weeks and when reassembled voted not to pay the Rate.

At a meeting in May, 1780, the Committee which had been

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appointed to consider the new State Constitution reported objections to some of its features and the town voted not to accept it "without Alteration or Amendment." The vote stood 17 for and 36 against. May 23 it was voted to accept the Constitution "excepting those Articles which are objected to by the Committee chosen for that Purpose."

The action, as recorded in full detail, is interesting as showing the independence of the individual citizens and the different opinions which prevailed among them.

The Constitution was formally adopted, June 16, 1780. Oct. 20, 1779, the sum of thirty pounds was voted for each soldier then to be raised for the Continental service and destined for Claverack and mileage money of two shillings per mile. Five days later it was decided to raise the men aforesaid "on the cost of the town and not by Detachment." The militia officers were to be indemnified from all fines which might be laid upon them because of raising the men in that way and not "according to an order of the General Court." A committee of nine persons—Daniel Fowler, Ozem Sacket, Luke Phelps, Martin Tinker, Moses Dewey, Simeon Tremaine, Stephen Lee, Lieut. Adnah Sacket and Benjamin Dewey—was chosen to assist in this matter. They were to agree with the men for 20 shillings per month, the old way, exclusive of their bounty, mileage and wages allowed by the State. Finally it was "Voted after a long Debate that the Committee chosen to hire the soldiers above should be directed to agree with them at any Rate they shall think reasonable."

June 16, 1780, a new quota of nineteen soldiers for the Continental Army was exacted of the town and a Committee of twelve persons was chosen to secure it. They were Capt. Martin Tinker, Capt. Daniel Sacket, Simeon Tremaine, Lt. Richard Falley, Jabez Baldwin, Ichabod Lee, Moses Dewey, Capt. Gray, Capt. Kellogg, Asa Noble, Jr., James Taylor and Daniel Fowler.

It must have been with considerable satisfaction and civic pride that the voters in Westfield as in the other towns, on Sept. 4, 1780, for the first time, cast their ballots for the highest state officers.

The new Constitution, adopted in June preceding, accorded them this privilege. There were no printed ballots, probably,

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each voter having written his choice for the several officials on a slip of paper.

It is interesting to note the result in Westfield on that memorable day:

"1ly For Governor	Hon. John Hancock	54 Votes
	James Bowdoin	17 Do.
	John Worthington	2 Do.
"2ly For Depy Governor	Genl. James Warren	36 Votes
	Honl. James Bowdoin	17 Do.
	John Hancock	4 Do.
	John Pitts	1 Do.
3ly For Senator	Joseph Hawley Esq.	42 Votes
	Hono Timo Danielson	36 Do.
	Caleb Strong	44 Do.
	Timothy Robinson Esqr.	22 Do.
	John Bliss Esqr.	7 Do.
	Samuel Mather Esqr	28 Do.
	Oliver Phelps Esqr.	6 Do.
	John Ingersoll, Esqr.	4 Do.
	Eleazer Procter Esqr.	2 Do.
	Noah Goodman Esqr.	2 Do.
	Simeon Strong Esqr.	2 Do.
	John Worthington Esqr.	1 Do.
	William Pynchon Esqr.	1 Do. "

It is evident that the independent voter was not then trammeled even by the action of a party caucus, but exercised the fullest personal liberty.

For the year previous to March 30, 1781, the Treasurer's book shows interesting items. "The Town of Westfield to Samuel Mather in silver" these accounts, therefore, being in hard money. Fathers collected for the services of their minor sons in the army:

"Pd.	Moses Dewey for his sons service 3 mos.			3.0.0
	Oliver Ingersoll for his sons do.			3.0.0
	Paul Noble, his son in Army 3 mos.			3.0.0
	Jared Plumb	do. do.	do.	3.0.0
	Heman Dewey	do. do.	do.	3.0.0
	Dan Kellogg	do. do.	do.	3.0.0
	Daniel Ray for his service in army			15.0.0

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John Church 3 mos. in Army 3.0.0
Phillip Williams for his sons service 3.0.0
Andrew Walton 3 mos. service £3.0.0
To Widow Rebh. for Zilpah sweeping 10/
Benhadad, Negro for ringing bell 9/9
Wm Allen, Ebenezer Herrick Jr. Gideon Pitts
Wm Bills, Jacob Noble, Abner Weller all 3 pounds each.
(probably for service as soldiers like those above named)
To Esqr Ingersoll for to hire teams 12.0.0
Mr. Samuel Fowler for Putty for Meeting House 6/.
Mr. King to purchase beef 35.6.0
Cash paid 14 soldiers for 1 months service, 4 each 56.0.0
Josiah Halliday for his cattle 1.3.0
Col. Mosley 1 shirt & one pair of stockings & one Pare shoes 1.4.10
(probably for supply of army)
Mr. Saml Fowler, 3 pair shoes 24/
4 Brooms 3/ one quire paper 2/6 5/6
Doct. Ashley 2 shirts & 1 pair stockings & 1 oz. nutmeg 30/
to transporting stores to Barrington & cash 9/6 4.5.6
Doct. Whitney 5 gals. Rum & 7 1/2 lbs loaf sugar 2.12.6
½ lb. spice ¼ -¼ pepper 2/6 2 doz. pipes 10/ 23/
Capt. Bancroft 10 lbs Butter 10/ 17 lbs Pork 6/5 16/5
To a turkey 7/1 2 lbs cut tobacco 2/ 9/1
Wm Ashley transporting stores to Barrington 2/10/6
John Fowler 2d to Keeping 2 horses 2 nights 4/-
Thos Noble one load Wood for Mr. Atwater 5/4
to 2 pair shoes 8/ 16/-
Mrs. Hannah Mosley for boarding Dinah for one year at 2/6 per week 6.10.0
to yd cloth for Dinah 3/ 6/
Lt. Bush for mending Clock 6/, Warning six town meetings 6/ 12/1
Widow Katherine Noble 1 shirt 10/
Benj Saxton 1 pair stockings 6/-
Lt. Martin Smith 1 pair stockings 6/ shirt 10/ 16/-
Solomon Dewey 2 pairs shoes 8/ 16/-
Asa Noble 6 pair shoes 8/ 48/-
Dea. Joseph Root to 4 shirts 10/ 40/-
3 pair stockings 18/- 2 pair shoes 16/- 1/2 bush apples / /8d

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20 1/2 lbs Meat 6/10 keeping 6 horses 1 night 6/–
to one bushel turnips 2/6
Jacob Noble 4 pair shoes 32/
transporting stores for Barrington 6.13.0
Solomon Weller do. do. do. 76/-
Lt. Moses Dewey do. do. 76/-
John Wilson for conducting teams 42/6
Mr. Saml Fowler 2 1/2 days Perambulating 12/6
" " " 1 day Classing 5/- 2 quires paper 5/ 10/-
to ringing Bell for 6 months 12/
Richard Falley for attending Convention 7 days
at 6/- per day (at Hadley in February 1782) 42/- "

Thus the work of collecting for the needs of the army was steadily prosecuted, as shown by many entries above.

Besides the entries already quoted from the town treasurer's book, there are others recorded earlier, in 1776 and 1777, which on various grounds are interesting enough to warrant their transcription for modern readers:

Lt. Zechariah Bush for mending bell tongue 12/2
do do do for handles for Mr. Ballantine's
coffin &c. 12/2
Alexander Grant for Mr. Ballantines Coffin 7/10
Doct. Mather for ditching Town Lot 7/-
Thos. Noble for boarding Mary Trill one year &
mending her cloathes 78/-
Aaron King for pair of shoes for Azubah Old 6/6
do do " mending Mary Trills 1/2
Aaron Weller for making a bier 8/-
Moses Weller for his Bulls 40/-
To Moses Dewey for repairing Gate near Cadwells 3/-
for Widow Abigail Ashley nursing Crawfords wife 10 days 30/-
Richard Falley making & mending locks 18-
to Widow Kellogg for nursing Murphy for 15 weeks
at 12/- 180/-
for nursing & boarding Murphy 4 1/2 weeks 108/-
to 1 qt. Metheglin for Murphy 3/-
Capt. David Moseley for Flax 1/6 Line 1/6 for making
a Box for Clock &c. 62/
do for tending clock one year 60/-

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for Winding Sheet for Widow Roberts	6/-
Elisha Parks Esq. 1 qt. Rum for M. Trill	3/-
800 Brass nails at 4/-	32/-
Deacon Shepard for boarding & nursing Widow Roberts from Jan. 1st to Nov. 6, 1777	£24.10.0
for a pint of Brandy	5/-
for nails for Coffin	2/3
for mending a Bed Tick	3/-
extraordinary trouble	30/-
Simeon Tremaine for digging 3 graves	18/-
Aaron Weller for making 2 coffins	36/-
1777 To Cash paid out for Soldiers Mileage & Baggage	£83.12.4
" To Cash paid out for do	60.12.0"

One of the prominent and influential tories of Hampshire County was Jonathan Ashley, a minister, born in Westfield and a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1730. He was born in 1712, the son of Jonathan and great grandson of Robert, one of the founders of Springfield. After graduation from college he taught for a while in Suffield, and was settled as minister of the church in Deerfield, Nov. 8, 1732. He took an active and aggressive part in the controversy with Jonathan Edwards, who was his cousin. Two of the sermons which he preached in Edwards's pulpit were published. Edwards characterized him as "a young gentleman of liberal education and notable abilities; a fluent speaker; a man of lax principles in religion, falling in, in some essential things, with the Arminians, and is very bold and open in it." His loyalist tendencies became known early in the controversy between the Colonies and the mother country. On July 22, 1774, "Parson Ashley had a tea in defiance of the non-consumption association, and his son carried a pound of tea, which he had procured Fast day of Israel Williams and Son at Hatfield, to the wife of Parson Roger Newton at Greenfield." Mr. Ashley made himself so obnoxious to his patriotic parishioners that by mutual consent an Ecclesiastical Church was called to settle the differences between them. It met in May, 1780, and after a session extending through eleven days, adjourned without having accomplished its purpose. His church was so evenly divided between loyalists and patriots, that at some

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times one party and at other times the other party, was in the ascendency. "When the Whigs were in the majority, they refused to vote him his firewood."

Two of the many anecdotes relative to his acts as a tory, out of many which have been preserved, may be cited. "When the provincial congress of Massachusetts issued the proclamation for the annual Day of Thanksgiving, they substituted the ejaculation, 'God save the people,' instead of the former one, 'God save the King.' He read the proclamation from the pulpit, but when he had come to the close, he raised himself above his ordinary height, and, with great vehemence, subjoined, 'And God save the King,' I say, 'or we are an undone people.' "

The other of the two rehearsed by Sabine, in his "Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution," relates to an exchange between Mr. Ashley and Rev. Mr. Newton of Greenfield, to whose wife the pound of tea was sent. He also was a loyalist, and told Mr. Ashley that he might improve the occasion by speaking of the Revolution "by way of caution to his people." Mr. Ashley made good use of his opportunity and seriously offended the congregation. During the noon intermission the patriots met to talk things over and decide upon a course of action. A committee chosen for the purpose fastened up the meeting house. When Mr. Ashley arrived to conduct the afternoon service, one of his Deerfield parishioners met him at the door and gave him a significant nudge with his elbow. When the action had been repeated, Mr. Ashley asked him to explain his treatment, and warned him that he "should not rebuke an elder." "An elder? an elder?" replied his tormentor, "if you had not said you was an elder, I should have thought you was a poison sumach."

A little later in his own pulpit he preached against the patriot cause, and asserted that in his opinion those Americans who fell at Lexington had gone straight to hell. Upon attempting to enter his pulpit on the following Sabbath he found it spiked up. Failing to break the fastening he called upon one of his deacons who was a blacksmith to get a hammer and force an entrance, but the deacon replied that he did not work on the Sabbath. The parson finally procured an axe and forced the door open.

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Parson Ashley's second son, Jonathan, was also an active tory, and became so obnoxious that he, with Seth Catlin and John Williams his fellow townsmen, was summoned before the General Court in Boston, in February, 1781, which condemned them to the Suffolk County gaol in Boston where they were held for several months. That heroic treatment of three prominent citizens had a salutary effect upon those who sympathized with their loyalist principles and practices. From that time forward there was no dilatoriness in Deerfield town meetings in voting supplies for the Continental Army.

As evidence of the spirit of bitterness toward the tories which was cherished and preached at the close of the war, there may be cited an item of news followed by comment published in the Massachusetts Gazette of Springfield, in an issue of May, 1783, just before the celebration at Westfield of the establishment of peace.

"Boston, May 22. Nothing can exceed the distress of the tories in New York; they are very unwilling to go away, and yet they are afraid to stay to meet the vengeance of their injured countrymen. As Hannibal swore never to be at peace with the Romans, so let every Whig sware, by the abhorrence of slavery, by liberty and religion, by the shades of those departed friends who have fallen in battle, by the ghosts of our departed brethren who have been destroyed on board of prison ships and in loathsome dungeons, by everything that a freeman holds dear, never to be at peace with those fiends, the refugees, whose thefts, murders and treasons, have filled the cup of woe; but shew the world that we prefer war, with all its direful calamities, to giving those fell destroyers of the human species a residence among us. We have crimsoned the earth with our blood to purchase peace, therefore are determined to enjoy harmony uninterrupted with the contaminating breath of a tory."

Over against such virulence may be put the proof afforded by an extract from a letter written by one patriot to another, that the acerbities of war times were being smoothed and softened.

Dr. Eben Hunt, writing from Northampton to Gen. William Shepard in Congress, March 27, 1798, says in a postscript: "I had forgot to inform you of the Death of our friend Seth

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Catlin, who died in Consequence of an Injury received by being pressed against the side of his Stable by a Horse, which bro't on a Mortification of the Bowels, died in 4 days after the Injury, universally lamented."

Seth Catlin, after having fought in the French and Indian War, became a prominent tory of Deerfield. It was he to whom reference was made as "your uncle Catlin" dealt with by the mob described in the letter from Joseph Clarke to Major Joseph Hawley, Springfield, Aug. 30, 1774, quoted in a previous Chapter.

Another serious trouble against which the patriots had to contend was the frequency of desertions, and which in the war of the Rebellion was commonly known as "bounty jumping."

"Springfield Feb. 25, 1782.

"Sr In consequence of an order from Genl Washington to Col. Shepard he is authorized to call on any officer on Furlough or otherways at home to set on a Genl Ct Martial at Springfield as soon as possible for the Tryal of one Collins—long confined—to accomidate which you are Requested to attend next Wednesday as a Member & pray you would not fail as the officers are called on in several Towns near this Post, to attend at that time and the disapointment of non attendance will be great.

Pr order Col. Shepard.
Seth Bannister Capt.

Capt. Goodale &
Capt. Cobum
N. B. Continental allowance
will be had for man and Horse."

Massachusetts Gazette, June 17, 1783—

"The respectable manner of the late rejoicing at Westfield, on occasion of the peace, by one who was present at the same—

"The morning being ushered in by a report of cannon, and the flag of the United States being displayed on a pole erected for that purpose on the green, at noon thirteen cannon were fired, when an exceedingly well adapted discourse was delivered by the Rev. N. Atwater, *and an excellent Anthem sung suited to the occasion;* after which most of the principal persons

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of the town, with a number of gentlemen from Springfield and the neighboring towns dined together, and the following toasts were drank, each accompanied by a discharge of cannon.

"1. May the dawn of peace—that source and soul of public happiness—be welcome to every American, and be had in greatful remembrance to latest posterity.

"2. The United States of America.

"3. The Continental Congress.

"4. The generous and faithful allies of these States.

"5. His Excellency General Washington, with all the officers and soldiers of the American army.

"6. To the memory of the brave officers and men who have fallen a sacrifice in the glorious cause of their country.

"7. May American independency, in the advantages arising from it, exceed the highest expectations of the supporters of it.

"8. May blasting and mildew follow close at the heels of those who, under the mask of patriotism, bellow out for liberty and their country, while they are secretly endeavouring to undermine the foundations of our constitution.

"9. The liberal and benevolent spirits on both sides of the Atlantic, who have lent their aid to rear up the glorious fabric of peace.

"10. Success to the lover, honor to the brave, Health to the sick, & freedom to the slave.

"11. May Commerce and agriculture go hand in hand and flourish far and wide.

"12. May the wings of extravagancy be clipt by the shears of economy.

"13. May the odious distinctions of Whig and tory be utterly forgotten under the benign auspices of peace.

"In the evening there was an exhibition of fireworks, and the whole ceremony was conducted with the greatest regularity and good order, to the honor of all concerned."

Two items follow: "'Tis reported that the definitive treaty of peace, between the powers lately at war, was signed at Paris on the first of May last." "About 7 or 800 of the troops have passed thro' this town since our last, on their way to their respective homes; the uncommon good order,

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decency and civility of behaviour, which they have as yet observed during their march, does them great honor."

The issue of Dec. 23, 1783, contains an account, dated London, Oct. 9, describing the reading of the Proclamation of Peace with great pomp, first before the gate of St. James Palace, then at Charing Cross, then at Chancery Lane, then "at the end of Wood St. where the cross formerly stood," and finally at the Royal Exchange.

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CHAPTER V

Some Westfield Heroes

Among the most valuable original manuscripts preserved in the Atheneum is an account of personal experiences by Adjutant Russell Dewey, who was in the regiment commanded by Col. Elisha Porter of Hadley which was raised for service in Canada in the two western counties under the call of the General Court, Jan. 21, 1776, quoted in a previous chapter.

"January 1776
A Journal of our march to the northard traveled
to worthington
31 tarried in the town that day
February the 1
traveled to gageborow the 2 day traveled to landlord Kings in new lebanon the 3 traveled to landlord corbins in albany had sum difference lay at the barbers the 4 we vewed the city taried their 3 days the 7 day we traveled to landlord briants in Stillwater their we heard the harpiscord and se the negro dance the 8 day traveled to Sarratogue the 9 day traveled to landlord Smith in fortedward which makes in whole of our travel to this place 133 miles.

February the 10 we marched from fortedward to half a way brook to landlord wing which was a plane way very bad traveling upon the account of a rain the night before the water was a near about midlg deep some part of the way 7 miles

the 11 we marched from fort halfaway brook to fort george which was a plane way 7 miles

the 12 we Left Fort George & Came to Ticonderoga a Cross the Lake 40 Miles

the 13 we Left ticonderoga & Came above Crown pint on the Lake Champlain 20 miles

the 14 we marched on the lake to Stilburn which was 25 miles

the 15 we marched on the Lake near 30 mile with the company and in our march one Span of our horses broke threw the Lake which took us a our to get them out at night we made

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a halt for to incamp it being twenty one mile to any house eight of us had a mind to go to the house we got of the Capt. to go on we traveled about 16 mile two of us gave out and could not go any farther we went on to the land and made a fire and stayed their that night we eight traveled 46 mile

the 16 we eight marched to the white house and waited their for the company 5 miles

the 17 we Left the Lake champlane 9 miles.

Sunday the 18 we marched on the river to St John 21 miles

Monday the 19 we Left St John and marched to Montreal 27 mile

Tuesday the 20 we lay by in montreal

Wednesday the 21 we Vewed arms at night three or four of us went to Cor Pressons Quarters

Thursday the 22 I had a very bad cold and was very Poorly

Fryday 23 nothing remarcable happened

Saturday 24 nothing remarcable happened Amen

Sunday 25 I went to the french Church and se them cary on and heard the orgain

Monday 26 two companys marched in Montrall and one marched for Quebec

Tuesday the 27 a post arived at montreal and brought news that our troops had burnt and toock Boston

Wednesday the 28 we Settled all our affairs in the mess and used the pot together

Thursday the 29 nothing remarcable hapened except two bottles of wine which was handed round among us considerable:—dito Amen

March 1776

Fryday the 1 Nothing remarcable hapened

Saturday March the 2 we used the pot together strongely

Sunday 3 nothing remarcable hapned except brandy and lofe shugar

Monday the 4 nothing remarcable except a fire which broke out and burnt out the armerer shop and one gun that belonged to our Company and how many more I cannot tel

Tusday the 5 three company marched for Quebec eleven

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slayload of Provision arrived to Place at night two or three of us walk into the sity and used the pot with Lieut herrinton

Wednesday the 6 we left montreal and marched for Quebec 4 miles

Thursday the 7 we Proceded on our march toward Quebec on the river St. larrance mile 20

Fryday the 8 we marched on the river 22 mile it being Settled all the way we came by 11 towns with churches in them nothing remarcable hapned that day nor the day before only the Capt. Chursing and swearing to the Lieut.

Saturday the 9 nothing remarcable hapned on our march 24 mile we marched by three towns that day

Sunday the 10 we marched by two towns and came to a town called the three rivers a large town with three meeting houses mile 27

Monday the 11 we marched by two towns nothing remarcable hapned except sore eyes mile 18

Tuesday the 12

we lay still upon the account of its Raining in the morning and one of our company being sick and able to march

Wednesday the 13

we marched 30 mile part of the day we marched upon the land we marched by 5 more towns that day

Thursday the 14 it was very bad stormy we marched by 3 more churches one had 3 steples miles 20

Fryday the 15 was a fine pleasant day we arrived at Quebec we marched by 4 churches and one image that day mile 22 the whole of my march from Murryfield to this place is 520 miles

Saturday the 16 nothing remarcable except a smoke house where our company was put into and almost Smoked my Eyes out three companys marched in this day

Sunday the 17 they fired from the wals of Quebec considerable

Monday the 18 I vewed the wals of Quebec they fired at me two or three times without damage

Tuesday 19 nothing remarcable hapned except the infection of the small pox which begun to prepare for

Wednesday the 20 nothing remarcable hapned

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Thursday the 21

nothing remarcable hapned except hungry men for we being a fixing for the small pox might not eat nor drink anything except bread and water that is we could not get anything else to eat

Fryday the 22 nothing remarcable

Saturday the 23 we had news that the Kings troops had taken 20 slay load of Provision and about 60 of our troops went down the river to retake them again

Sunday the 24 was a cold windy day and the snow flu and winds was so high that we was affraid to go out a dore for fear we should be blowed away for our Preperation brought us so low that we were almost as light as eagles

Monday the 25 news Came to head Quarters that our men had kiled and taken upward of thurty of the Enemy

Tusday the 26 I began to Brake out with the Small Pox

Wednesday the 27 the Comadore arived at Quebec and brought us the good news that Genl Lee was at Crownpoint with 1500 troops 700 of them french Regulars from france and that the french brought 60 tons of powder with them

Thursday the 28 I was very sick

Fryday the 29 I gru better and got so well that I went to git my bottel but in vain the place whair it was left was a grog shop the man said it was stolen by Sombody but Swore he new not whare it was

Saterday the 30 the Regulars haled a gun out of the city and fired at our maingard and jest at hight they kiled one of men

Sunday the 31

the Capt and Lieu went to the hospital and what beat all was some Crows which kept a croing round their and I could not kill them but I stired them dito considerable

Monday April 1 nothing remareable

Tusday the 2 they wounded two of our men at the alarm post

Wednesday the 3 our men opened a batrey from Pint levi upon the three companies marched in this day belonging to Colo P [cut off]

Thursday the 4

nothing remarcable except half a alowance

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Saturday the 6 gunpowder smoke fire and balls about these days

Sunday the 7 balls flying in the air

Monday the 8 Some firing

Tusday the 9 continual firing from Pint Levi and from the town

Wednesday the 10

A Post arived at Quebec and brought news that Boston was taken he said that our people bilt batries at the mouth of the harber and stoped the shipin from going out or in and that they had bilt another upon dorchister Point and some others that they had bilt that they drove the Shiping up in a heap round the north part of the town and that our people played upon them so smart that they did send out a flag of truce to get lieve to go of with their baggage and stores which was not granted but our people at last marched into town and tock it with the los of a number of men but how many we did not hear

Thursday the 11 nothing remarcable hapned

Russell Dewey

Fryday the 12

their was a report in the camp that a woman came out of City this night and brought out this nues that there was a meeting in the City and that Colton was for giving up the City and Colol Mackleen was for keeping it Mackleen had the stronger party and over came Colton and Confined him

Saturday the 13 the Bull that we sot such a great Store by died and is not dead for the want of blood his blood is all gone which causes us to lement greatly for his blood was excilent and nourishing to nature

Sunday the 14 nothing remarcable hapned

Monday the 15 was the day we longed to se for that was the day that our time was out and our Regiment had not pass we turned out that day to See if Should Pass and the mustermaster not coming they whiped the Snake a while and we was dismist for that time

Tusday the 16 a Post arrived at this Place and Confirmed the nues about Boston being taken and brought nues that the King of France had sent a daligate to the congress and had

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sent over a shipload of war like stores and that he would assist us if the King of Ingland Ingaged the hanovarians against us

Wednesday the 17

Our Regiment turned out and Mustered it being the third time that we attempted the King and nobody appeared for to muster us the same day about 40 of the yorkers Paraded themselves Before the Generals for to get Liberty to go home some of them not being suted swore that they would Plunder the inhabitants and fired at some people and tryed blow up the magazine but was taken and carried to the gard house and put in Irons

Thursday the 18 two of our men deserted into the City

Fryday the 19 nothing remarcable

Saturday the 20 nothing remarcable except the company turning out in the morning by three a Clock in which the company never did before

Sunday the 21 two men coming to the river and caling for the conne and I went to set them over and came to the other side and who should one of them be but George Knox and he not knowing me I sot them over and then I spoke to them and then he knowd me and he seemed to be so glad to see me that he scarcely know'd what to do with himself

This day one man died out of the company it being the first man we lost sense we left home

Monday the 22

Our men opened a batry down by the nunnery upon the town and there was a continual fire from the batry and from the town all the forenoon our men fire Forty Shot from the batry that day and they Plumpt thirty nine of them into the thickest of the City

Tuesday the 23 they fire from the town and dismount the Bellowses with their Balls but hurt nobody

Wednesday the 24 one of our men was a Raming down a hot Ball and not haveing suffitient wading the gun went of and burnt the man badly

Thursday the 25

we was Alairmed in the night and was ordered to be upon abrahams Planes amediately, for what we new not but it was supposed that our men was a going to send a fire ship in among their shiping that lay haled up close into the town

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in order for to burn them but it being a rainy night our men had but jest turn out before was dismist and their was nothing done that night

Fryday 26 their was such a firing that the air was full of balls some of them flying one way and some the other our men being so ingaged afiring that they split one of their cannon and hurt one man very bad so that he died"

Thus abruptly the unique document concludes, leaving us hungry for more, like Oliver Twist; and, like him, helpless to supply the lack. Its pages are bound in book form without covers, sewed at the back with black thread, the whole discolored and tattered by age. Its dimensions are five and a half by three inches, comprising twenty-six pages.

On the last inside page the following items appear:

" February 3 1776 L S d
Paid out for the company 0 3 3

Colo Shepard Dr.

L S d
to 6 shillings for pipes 0 6 0
to 6 shillings for Charles 0 :6: 0
to 3 shillings at Norwitch 0 :3: 0
Russell Deweys
Journal
Revolutionary War "

On the outside of the last leaf appears one more item:

" February the 8
L S d
Paid out for cyder 0 : 1 : 2
Febru the 9
more to peper and peper box 0 : 2 : 0
more to a cheas 0 : 9 : 9 "

In preparing a copy of this important manuscript the utmost care has been exercised to make it accurate to the minutest particular. The original is almost absolutely devoid of any punctuation marks, and therefore they have been left out of this copy, while all the peculiarities of spelling have been retained in order that the reader may have the clearest

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conception of the work of the author during that perilous campaign in the winter and early spring of 1776.

Through personal correspondence of the author with Dr. W. B. Webster, a local antiquarian of Schuylerville, N. Y., the original site of "Surrotogue" of the Diary, under date of June 29, 1915, he says:

"Bryant's Inn was located at Bryant's Bridge, three or four miles 'up the creek' west of this village. The old Revolutionary Inn is still in existence although now divided into two tenements situated about ¼ of a mile apart. * * * Landlord Smith in 'fort edward' Kept an Inn on the old stage road leading to Fort Edward and located at the mouth of 'stoney creek.' The territory is in the township of Greenwich, N. Y., at the present time. The old house burned about thirty years ago. Opposite the house in the river was an island of several acres on which refugees hid before the advance of Burgoyne's army. This was known as Smith's Island being owned by Landlord Smith, the State however reserving the right to tie log rafts to said Island. The above State right still exists though the island has been reduced by action of the current to a mere strip of land covered by a few trees and bushes."

That travesty of a siege of the famous fortress in which Russell Dewey was a participant, following the tragic failure to carry it by storm on the last night of 1775, when Montgomery fell and Arnold was severely wounded, was both absurd and pathetic. It involved untold hardships for the insufficient force of the Americans, with no shadow of a chance of success under existing conditions.

General Wooster assumed command of the besiegers on the first of April, and Bancroft thus describes his appearance and the conditions which he found upon his arrival: "The garrison laughed as they saw from the ramparts the general, now venerable from age, and distinguished by his singularly large wig, walking solemnly along the walls, to spy out their weak parts. Scattered round Quebec, on both sides of the river, and at great distances from each other, lay about two thousand men; of whom not more than half were able to do duty. How to supply them with food was a great difficulty. The insignificant batteries of three light guns and one howitzer on Point Levi;

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of twice that number of guns, two howitzers and two small mortars on the heights of Abraham; and of two guns at the Traverse, were harmless to the enemy; the store of powder did not exceed three or four tons; of shot, ten or twelve; there were no engineers and few artillerists; of those who had wintered in Canada, constituting more than half of the whole number, the time of service would expire on the fifteenth of April when neither art, nor money, nor entreaty would be able to prevail on them to remain." (History of the United States, Vol. VIII, p. 420.)

How much more formidable those batteries looked to Dewey and his companions than they really were before the task of subduing that mighty fortress! The "Balls" which flew so often before his wondering gaze were hardly more effective than peas from a boy's tin shooter would have been. Just after the Journal closes, and fifteen days after the time of enlistment of Dewey's company had expired, though it was still held in service by a trick of arbitrary martial authority, Major General Thomas of Massachusetts superseded Wooster. He found nineteen hundred men there, half of whom were sick, and of the other half, a third was composed of men whose enlistments had expired and who seriously objected to go on duty.

"In all the magazines there remained but about one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and six days' provisions."

It is very interesting to study this Journal in connection with an account which Sylvester Judd gathered from Noah Cook of Northampton, as published in Trumbull's Northampton. Cook started for Canada a month after Dewey started from Chester, taking a more easterly course from Worthington, through Williamstown, Bennington, Shaftesbury, Arlington and Wells Pond to Ticonderoga. He reached there March 10, having crossed Lake Champlain on the ice, nearly a month later than Dewey, who arrived there Feb. 12.

The company in which Cook was a private had for a captain Israel Chapin of Hatfield. Its scanty baggage, no tents being used, was carried by Perez Bardwell of Hatfield in a sleigh drawn by two horses. This detachment must have traveled very rapidly, having reached Ticonderoga on the seventh day after leaving Northampton, while Dewey and his company

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did not reach there until the thirteenth day after leaving Chester, stopping, however, three days at Albany.

Judd's report of Cook's account speaks of the distribution of provisions at Ticonderoga, and continues as follows: "The weather had grown much milder, but they went up to Crown Point on the ice, which was in some places covered with water. They continued the march on the ice, but it soon became too frail. So weak was it that they were compelled to lead the horses, and draw by hand the sleigh and a hay sled. One horse broke through the ice and was drawn out of the water nine times. The other one was placed on the sled and drawn to the shore. They succeeded in reaching the eastern side of the lake in safety, just at the narrows, but found no inhabitants. They proceeded to Onion river, now Burlington, by land, where they found a family of high Dutch. No house was seen between Crown Point and Burlington. At Colchester, the next stopping place, temporary barracks were found but no inhabitants. Here Bardwell left his sleigh and returned home with his horses. At Crown Point nothing remained but the old fort with a scanty guard. From Ticonderoga they had a Frenchman for a guide. The weather turning cold they were able to cross the lake on the ice, landing just below Grand Isle, then uninhabited. In crossing the lake from Colchester they put up a pole with a blanket, and the wind being favorable they went swiftly across the lake to the White House, nearly opposite the lower part of Grand Isle. Only one house was seen there and that appeared to be tenantless."

Dewey speaks of having waited at the White House with his seven companions, for the rest of the company to join them, but he does not say whether it was tenanted at that time. The hardships endured by both Dewey and Cook must have tried their mettle severely.

Russell Dewey was the son of Moses and Sarah Dewey, born Aug. 7, 1754. His sister Sarah was the wife of Gen. William Shepard. Russell Dewey was married at West Springfield, after Aug. 5, 1781, to Sophia Chapin, daughter of Capt. Elisha and Miriam (Ely, daughter of Joseph and Margaret). They lived on the northwest corner of Franklin and Shepard Streets. Captain Chapin commanded at Fort Massachusetts

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in 1754 and was massacred by the Indians at West Hoosac, now Williamstown, July 11, 1756. His daughter, Sarah A., married John Farnham of Westfield, who had been one of Paul Jones's men. Russell Dewey marched in April, 1775, in the company of Capt. David Shepard, Col. Seth Pomeroy's regiment, was at Bunker Hill and took his station at the "rail fence" and fired 13 of his 17 cartridges, was at the taking of Burgoyne, and at Valley Forge in 1778. In 1783 he was commissioned Adjutant by Governor Hancock, serving in the 2d and 3d Regts., Massachusetts militia, until honorably discharged in 1805. His height is given as 5 feet 7 inches.

The following "Declaration" of Adjutant Russell Dewey was sent to the War Department with his application for a pension:

"Westfield, May 6th, 1818.

"Marched from Chester on or about the 23rd of April, 1775, and joined the troops in Cambridge, near Boston; enlisted on the forepart of May as fifer in Capt. Child's company, Col. Gardener's regiment, for eight months. Was discharged in the fore part of Jan., 1776, and returned to Chester. Enlisted on the first of February under Capt. Grovner for three months in Maj. Cady's detachment and marched immediately to Quebec. Was discharged on or about the 6th of May, when our troops retreated from that place and returned to Chester. Enlisted about the first of June under Capt. Gray, of Col. Woodbridge's regiment and marched immediately for Ticonderoga. Soon after our arrival at that place I was appointed Fife Maj. of Gen. Bricket's brigade. Was discharged about the first of December and returned to Westfield. Enlisted in February or March 1777, during the war under Lieut. Martin Smith, of Capt. Ball's Company, Col. Wm Shepard's regiment, Gen. Glover's brigade, a Quarter Master Sergt. Rec'd my warrants as Q.M.Sergt. Sep. 14th, 1778. Was promoted to Wagon Conductor on the 21st of August, 1779, to Gen. Glover's brigade. Was returned promoted and left off the rolls of the regiment. Continued in the brigade until the fore part of June 1780, then by the consent of Col. Shepard and Gen. Glover resigned and left the service and returned to Westfield.

Russell Dewey. "

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He was placed on the U. S. pension roll Oct. 1, 1818, and commenced to draw May 6, 1818, received $843.20 back pay and $96.00 a year until his death Feb. 18, 1827.

The following document shows that Adjutant Dewey had an eye for the possible benefit of modern inventions, which were devised by Yankee minds as long ago as the early years of the nineteenth century:

"Know all Men by these presents that I Simeon Glover of New Town Cont for $10 Received of Russell Dewey of Westfield in Mass. do sell convey quitclaim & release unto him the sd Dewey the full & exclusive right & liberty of Making constructing using & vending to others to be used the Cross-cramp for four Wheeled-Carriages within & for the Town of Westfield which Town is to him a District wheren the Sd Dewey has All the rights & privileges that I had to Sd District before this sale of a Patent from the United States bearing date May 4th 1805 & the Sd Dewey has no right to encroach upon the Patenter in any other place—in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal this 16th day of August 1806 at Westfield.

In presence of — Simeon Glover
William Moseley — (L.S.)"
William Dewey

That Adjutant Dewey had some delay in the final settlement of his claims against the Government is indicated by the following letter on file in the Atheneum:

"Dear Sir—I tryd my utmost endeavour to get your Certificates but in vain. You must make oath to what money you have Received from the time your Roll specifies. The Gentleman thinks you was in the Service longer than your Roll is made up for—

"The Soldiers or Waggoners pay will not come through your hands except you have paid them and produce vouchers;

"If you get the Waggoners to sign an order make oath that those are the men specified in the Roll, and that the names are their own signing; that I am sure will leave no room for Caveling. I tryed hard to get yours and Witherels Certificates Sepperate, but could not untill I informed you how the matter stands.

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"I was taken Sick directly after I got to N York, and when I got my health Mr. Deming was absent which prevented my making you returns sooner—

I am Sir Yours

"New York Oct. 27th 1784 Saml. Chapin

"N. B. My compliments to all friends and Inform Genl. Shepard that Money cannot be borrowed in York under 4 per. cent Interest pr month. I am in good health."

The children of Russell Dewey and Sophia Chapin Dewey were Sewell, born March 3, 1782, died June 30, 1858; William, born June 7, 1784, died March 13, 1844; Sophia, born Feb. 9, 1787; Laura, born May 18, 1790.

The inscription of Russell Dewey's tablet in the old cemetery is:

"In memory of
Adjt. Russell Dewey
who died Feb. 18, 1827
Aged 72 years."

His widow lived until Aug. 13, 1830.

A curious affidavit is on file in the town records bearing date of March 25, 1831, witnessed by Jonathan Taylor and James Fowler, and executed by James Fowler, Justice of the Peace. It declares that Sewall, William and Sophia Dewey, and Laura (Dewey) Perry and Samuel Perry of Connawangs, New York, heirs at law of the late Russell Dewey, in consideration of the sum of forty-five dollars, paid by Robert Whitney, release and sell to him their right to a "certain Pew in the Meeting House on the margin of the Green in said Westfield, being No 88 and situated on the centre or broad Aisle, bounded in front by Pew No 89 occupied by the Rev. Emerson Davis, & in rear by No 87, occupied by the heirs of John Bancroft late of Westfield deceased, & originally bought owned and occupied by said Russell Dewey deceased, owned in common & undivided with Dr. Horace Smith & Warham Shepard or the heirs of the late Genl. William Shepard deceased."

That historic pew, occupied in common from 1807 by the two redoubtable heroes, General Shepard and his brother-in-law, Adjutant Dewey, until the death of the former in 1817,

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still continued to be held in part after the death of the latter by the General's son Warham. To be thus associated from generation to generation with the life of a family is surely one ground of justification of the custom, on many grounds reprehensible, of selling a certain space in the house of common worship.

One of the notable soldiers of the town, who did deeds of valor in two wars, was Oliver Root, son of Samuel Root, Jr., a descendant of John Root, one of the "Foundation Men." Oliver was born Nov. 24, 1741, and his Father died Jan. 14, 1743, as Mr. Ballantine notes in his Journal.

When he had reached a proper age Oliver was apprenticed to a shoemaker, and while but a youth, taking advantage of a law which allowed apprentices to enlist, he went with a company raised in Westfield for the French war, to Albany, following the road cut in 1753 along the Westfield river through Poontusuck which had been but recently opened for settlement. According to Smith, in his History of Pittsfield, that road was not much better than a narrow path for pack horses, and described by Oliver Root as in horrible condition, there having been no less than five hemlock swamps, almost impassable bogs, between the Hoosacs and the Taconics. The mire was so deep that the soldiers were obliged to support their horses with their burdens through them by putting the bands on which their muskets were slung, under the horses' bellies, and thus aid them in reaching ground firm enough to sustain them.

Young Root, after reaching the scene of active operations, had the honor of enrollment in the hazardous service of the famous Corps of Rangers under Major Robert Rogers. Only those who gave promise of endurance under most trying conditions, intelligent skill in woodcraft, and indomitable courage, were accorded that honor. John Stark and Israel Putnam were among its officers, who, with rank and file of splendid material, made it the most unique Corps of Rangers in history. Their equipment, besides their arms, consisted only of a tin cup and single blanket per man, while their commissariat included only a "little parched corn meal." "Singly, or in parties, they lay down to rest wherever inclination and opportunity found them, with no shelter but their blankets. Their

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strength was sustained, and their umpampered appetites satisfied, with a little corn stirred in their cups with water dipped from the wayside brook or spring; although they did not forbear to forage for choicer viands when circumstances favored, nor disdain the game with which the forest abounded, when prudence did not forbid the noise necessary for its capture, or the smoke which would arise in cooking it."

Smith's description of the services which they rendered is so graphic as to warrant more extended quotation: "In all marches they piloted the way, and scouting along the edges of the columns, rendered surprise or ambuscade impossible. Always on the alert they patrolled the forests in all directions; making prisoners of unwary enemies, skirmishing with exposed outposts, rescuing captured friends, and giving warning to those in danger, until they surpassed the red man in his own craft, and became the terror of Frenchman and hostile Indian."

Their chief scene of action was the rough region of forest and mountain between Ticonderoga and Fort William Henry, the wild shores, heights and fastnesses about Lake George. Parkman says, "In summer they passed down tha lake in whaleboats or canoes, or threaded the pathways of the woods in single file, like the savages themselves. In winter they journeyed through the swamps on snowshoes, skated along the frozen surface of the lake, and bivouacked at night among snowdrifts. They intercepted French messengers, encountered French scouting parties, and carried off prisoners from under the very walls of Ticonderoga." (The Conspiracy of Pontiac, Vol, I. p. 169.)

For a young man under twenty years old to be enrolled in that famous band of Rangers is a high testimonial to his virile qualities; to have shared their hardships so long is evidence of rare physical endowment. Proof of higher qualities still is furnished by the fact that though enlistment in the army freed him from all further pecuniary responsibility as an apprentice to his master, he nevertheless upon returning home at the close of the war, in 1760, brought all that he had been able to save from his bounty money and regular pay, and placed the sum in the hands of his former master, saying substantially, "This money I might legally retain, but justly and rightfully it is yours; take it." He retained through life the same high

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sense of honor, which prompted him in old age to refuse to apply for the pension to which he was entitled for heroic service in the Continental Army, insisting that the Act of Congress establishing the pension system could have been intended only for the benefit of those who were left destitute, and that though he was not wealthy he had sufficient means for his support.

It was in one of the minor affairs of the campaign in central New York that the most tragic and heroic incident of the martial career of Major Root occurred, in the summer of 1780. In the autumn preceding, Washington had sent General Sullivan to make reprisal upon the Six Nations for the horrible massacres perpetrated in 1778 at Wyoming and Cherry Valley. The Iroquois had become cultivators of vast farming regions, raising annually immense quantities of grain, besides beans, pumpkins, apples, pears and peaches. They had great storehouses for the preservation of these crops, and depended upon such produce of the farm rather than upon the chase for their yearly supplies.

Speaking of the campaign of Sullivan against these hostile tribes who were led by the famous Brant, Thayendanegea as the Indians knew him, whose headquarters were at Fort Niagara, Fiske says: "From Tioga, the American army marched through the entire country of the Cayugas and Senecas, laying waste the cornfields, and cutting down all the fruit trees. More than forty villages, the largest containing 128 houses, were razed to the ground. So terrible a vengeance had not overtaken the Long House since the days of Frontenac. The region thus devastated had come to be the most important domain of the Confederacy, which never recovered from the blow thus inflicted." (The American Revolution, Vol. II, p. 96.)

But general sickness among his troops and a dangerous lack of supplies rendered it unwise for Sullivan to press on to the investment of Fort Niagara. Thayendanegea still held it, and therefrom he and his savage battalions sallied forth during the winter of 1780 to crush the Oneidas, who had seemed friendly to the Continentals. In the summer following he and Sir John Johnson joined forces to devastate the Mohawk valley, upon whose teeming harvests Washington depended largely to supply his commissariat. It was to defend that important

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territory that a Berkshire regiment was sent to augment the American forces. Col. John Brown, with a noble record for patriotic services, was its commanding officer, and Oliver Root was its Major.

The most important feature of the campaign to Major Root was the engagement of Stone Arabia. The Berkshire regiment was posted at a small blockhouse called Fort Paris, about three miles north of the Mohawk River in the district which is a part of what is now the town of Palatine. The hordes of Indians and Tories started October 14, on a career of devastation and slaughter through the valleys of the Schoharie and Mohawk, burning everything inflammable, houses, barns and grain, and ruthlessly butchering the Whig inhabitants, men, women and children.

Gen. Robert Van Rensselaer with a body of militia arrived in the region October 18, and found the village of Caughnawaga a mass of smouldering ruins. Hearing that Fort Paris, about twelve miles distant, was to be attacked the next day, he sent orders to Colonel Brown to form a junction with him at a designated point, to intercept the approaching force.

Colonel Brown, though warned that the plan was exceedingly hazardous, started, in obedience to orders, early on the morning of October 19, his thirty-fifth birthday. Through the treachery of some people who appeared on the way, he led his men by a road upon which the enemy had arranged an ambuscade so common in Indian warfare, near an abandoned work called Fort Keyzer, in the midst of heavy timber. Suddenly a sergeant exclaimed, "See that damned Indian!" and fired his musket. Immediately the woods blazed with the discharge of a thousand guns, pouring death upon the startled and ensnared troops. Colonel Brown was one of the first victims, shot through the heart, leaving Major Root in command. The only hope, forlorn though it was, and apparently ignominious, was in flight from that awful death-trap. Forty of the detachment were slain and the rest succeeded in reaching Fort Paris, whence they had marched forth a few hours earlier. Conditions there were heartrending. Women and children had sought refuge there, hoping to escape from their savage foes.

What followed is almost wholly preserved in tradition only,

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but well authenticated, since it was imparted by Major Root to two of his friends from whose lips Mr. Smith himself heard it. He thus recounts it: "Fortunately Major Root had been trained in a school which rendered him familiar with such scenes, as well as with the character of the enemy with whom he had to deal. The fort he knew was not at all competent to sustain an assault from the forces which now thronged into the edges of the clearing around it, and were evidently eager for an attack. But he was well aware of the terror with which 'big guns' inspired the savages, and was convinced by the temerity with which they exposed themselves that they believed him wholly unsupplied with artillery. The wretched little fortress, however, was by chance supplied with one poor dwarf of a four pounder, although its ammunition was limited to a solitary ball and three charges of powder. With this the Major determined to make a demonstration; and wheeling his gun to the gateway, he sent the lonely missile bowling among, or at least towards, the astonished group. A charge of horse-chains next went singing through the air. But in the meanwhile, by order of the Major, a huge old cast-iron dinner pot had been broken up; and when its fragments came shrieking and screaming among the besiegers it completed their dismay and they withdrew rapidly within the shelter of the woods. Even the tory officer who commanded them does not seem to have noticed the scarcity of ammunition which the strangeness of the missiles would have indicated to one of more shrewdness or experience; for he gave over his purposed attack, remarking that "he had a mind to take that fort by storm, but it would cost too many lives." (History of Pittsfield, Vol. I, pp. 314–5.)

Thus, by his courage and resourcefulness in the extremity of peril, Major Root rescued his command and the defenseless women and children who had fled to the blockhouse for shelter from the terrible menace of mutilation, torture, and death. If "battle" is too pretentious a term to apply to that affair at Stone Arabia, it still was an occasion for the display of the most heroic qualities in the officer suddenly forced into supreme command, the noble man who as a lad had been a shoemaker's apprentice in Westfield.

The second of the two Westfield names which rank high in

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the Revolutionary history of Pittsfield is that of David Noble. He was born in Westfield, the son of David and Abigail Loomis Noble, Jan. 25, 1732. During his first year his parents removed to Hebron, Conn. The family moved back to Westfield as early as 1737. The younger David there married his cousin, Ruth Noble, on Feb. 21, 1753, his junior by about six weeks only. His trade, that of a shoemaker, was the same as that of Oliver Root.

In May, 1761, he was chosen a warden in Pittsfield, and four years later when the town voted to erect three schoolhouses he was employed to build the one in the western district.

The name of David Noble appears among the ten signers of a petition to the selectmen of Pittsfield, requesting them to call a town meeting "to act and do what the town think proper respecting the circular letter sent out by the town of Boston and other towns in the Province; and such other matters as the town shall think proper in regard to the invaded liberties of the country." Pursuant to that call a meeting was held which appointed "a standing committee to correspond with the correspondent committees of this and other provinces." It consisted of seven persons, one of whom was Lieutenant David Noble, and the Rev. Thomas Allen, who became so widely famous as Pittsfield's fighting parson, was the chairman.

One of the alarms preliminary to the actual outbreaking of hostilities was a false report which was started in some way and spread like wildfire across the Province, to the effect that the British troops and men-of-war had fired upon Boston. The report reached Pittsfield Sept. 1, 1774, and aroused the people there as elsewhere to a high pitch of patriotic fervor. The Pittsfield company, with David Noble as Captain, was quickly mustered and marched at top speed as far as Westfield to the defense of the capital, ere news of the falsity of the report reached them. For that service the town voted to pay to each private and non-commissioned officer two pounds for "himself and horse," and six pounds apiece to the captain and his lieutenant.

The zeal of Captain Noble was met most satisfactorily by his fellow townsmen. His company of minute men was

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comprised of fifty-one men from Pittsfield and twenty-one from nearby Richmond, well drilled and equipped. For arms and uniforms they were indebted to their generous and patriotic leader. Instead of returning with his men from Westfield in September, he pressed on to Boston to study existing conditions and to learn what preparations for the impending conflict were most necessary. On reaching home he proceeded at once to put into execution a noble purpose, which has been characterized by the local historian as "one of the most splendid displays of patriotism in the Revolutionary story of Pittsfield." He sold two farms in Stephentown, N. Y., and some land in Pittsfield, with the proceeds of which he went to Philadelphia, bought buckskin for breeches, and cloth for coats "of blue turned up with white." He hired a breeches maker who returned with him to Pittsfield, and the uniforms were made up at his own house during the winter. Captain Noble also provided arms and accouterments for his whole company, and never asked for repayment of any sums expended then or subsequently for his men. That crack company marched as a part of the regiment of Colonel Patterson as soon as the news of Lexington reached Berkshire. They probably did not return home until after the battle of Bunker Hill, where they are said to have taken part in defending Fort No. 3, one of their own works.

At the close of 1775 Captain Noble returned from Pittsfield to Boston, a final separation from his home and from his family except as his wife and son joined him at Skeensborough shortly before his death.

Upon the evacuation of Boston by the British in March, 1776, he accompanied Washington's army to New York, and thence went to Canada to join Arnold. But the disaster at Quebec occurred before Patterson's regiment reached there, so that it joined in the retreat from Canada southward.

Wasted by fatigue and virtual starvation, he was stricken with smallpox at Isle aux Noix and late in June, 1776, was removed to Crown Point. A letter written thence to his wife has been preserved describing the tragic conditions under which he and other heroic patriots suffered. It is addressed to "Mrs. Ruth Noble, Pittsfield, per favor of Mr. Chamberlain"

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"Crown Point, July 1, 1776.

"Dear Wife: I would inform you that through Divine goodness I am alive but not very well, for by reason of hard fatigue before I had the small-pox by marching and unsuitable diet, the distemper has left me in a poor state of health, though I had it very light. Ten days ago I was sent with the sick from Isle Auxnaux to this place, and have grown more poorly than better since I came here. Our army is very distressed by reason of the small-pox: we have had four thousand sick at once: I have not lost one of my company yet, though some have had it very severe: Sergeant Colfax is now very bad and it is doubtful whether he ever recovers. I had two men taken by the Indians in Major Sherbern's party which are redeemed, and one Samuel Merry of my company is either killed or taken by the regulars going down on a raft from Montreal to Sorrel. The distresses of our sick is so unaccountable that I cannot point it out by pen and ink. (All my company have had it.) If it was not for the danger of the small-pox I should be glad to have brother James or David come up and see me and bring my horse for I intend to try and come home if I remain so poorly. I believe that one of them may come safe by taking good care when he gets here. I suppose that there is about four thousand of the well of our army at the Isle Auxnaux, and whether they will stay there or come here I do not know. Tell Croner's wife that he has had the small-pox and has got well over the distemper, but he has had the misfortune to have it fall into one of his eyes so that I am afraid he will lose the sight of one eye. He remembers his kind love to her and child. He intends to try to come home when I come: he cannot write for want of paper. It is very hard living: wine one dollar per quart: spirits one dollar per quart: loaf sugar three shillings per pound: butter one shilling and sixpence, nor to be had for that: no milk. All the above articles hardly to be had. Vinegar three shillings per quart. I shall write no more at present, but remain

Your loving husband,

David Noble, Captain."

He lived but about a month longer and got no nearer home than Skeensborough (now Whitehall) where he died, Aug. 5,

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1776. Westfield may well be proud to cherish among its heroic sons such a patriot.

After the expenditures of his private resources incident to the equipment of his company as already noted, Captain Noble in the spring of 1775 sent from the camp at Cambridge "for all the goods that remained in his store at home, both linen and woolens, that would answer for soldiers clothing." His son says, "we harvested thirty acres of wheat which was flourd and sent to Cambridge the next winter, all excepting what our families used."

Thus this patriot, like his great Commander in Chief, held his private resources at the disposal of the necessitous army of liberty. In view of such magnanimous sacrifices, how inconceivably brutal was the tory who, just about the time of Captain Noble's death, applied the torch which destroyed his house in Pittsfield together with his barn, store, saddler's shop, and tannery.

The late Senator H. L. Dawes, in a private letter quoted in an editorial of the Berkshire County Eagle of May 21, 1858, speaking of the above letter of Captain Noble, says, "I think it will be of interest to the people of Pittsfield, who should erect a monument to the glorious old patriot in their beautiful cemetery. I have the original of the letter copied in the (congressional) report, and were it an heirloom in my family, no money should induce me to part with it."

The editorial adds, "Every glimpse which we thus get into the fading story of the old time goes to prove that it is no fiction, founded in local or family pride, that attributes to those who laid the foundation of our prosperity, an earnestness, courage, and pure elevation of character which places them in the first rank among heroes and patriots."

A large portion of the early settlers of Pittsfield were from Westfield, among them representatives of well known families of the latter town, Ashley, Bagg, Bush, Cadwell, Dewey, Francis, Hubbard, Noble, Piercy, Sacket, Stiles, Taylor and Weller. David Bush was one of the earliest, having commenced a clearing in 1749 on which he "had cut several tons of hay before the first white woman came to town."

Captain David Noble had a younger brother James there, who was himself a captain and rendered valuable service in

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the Continental army at Ticonderoga, Bennington and in other fields. He and his company were the victims of one of the early dastardly schemes of Col. Benedict Arnold which foreshadowed the stupendous treachery to his country which has made Arnold's name a hissing and a byword to all succeeding generations. He had received from the Committee of Safety at Cambridge a commission as "colonel and commander of forces not to exceed four hundred, to be raised for the reduction of Ticonderoga." His plan was to raise men for that purpose in Berkshire, and having reached Pittsfield early in May, 1775, he there learned that an expedition was already under way commanded by Ethan Allen, James Easton, and Seth Warner. Fearing that they might reap laurels which he coveted for himself, he hastened forward to enforce his claims as superior officer.

From Reuport, May 8, 1775, he sent back a letter "to the Gentlemen of the Southern Towns" explaining the condition of affairs at Ticonderoga and urging them to send on reinforcements. It concludes as follows:

"I beg the favor of you, gentlemen, as far down as this reaches, to exert yourselves and send forward as many men to join the army here as you can possible spare. There is plenty of provisions engaged, and on the road, for five or six hundred men six or eight weeks. Let every man bring as much powder and ball as he can, also a blanket. Their wages are 40 s. per month. I humbly engaged to see paid: also the blankets.

I am, gentlemen,

Your humble servant

Benedict Arnold

Commander of the forces."

In response to this appeal Capt. James Noble led to Ticonderoga a company composed of fifteen men from each company in Pittsfield and vicinity, who took part in operations against the enemy in that region. How Arnold fulfilled his "humble" engagement to see the men paid is indicated by the following action taken four months after the conclusion of their service:

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"In the House of Representatives—
Nov. 9, 1775

"The Committee on Col. Arnold's account have examined Capt. Noble's pay-roll and find that the said Arnold has charged this colony with said Noble's pay-roll, and has received the whole amount thereof. It further appears that the balance due the said Noble, which the said Arnold has received, amounts to £36.5s.5d: and as it appears that the said Noble and his men are in great want of their money, and the said Arnold is now in the Continental service, and cannot at present be come at, to pay the sum he received to pay the said Noble and his company, therefore resolved, that there be allowed and paid by the Treasurer of this colony to the said Capt. James Noble the sum of £36.5s.5d., being the full balance of his muster roll: he giving security to pay the men made up in said roll the sums severally due to them.

"And it is further resolved that this court prefer to Gen. Washington a charge of the sum aforesaid against the said Arnold: that a stoppage of so much as is before ordered to be paid to said Noble may be made for the benefit of the Continent." (Mass. Archives. Vol. CCVII, p. 200.)

The very pettiness of the embezzlement, which, however, entailed hardship upon many noble patriots, is a commentary upon the character of the man who became so notorious as an arch-traitor to his country.

Smith, in his history, relates a curious incident of the experience of Nathaniel Fairfield, before the formal settlement in 1752. He was born in Boston in 1730, one of a large family of children. His Father having lost most of his property, Nathaniel was adopted by a Mr. Dickinson of Westfield. Having reached the age of 18, he became eager to seek his fortune, and went with Dan Cadwell, who had purchased of Amos Root one of the lots in Poontoosuck, to examine the region. Before they had completed their investigations, their provisions ran low and Mr. Cadwell started back to Westfield to procure new supplies, leaving young Fairfield alone in the forest for three nights, during which he lay hidden in a hollow log greatly terrified by the guttural voices of prowling Indians.

Afterwards Fairfield cleared some land, built a log-cabin,

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and in 1752 returned to Westfield, married, and with his bride, and a yoke of oxen dragging a cart which bore a few household goods, made his way back by the aid of marked trees over the hills and through "the green woods between Westfield and Poontoosuck."

How deplorable is the lack of records to portray for our reverent consideration and proud approval the noble deeds and devoted sacrifices in camp and field of many another Westfield hero of the Revolution. The scanty details relative to Adjutant Dewey, Captain Noble, and Major Root which have been preserved, give only faint hints of their superb services. And these three heroes are but types and suggestions of others innumerable among the hundreds of patriots who went forth from the humble homes of Westfield into that long struggle for liberty. As privates and petty officers they showed as fine a spirit, as glorious a devotion, as lofty a heroism, as the officers of the line whose names have become illustrious in our country's history.

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